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AN
HISTORICAL REVIEW
OF THE
STATE OF IRELAND,
FROM THE
INVASION OF THAT COUNTRY UNDER HENRY II.
TO ITS
UNION WITH GREAT BRITAIN

On the 1st of January, 1801.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

By FRANCIS PLOWDEN, Esq.

VOL. II. PART II.

Pauci prudentiâ, honesta ab deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis discernunt: plures aliorum eventis docentur.

TAC. 4. *Ann.* 33.

Few are qualified by their own reflection to mark the boundaries between vice and virtue. To separate the useful from that which leads to destruction is not the talent of every man. The example of others is the school of wisdom.

MURPHY'S *Trans.* Vol. i. p. 273.

LONDON:

Printed by C. Roworth, Bell Yard, Fleet Street,

FOR T. EGERTON, MILITARY LIBRARY, NEAR WHITEHALL.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND PART

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER VII.

The Rebellion in 1798.

THE plan of attack for the 23d of May, communicated far and wide among the rebels—Mr. Neilson arrested by the keeper of Newgate—First commotions in Leinster—The town of Naas attacked	687
Anonymous letters to Lord Gosford and Son, <i>Note</i> —A body of rebels dispersed, their leaders Ledwich and Keogh, made prisoners	688
General Lake's proclamation published—The Lord Mayor's proclamation	689
The Lord Lieutenant's proclamation—A message from the viceroy to parliament	690
An address to his excellency moved and carried	691
The city of Dublin nearly deserted by all the lower mechanics and servants	692
Picketings, stranglings, floggings, and tortures applauded	693
Sir Richard Musgrave in his appendix justifies the system	694
Cruelties exercised in Beresford's riding-house, Sandy's prevot, the old custom-house Dublin, and throughout the country—Many attacks of the rebels with ill success—The mail-coaches not arriving at the usual hours, signals of sedition	695
Sir Edward Crosbie shot by martial-law at Carlow	696
Attack upon Slane—The rebels foiled, not for want of courage or resolution but for want of proper leaders—After the attack of Prosperous, <i>Mite</i> denounces Dr. Esmond as the person who commanded there	697
Sanguinary plans of the rebels	698
Dr. Esmond arrested, carried to Dublin and executed, <i>Note</i> —Incorporate union will prevent such excesses in future	699
Two addresses of the Roman Catholics at this period, <i>Appendix</i> —All the leaders of the rebellion,	Esmond,

CONTENTS OF THE SECOND PART

Elmond, M'Nevin and a few others excepted, were Protestant—The bulk of the rebel mob Roman Catholics	700
Dr. M'Nevin's answer to the Archbishop of Cathel concerning the conduct of the Catholics in the county of Wexford, <i>Note</i> —The word <i>Sasanagh</i> , meaning Englishman or Protestant	701
Various attacks and defeats	702
A caution from the lord mayor of Dublin—Contradictions of Sir Richard Musgrave, <i>Note</i>	703
The mail-coaches cease to run without a strong military escort	704
Surrender of the rebel chief, Perkins, near the Curragh of Kildare to General Dundas—Brutal conduct of the military towards the sex, <i>Note</i>	705
The disposition to surrender damped by the cruelty of Lord Jocelyn's Fox-hunters	706
Extract of a letter from General Duffe to General Lake—Contradictory accounts of these transactions	707
Sir Richard Musgrave's assertions proved false—Cullen's acquittal, <i>Note</i> —Mr. Dunne's letter to Dr. Troy about the transactions at Naas, <i>Note</i> —The great distinction of the contending parties was that of <i>Orangemen</i> and <i>United Irishmen</i> —More falsehoods of Sir Richard Musgrave, <i>Note</i>	708
Loyalty displayed at first by all descriptions of people in the county of Wexford in an address presented by Lord Mountnorris	710
Dennis M'Daniel's terror and death related by the Rev. Mr. Gordon, <i>Note</i>	711
System of flogging and half hanging in Gorey—Rise and progress of the Orange system in Wexford	712
North Cork regiment the introducers if not the inventors of the <i>pitched cap torture</i> in the county of Wexford—Unheard of tortures practised by the North Cork militia—Ingenuity of <i>Tom the Devil</i> in torturing	713
Women treated with indecent cruelty by the military—The system of terror encreases the numbers of the <i>Union</i> —Causes of the religious rancor in the county of Wexford	714
The inhabitants quit their houses—Retaliation of the people on the military	715
Father Murphy becomes a rebel	716
Account of most of the Catholic priests who were engaged in rebellion	717
A detachment of the North Cork militia defeated by Murphy	718
Enniscorthy attacked and carried by the rebels	719
The military abandon the town of Wexford—Bagnal Harvey, Colclough, and Fitzgerald, arrested—Colclough and Fitzgerald deputed to appease the rebels	720
The rebels detain Fitzgerald and send Colclough back to announce hostilities	721
Captain Adams defeated with a detachment from Dungannon fort—Retreat of General Fawcett—Harvey addresses the rebels to spare the lives of their prisoners, &c.	722
Counsellor Richards announces the surrender of Wexford—Disastrous situation of the Catholics of Wexford	723
The town taken possession of by the rebels—Bagnal Harvey released by the rebels and forced to take the command—Many of the yeomen join the rebel standard—The troops upon their retreat from Wexford burn and destroy all before them	724
The town of Gorey evacuated by the military—Arklow refuses any assistance to the flying foldiers—Their arms taken and burned—The Catholics form an association to protect Protestant houses and property in the town of Gorey—Rebel camp of Vinegar hill	725
The	

OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

v

The neighbouring town of Enniscorthy garrisoned from the said camp—Gorey is garrisoned by some militia and yeomen cavalry—A corps of rebels defeated near Ballycanoo—The rebels defeated at Newtonbarry—The distressed of the poor women and children as reported by the Rev. Mr. Gordon, <i>Note</i>	726
Evils resulting from the division of troops into small detachments—Barbarous conduct of Lieutenant Young	727
The rebels retreat to Corrigna Hill—Death of Col. Walpole, and defeat of his detachment	728
General Loftus at the head of 1200 military men—Retreats first to Carnew, next to the county Carlow—The rebels divide into two bodies—The one under the command of Harvey direct their course towards New Ross, and encamp on Corbet Hill	729
Bagenal Harvey's summons to General Johnson—The Town of Ross attacked	730
The rebels after a violent and long contest defeated—Lord Mountjoy killed in the beginning of the attack	731
The massacre at Scullabogue house	732
Cause of this massacre	733
General Harvey resigns the command of the rebel army, first publishing general orders	734
The rebels encamp on Sleeve Keelta and elect for commander Father Philip Roche—The negligence of the rebels during their stay in the neighbourhood of New Ross	735
The town of Arklow attacked	738
Murphy the rebel commander killed—The rebels defeated—The town of Wexford head quarters of the rebels	739
General Keugh appointed commander by the rebels—Keugh's life and character—Distress of the Protestant inhabitants, &c.	740
Above 100 persons suffer death in Wexford during the government of the rebels—Captain Dixon the author of the murders—Proclamation of the <i>United Irishmen</i> of Wexford, <i>Note</i>	741
Dixon inflames the mob against Mr. Le Hunte—Mr. Le Hunte's life saved by Messrs. Hay and Carty	742
Cause of Dixon's animosity to the gentry of Wexford	743
Sir Richard Musgrave's assertions reprobated by his excellency the lord lieutenant	744
No parish priest, in the county of Wexford implicated in the rebellion—Dr. Caulfield's house searched for Orangemen	745
Lord Kingsborough taken prisoner in Wexford	746
Approach of the army—Terror of the country people, and the devastations committed by the troops seen from Vinegar Hill—General Moore's humane conduct	747
Execrable butchery commanded by the Monster Dixon—Father Corrin puts a stop to the massacre	748
Dr. Caulfield's letter to Dr. Troy, <i>Note</i>	749
The army from Arklow under the command of General Needham moves towards Gorey—Several armies under the command of general officers move from all sides to surround the rebel camp on Vinegar Hill	752
The king's forces amount to 13,000 men with artillery—The rebels fly after a smart cannonading—Leave their guns and a quantity of plunder	753
The	

The Hessian troops commit excesses against friends and foes—The battle and defeat of the rebels at Goff's bridge	754
Proposals by the town of Wexford to capitulate—Mr. Edward Hay's account of the state of things then, <i>Note</i>	755
Declaration of Dr. Caulfield against Sir Richard Musgrave's false assertions—Mention of the black flag—Described by Mr. Hay	757
An historical account of the 21st of June, by Dr. Caulfield	758
General Lake rejects the offers of surrender of the city of Wexford—Rev. Mr. Gordon called upon and vouches for Dr. Caulfield's statement of facts, <i>Note</i> —Ensign Harman sent by M'Carthy on a mission to General Moore—Shot upon his way	761
The insurgents prevailed on at length to quit Wexford	762
Notwithstanding all the precautions of General Moore, upon the army's entering Wexford they put all the wounded in the hospital to the sword, and many of the people found in the streets likewise	763
Detached scouts sent out to scour the country from the corps under the command of General Needham—They burn houses and chapels, and kill all they find on the roads, though unarmed—Retaliation of the insurgents—Bloody Friday	764
On the 20th of June 1798 the Marquis Cornwallis arrives in Dublin—He changes the whole system of the military government—Happy consequences of his measures	765
All the principal inhabitants of Wexford arraigned for treason upon General Lake's army entering the city—Captain Keugh remains in the town—Bagenal Harvey retires to his seat in the country—Colclough and Harvey taken in the Saltee islands—Grogan taken at his mansion of Johnstown—All successively tried by court-martial and executed, and their properties confiscated by a subsequent act of the Irish parliament	766-7
The scene of terrorism closed by order of the lord lieutenant, who orders General Lake to Dublin—Good conduct of General Hunter—The Northern insurgents attack Antrim, and take it—Death of Lord O'Neil	768
The insurgents after a long contest with the troops retire to Donnegar Hill, surrender their arms and disperse—Dr. Jackson's corps of united Irish, in the county of Down, set fire to the house of Mackee an informer—The same corps of rebels defeated by Colonel Stapleton's detachment of York fencibles and Yeomen cavalry—The rebels take post at Ballynahinch—The battle and defeat of the rebels—A revenue cruiser and 40 men burned by the rebels—The Northern insurgents disperse and surrender—An insurrection in the county of Corke	769
Dispersed by the Westmeath militia, and some of the Caithness legion—The rebels of Wexford shape their course through Scollogh Gap in Mount Leinster, under the command of Father John Murphy, in hopes of raising the colliers in the county of Kilkenny—They defeat several small bodies of the military on the way	770
Sir Charles Asgill marches against them, but the rapidity of their march prevents his joining them at Newbridge, as he intended—The rebels retire back from Castletomer, which they set on fire, after defeating 250 men sent to protect it—They are followed by the army and defeated at Kilcomny, near Newbridge	771
The other body of Wexford rebels are defeated near Hacketstown, in the county of Wicklow— The	

The rebels direct their course for Carnew, and defeat General Needham's cavalry—They defeat the yeomen cavalry at Ballyrakeen	772
Lord Cornwallis's proclamation—An act of amnesty published	773
A message from his excellency to the House of Commons—A copy of the certificate of protection and oath, <i>Note</i> —The rebels fix their station near Wicklow Gap—Are surrounded under favor of a fog by the army under the command of Sir James Duff—They force their way through the cavalry in the direction of Carnew	774
At Ballygullen make a most desperate resistance—Disperse, and after a few days break up—General Lake's order for prosecutions upon leaving Wexford—Several petition for transportation	775
Courts martial instituted in Ross, Enniscorthy, Gorey and Newton Barry—Among the rest the Reverend John Redmond executed though apparently innocent, at the prosecution of Lord Mountnorris—The leading Orange junto of Wexford	776
The Rev. Mr. Gordon's account of the execution of Redmond	777
The remainder of the rebels of Wexford and Wicklow move on to form a junction with those of Kildare, headed by Mr. Aylmer, and after various rencontres are totally routed at Ballyboghill, near Swords—Aylmer and several other chiefs negotiate with General Dundas—General Moore grants terms to Garrett Byrne, &c.	778
Arthur O'Connor, and seventy three state prisoners propose, through Mr. Dobbs, a member of parliament, terms and confessions to government to save the lives of Oliver Bond and Byrne, then under sentence—The confession proposed, <i>Note</i> —Reference to Arthur O'Connor's letter to Lord Castlereagh, <i>Note</i>	779
O'Connor, Emmett, M'Nevin, and Neilson examined upon oath before the secret committee of both houses of parliament—Ministers notwithstanding keep the fifteen principal prisoners in confinement during the war—Byrne executed—Bond respited—Dies of an apoplexy in prison—The peace of the metropolis maintained by the yeomanry	780
The remnant of the rebel army with deserters from the regiments remain in the fastnesses of the Wicklow mountains, and in the woods—They make a depredatory war, Holt and Hacket their commanders	781
Retaliation of Protestants upon Catholics for the murders committed by this banditti—Hacket killed near Arklow—Holt surrenders to Lord Powerscourt on condition of being transported—The lord lieutenant's message to parliament	782
The lord lieutenant presents papers mentioned in his message all sealed up in a box—On the 27th of July the attorney general moves an act for attainder of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Cornelius Grogan, and Beauchamp Baginval Harvey—A bill of general amnesty followed some time after	783
Napper Tandy and about thirty other fugitives in France excepted from bill of general amnesty—Humane conduct of General Hunter and his brigade major Captain Fitzgerald in Wexford—The general stops the despotic cruelty of the Orangemen by threatening to get the refractory tied to a cart's tail and whipped	784
His remarkable answer to a curate reporting false alarms	785
Mr. Hawtrey White's false alarms—Cruelty exercised upon the miserable peasantry—General Hunter proves Hawtrey White a perjured and false alarmist	786
Several	

Several acquitted by the court martial of Wexford presided at by Lord Ancram, and after his departure by Sir James Fowles—Major Fitzgerald's letter to Mr. Hay, vouching for the authenticity of his history, <i>Note</i>	787
The execution of Mr. Walter Devereux notwithstanding protections—The weakness of French politics favours Ireland	788
Landing of Humbert's forces at Killala	789
Good conduct and discipline of the French general and his troops	790
The French take possession of Ballina	791
The royal army defeated shamefully at Castlebar—Rev. Mr. Gordon's observations upon this affair <i>Note</i>	792
The Marquis Cornwallis heads the army in person, and moves forward to stop the career of the enemy—The progress of the French retarded by the brave resistance of the Limerick militia near Coloony	793
The French abandon their plan against Sligo, and direct their march towards Granard in Longford	794
The French army surrender at Ballynamuck—The whole march of the French 122 Irish miles—The French lose after their landing about 200 men	795
Lord Cornwallis's plan prevents an insurrection in Granard and Cavan—Major General Trench with a large body of troops arrives at Killala—The rebels disperse after a severe conflict	796
Great expedition of the Kerry militia to relieve the town—Rashness and temerity of the rebels	797
A narration of this sad scene by the Bishop of Killala—The French keep the town thirty-two days	793
Great contempt of the French for the Catholic priests and Catholic populace—Description of their appearance and discipline	799
Their police in Killala and environs	800
The example of Killala followed by their other conquests—Question of legality in submitting to an invading enemy, and acting under him—General Bellew and Mr. Richard Bourke condemned by court-martial and hanged	801
Roger Mac Guire after a long imprisonment at Castlebar transported to Botany Bay—Mac Guire the father hanged—Returns of the army's loss during the rebellion, and that of the rebels	803

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Union with Great Britain.

OF the principle object of the Union—Parliament remains sitting throughout the rebellion—The chiefs of the rebellion examined before the secret committees of both houses—Their confessions published—The publication charged with misrepresentation in the popular prints	803
The lord chancellor reports from the committee—Examination of the chief rebels	804
Lord Cornwallis publishes a proclamation	806
Mr.	

OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

ix

Mr. Ogle's speech in the course of the debates on the attainder bill, <i>Note</i> —Mr. Grattan's letter from Twickenham 9th November, 1798, <i>Note</i>	807
Parliament prorogued on 6th November, 1798—The lord lieutenant's speech	808
The Earl of Enniskillen disgraced for his conduct on the trial of Wollaghan	809
The lord lieutenant's orders to General Craig, in consequence of the conduct of the court-martial presided by Lord Enniskillen	812
The lamentable fate of Theobald Wolfe Tone, founder of the Irish Union	813
Tried by a court-martial, pleads guilty, but asks for military execution, being denied which, he cut his throat the night before the execution—Opinion of the court of King's Bench on his trial by court-martial, sitting the King's Bench	814
The Orange societies multiplied upon the suppression of the rebellion—Case of the king against White and Goring, magistrates of the county of Tipperary, <i>Note</i>	815
Crimes fabricated by, and infamous conduct of some yeomen and magistrates—Inhumanity of Mr. T. Judkin Fitzgerald, sheriff of Tipperary	816
Incorporate union can alone release Ireland from the mischiefs of Orangism—Difference of opinions upon the question of <i>Union</i>	817
Prostitution of votes upon the occasion—Mr. Cooke's pamphlet circulated with great zeal and industry by ministers	818
A list of the principal writings for and against the measure, <i>Note</i>	819
The Earl of Clare at the head of the Unionists, the Right Hon. Mr. Foster leader of the Anti-unionists—Several dismissals from office—Meeting of the bar, Ambrose Smith in the chair—A resolution moved against an Union—Adjournment moved by St. George Daly	820
Upon a division, for the adjournment 32 against it 166—The city of Dublin opposes the measure	821
Resolutions of Dublin, the lord mayor in the chair—Case of George Sparks, Esq. oppressed by Wexford Orangemen, <i>Note</i>	822
The political war, for and against an Union, rages throughout the country	823
Meetings all over Ireland, even of the fellows and scholars of Trinity college—Parliament meets 22d January 1799—The viceroy's speech to both houses of parliament	824
An address moved from the lords—An amendment moved by Lord Powercourt—Rejected by a strong majority, 49 against 16—Lord Tyrone moves the address in the commons—Opposed by Sir John Parnell	827
After a debate of twenty-two hours the house divided, ayes for the amendment 105, noes 106—Adjourned till the 24th, when Sir Lawrence Parsons objects to the paragraph concerning the <i>Union</i> , saying, the question of an Union revives all the old political jealousies	852-3
Answer of the Irish parliament to King Edward, when summoned by him to England—Various other reasons against the measure alleged by Sir Lawrence Parsons	854
Lord Castlereagh disclaims any thought of re-arguing the question	855
On a division upon omitting or expunging the paragraph relative to an Union in the address, for the rejection of the paragraph 111, for its continuance 106; majority for the anti-unionists 5—A message from the king to the House of Lords in England, on the same day as in Ireland, proposing Union	875
A like message to the British House of Commons—Mr. Sheridan opposes bringing such a measure	forward

forward in the then state of affairs---Mr. Pitt replies, and the motion for taking his majesty's message, &c. is carried for the day following	876
Lord Grenville in the House of Peers moves for taking his majesty's message, &c.—Mr. Sheridan in the Commons opposes the measure as an infringement upon the rights of that nation declared in the Irish parliament in 1782, &c.—The declaration of the parliament of Ireland, <i>Note</i>	877
Mr. Sheridan concludes his speech by moving an amendment, expressing the surprise and deep regret with which the house, &c.	881
Mr. Canning answers Mr. Sheridan, and says the French revolution made a deep impression upon the minds of the Irish	882
The advantages of a closer connexion with England demonstrated—Mr. Canning concludes by recommending the measure	884
Mr. Pitt at length supports the measure, and offers various reasons which induce him thereto	885
The amendment rejected, and address voted	888
Mr. Pitt in a long speech enumerates the great advantages of the measure of an incorporate Union, acknowledging the competency of the Irish parliament to dispose for itself	889-90
The emancipation of Catholics considered as dangerous to the state in the then state of affairs, but practicable upon an Union	891
Want of capital and industry in Ireland	892
The loss of national independence of no weight when considered with regard to Ireland	893
The weakness of Ireland against an enemy.	894
Advantages of the Union for Ireland by a comparison with Scotland	895
He concludes by presenting eight resolutions—The resolutions reported at full length	896
Mr. Pitt concludes by moving an address, &c.—Mr. Sheridan opposes the plan as productive of discord and animosity	898
Mr. Sheridan concludes by presenting two resolutions—The resolutions at full length—Lord Hawkebury in support of the measure, and Dr. Lawrence against it	900
The house divides, 140 against 15—Mr. Pitt proposes a full discussion of the subject—Mr. Sheridan renews his opposition to the scheme	901
Mr. Pitt protests against Mr. Sheridan's resolutions—Mr. Grey contends for his friend's propositions, &c.—Division for the previous question, 141 against 25—Upon the formation of a committee for the discussion, the honorable Mr. St. John moves to have the question dismissed for the present	902
Messrs. Grey, Secretary Dundas, Sheridan, Wyndham, Tierney, Grant, and Smith, speak for and against the speaker's leaving the chair—Division, 149 against 24—The order of the day moved for a committee on the message—Mr. Sheridan recommends as a substitution for a legislative Union Catholic emancipation, which had been heretofore promised, and moves that it be an instruction to the committee to examine how far it would be conducive to the interests of Ireland to abolish all religious disabilities, &c.	906
This proposal upon the suggestion of Mr. Pitt rejected without a division—General Fitzpatrick, honorable Mr. Dudley Rider, Messrs. Tierney, Dundas, the solicitor general, the honorable Mr. Percival, Mr. Sylvester Douglas, and Dr. Lawrence, severally speak on the subject, as bearing a connexion with the arrangement in 1782	907-8
Upon a division, for the speaker's leaving the chair 131, against it 19—The opinion upon an union of	

of Lewins and Dr. Mc'Nevin at the meeting in Dublin, <i>Note</i> —The house in committee, Mr. Douglas takes the chair—Mr. Hobhouse recommends deferring the measure for the present, as obnoxious to the people of Ireland—Mr. Addington, the speaker, takes a general review of the relative situation of both countries in politics, commerce, and religion	909
Mr. Addington concludes by giving his full approbation to the measure—The five first resolutions of Mr. Pitt read and agreed to; the sixth, granting free trade, opposed by Mr. Wilberforce Bird—The remaining resolutions carried—Mr. Hobhouse states his reasons for opposing the measure—Lord Levison Gower is a friend to an union—Sir Robert Peel, though an enemy to the commercial propositions in 1785, approves of union—Lord Temple of the same opinion	912
Various other members speak for and against the proposed plan, which on a division is adopted, ayes for bringing up the report 120, noes 16—On the 18th February a conference between the lords and commons of the British parliament—Mr. Foster's great popularity in Ireland—Addressed by the city of Dublin, guild of merchants, &c.	913-14
Lord Castlereagh moves for an adjournment of the Irish parliament to 7th Feb.—Sir John Parnell opposes the adjournment, and urges the necessity of vigilance against the wiles of ministry	915
Mr. Barrington censures Mr. Pitt's speech—Sir Henry Cavendish supports the adjournment, and asserts, that the whole county of Cork desire an <i>Union</i> —Sir John Freke contradicts the report of the wifhes of Cork	916
The question is carried in the affirmative—Colonel Maxwell Barry moves for a call of the house on the 8th Feb.	917
The motion amended for the 11th Feb.—Sir Henry Cavendish, after prefacing upon the unruly conduct of people without doors, moves three resolutions—A report that the parliament was to be removed to Cork	918
A paragraph read from the Dublin Evening Post by the right honorable Denis Browne against the <i>corruption of ministry</i> , &c.—Meetings in the different counties of Anti-unionists—The address of the city of Galway remarkable for its conciseness and perspicuity	919
Great disunion in the city of Cork—Mr. Pitt's speech of the 23d January circulated throughout the empire in great profusion—A complaint carried to the Irish commons against a London Newspaper, called <i>The Sun</i>	920
A vote of the house to get the said paper burnt on College Green by the common hangman, and that the sheriffs of Dublin do attend, &c.—The county of Galway proclaimed in a state of disturbance—A list of the British troops in Ireland at this period	921
Personal applications of the viceroy in favor of the union—Speech of Lord Lansdowne upon the subject of union in the English lords 19th March, <i>Note</i> —Lord Rokeby's letter to the Marquis Cornwallis against union, <i>Note</i>	922
Lord Grenville opens the business in the British House of Peers 19th March, 1800	923
His lordship after a long speech, illustrative of the advantages of an union to both countries, and in particular to the Catholics of Ireland, moves the first resolution, &c.—Earl Fitzwilliam deems the question unreasonable	926
Catholic officers admitted in Ireland—Excluded in England, &c. &c.	927
Lord Fitzwilliam's declaration respecting Catholic emancipation	928
Reply of Lord Grenville—Explanation of Lord Fitzwilliam—Marquis of Lansdowne's observations upon the question in its full extent	929

The marquis's eulogium of Dean Tucker, and of Mr. Dobbs, a member of the Irish House of Commons	931
Earl Camden's defence of his own administration---The Marquis of Townsend for the measure---	
Lord Clifton declares for a legislative union, but declares how ignorant the English are of the real state of Ireland	932
Lords Hobart and Moira speak severally on the measure	933
Lord Moira animadverts upon several parts of Lord Grenville's speech, and asserts, that a man may be a brave and gallant foldier, a lover of the king and his country, though a believer in seven sacraments	934
Lords Holland, Mulgrave, Carlisle, Westmoreland, and the Duke of Portland, speak on the question---The house after a long debate agrees to the resolutions, and a day fixed for an address on the subject---Lord Grenville moves the address---Lord Auckland rises to discuss the subject upon other grounds than those already gone over, to wit, upon the commercial advantages	936
The Bishop of Llandaff argues for an union	937
Lord Minto succeeds the prelate in an elaborate speech to recommend an union	940
Advise a clause in the treaty of union, expressive of the just claims of the Catholics	943
The British ministers resolve to emancipate the Catholics by an act of the imperial parliament, <i>Note</i> ---Declarations of ministers communicated to Dr. Troy by the Marquis Cornwallis, <i>Note</i>	944
The King of Great Britain King of Ireland, the viceroy of Ireland amenable to a British tribunal; hence in some measure Ireland is subordinate to England	945
Lord Minto concludes by praying for a speedy union---Lords Holland, King, and Thanet protest---The address voted---A conference with the commons to have the address presented by both houses---The plan of union brought in the commons to a fresh discussion before they joined to present the address	947
After a long debate, in which several members take a part for and against the question, the address adopted---The address, <i>Note</i>	948
Mr. Dobbs's motion in the Irish parliament for a commutation of tithes---The loyalists claim bill---The rebel disqualification bill brought in by the members for Dublin city	949
After some debate, upon the motion of Sir Hercules Langrishe and attorney general, is lost---Lord Matthew presents a petition of Judkin Fitzgerald, late high sheriff of the county of Tipperary, praying for indemnity for certain acts, &c. to put down rebellion---The substance of the petition	950
Messrs. Holmes, Secretary Cooke, and the attorney general, bear testimony of the sheriff's services	952
The honorable Mr. Yelverton states to the house the cruelty and injustice of the sheriff's conduct towards Mr. White, and opposes the petition	953 to 955
Colonel Bagwell, member for the county of Tipperary, joins Mr. Yelverton, and gives an excellent character of the victim of the sheriff's cruelty	957
The sheriff obtains a considerable pension	958
Mr. Dawson's amendment in the rebellion bill rejected	959
The regency bill proposed by the late prime serjeant---The bill at length, <i>Note</i> ---Lord Castlereagh objects	960
	Mr.

Mr. Fitzgerald concludes by moving an amendment—Mr. Foster delivers his sentiments at considerable length—Censures Mr. Pitt's speech—10,000 copies of Mr. Pitt's speech circulated gratis, <i>Note</i> —Modification of Poyning's law secures the connection between the kingdoms	962
The measure of 1782 all constitutional—That of 1785 all commercial—The present system a measure of utter annihilation—The union proposed is compared by Mr. Foster to the union of both houses of parliament—The Irish parliament as competent to adjust the differences between Catholics and Protestants as an imperial legislature could be	963
Mr. Foster concludes by addressing his countrymen	965
Lord Castlereagh replies	966
Mr. George Ponsonby concurs with Mr. Foster—Mr. Fitzgerald's amendment carried unanimously—The regency bill postponed to the 1st of August—The union measure deferred also, by ministers, to the following sessions—The whole power of government employed in making profelytes for the <i>Union</i>	967
Lord Castlereagh moves for an adjournment to 1st June—Mr. Mason moves the speaker to issue his writ for the borough of Kilmalloe, in room of Mr. Oliver, who accepted the escheatorship of Munster—Mr. Dawson asks why Mr. Oliver should be preferred to Col. Cole, &c.—A long altercation upon the abuse of the government patronage of escheatorship, &c.	968
Mr. Martin praises the administration of Lord Cornwallis	973
The debate finishes by the question of adjournment, which passes by 47 against 33—The viceroy's speech from the throne	974
The session of the British parliament closed the 12th July—An extract from the king's speech relative to Ireland, <i>Note</i> —Intrigues and practices of both parties in Ireland—The influence of government increased by the lord lieutenant's progress through the kingdom	977
The British parliament assembles on 24th September—The Marquis of Buckingham moves the address, and marks his opinion of great benefits accruing to the empire at large from an incorporate union—Marquis Downshire, Earl Charlemont and W. Brab. Ponsonby send circular letters to invite the different counties, &c. to petition against the <i>Union</i>	978
The Downshire regiment taken from the Marquis of Donegal, and his name erased from the list of the privy council—The Roman Catholics, as a body, remain silent upon the question—They coalesce in some measures with the Unionists from their aversion to Orangemen—The Catholics attached to Lord Cornwallis—Difference of opinion among the Catholics of Dublin—Address of the Grand Orange Lodge Dublin, <i>Note</i>	979—80
The anti-unionist Catholics of Dublin hold a meeting at the Royal Exchange, Mr. Moore in the chair	981
Counsellor O'Connell's speech, and resolutions, <i>Note</i>	982
The Parliament meets 15th January, 1800—Mr. Grattan elected for the borough of Wicklow on the death of its member	983
The lord lieutenant's speech from the throne—No mention of the Union in the speech	984
Lord Viscount Loftus moves the address—Seconded by Col. Croftie	985
Sir Lawrence Parsons desires the lord lieutenant's speech at the close of the last session to be read, which being done he loudly animadverts upon the conduct of ministers in the wilful omission of a mention of the Union in the present speech, and moves an amendment	986
Lord Castlereagh answers the arguments of Sir Lawrence Parsons, and is supported by Mr. La Touche	987
Among	

Among the various assertions during this violent and long debate those of Mr. Bushe the boldest, <i>Note</i>	989
Mr. Grattan enters the house between Mr. W. B. Ponsonby and Mr. Moore—His speech against the measure	993
Mr. Corry replies to Mr. Grattan	998
On the division at ten o'clock in the morning the amendment was rejected by 138 against 96—An aggregate meeting of the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin is convened, in which strong resolutions against an Union are voted	999
The tenth resolution concludes with addresses to Messrs. Grattan, Foster, and Ogle	1000
Their answers to said addresses, <i>Note</i> —Petitions presented against the Union	1001
Mr. Bagwell member for the county of Tipperary, declares he has changed his mind and will vote against an Union with his constituents	1002
Sir Lawrence Parsons states to the house the conduct of Sheriff Derby and Col. Rogers in intimi- dating Anti-Unionists from petitioning—And moves resolutions against them—Opposed by Lord Castlereagh—A message from the lord lieutenant laying before the house the plan of the Union	1003
Lord Castlereagh comments upon the obstacles to, as well as encouragement given by the country to the measure	1004
The wish of the projectors of the Union to follow the modes employed for that of Scotland, &c.	1005
Complete identity of power, necessary in cases of war and peace—Abdication of the crown of one realm. Responsibility of ministers, &c.	1006
The financial proportions of the two countries established upon an average, &c.	1007
The revenues and standing debts of both countries—Scale of present and future taxation	1009
Peace and war establishment of Ireland and Great Britain	1010
The commercial interests of both countries	1011
Manufactures, duties, premiums, and drawbacks	1012
Great Britain favoring the Irish linen manufactory	1013
Countervailing duties and charges upon re-exportation of native, foreign, and colonial goods con- sidered—The prospect of a great woollen and sail cloth trade presented to Ireland by an Union	1014
The interests of the Protestant with the natural rights of the Catholic secured by Union	1015
The Catholic clergy free from any imputation of bribery	1016
The parliamentary representation in proportion to wealth and population—The appointment of peers, and number	1017
Future representation of the commons—Compensation for boroughs disfranchised	1018
Provision for the continuance of the existing laws and law courts	1019
And concludes by a general outline of the measure, and a warm panegyric on the British minister, Mr. George Ponsonby represents the foregoing advantages as merely visionary, and opposes the scheme	1020
Mr. Grattan's remarkable questions to the house in concluding his speech against the measure	1023
The house divides—For the minister 158—Against him 115	1034
The Earl of Clare, upon the order of the day being read in the House of Lords, calls their lord- ships attention to the Union	1025
	And

- And concludes an able speech by asserting his most ardent wishes would be for the measure—Earl of Clare's speech in the English House of Lords—After Union injurious to his country—Report that he repented sorely his conduct, *Note* ———— 1032
- The Marquis of Downshire opposes the measure—After a long debate the first resolution passed by 75 against 26 ———— 1033
- The House of Lords put into a committee to take the message into further consideration the 11th March—A committee moved for in the commons to take into consideration the particular terms of the Union—A very warm debate upon the subject, in which Colonel Vercker and the Hon. George Knox take part—Counsellor Goold enters at large into the subject, and concludes by asserting the novelty of a parliament annihilating itself by the weight of its crimes or its legislative impotency—The motion of adjournment though negatived by a majority of 47, is assented to by the minister ———— 1034
- The chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Corry, bestows much abuse upon Mr. Grattan—Mr. Grattan replies—General Hutchinson speaks in favor of the measure—The duel between Messrs. Grattan and Corry, *Note* ———— 1035
- Mr. Foster represents the degradation of the peerage of Ireland, enters largely upon the plan proposed of future finance, of the peerages for life, &c. ———— 1037
- After several interesting speeches for and against the question, it is carried in favor of the minister by a majority of 46—Lord Castlereagh moves for assent of the committee to the first articles of the plan—Messrs. O'Hara, O'Donnel, Tighe, Lord Corry, W. Brab. Ponsonby, and J. C. Beresford declare against the terms as well as the principle—Mr. Saurin calls the attention of the committee to the modes made use of to gain a parliamentary majority, and concludes by disclaiming any responsibility in the calamitous consequences ———— 1039
- The attorney general, Messrs. Monk Mason, Ormsby and Serjeant Stanley approve of the measure and praise ministers for planning it—The first day of the following January is fixed upon for the commencement of the Union of the two kingdoms—The article for the settlement of the crown votes by the committee—4 March, Mr. George Ponsonby proposes an address to the king, flating petitions from twenty-six counties and various cities and towns were presented to parliament conformable to the constitutional rights of the people against a legislative Union—Lord Castlereagh opposes the motion as encouraging a popular interference in questions of such moment and in such critical times ———— 1040
- After a long debate the question is disposed of by a motion for adjournment, ayes 155, noes 107 —10th March, the subject of parliamentary representation settled—Upon the question moved to fix the compensation for the annihilated boroughs, Messrs. Plunket and Goold speak feverally and vehemently against such corruption—Sir John Freke presents a petition with 1800 signatures from Cork, against an union—General Hutchinson asserts, that the real sense of the people was not conveyed through said petition—Sir John Parnell moves an address to the king to convoke a new parliament—Mr. Alexander opposes the motion ———— 1041
- Mr. Saurin maintains the necessity of appealing to their constituents—The solicitor general reproaches Mr. Saurin's doctrine—Mr. Grattan vindicates the barrister—On a division, for the address 104—Against it 150—The article concerning the identity of churches, parliaments, &c. of the two kingdoms—passed—The sixth article passed the 19th March—Upon the house resuming for receiving the report, Mr. O'Hara objects to the ratio of contribution for Ireland as being too high
Mr.

—Mr. Grattan expatiates anew upon the impolicy of an union—Mr. Foster, Messrs. George Ponsonby and Saurin oppose the report of the resolutions—The report carried by the usual majority—Sir Lawrence Parsons expresses still a hope that gentlemen would stand forward in defence of the country	1042
The resolutions are sanctioned—The articles at length, No. CXIX. Appendix—A message informing the lords that the commons had agreed to the articles of the union—The peers announce to the House of Commons their approbation with the reserve of a few amendments—Lord Castlereagh moves for an address, &c.—In the Irish peers Lord Farnham opposes the 4th article, alleging, that the Irish peerage was not represented, &c.—Lord Chief Baron Yelverton supports the contrary opinion, arguing from the arrangement in 1782	1043
Two amendments proposed by the Earl of Clare respecting the extinction and creations of Irish peerages—All the articles agreed to and the report confirmed—The Earl of Bellamont renews his opposition to the general measure—A motion for delay—Negatived by 47 against 18	1044
The original motion of a message carried, 72 against 22—The articles of union pass as dictated by the British minister—The Duke of Portland on the 2d of April communicates a message to the British House of Lords from the king—The message, <i>Note</i>	1045
In the British peers Lord Grenville moves the address—Lord Holland opposes—A motion for a committee—Lord Grenville replies	1046
Upon a division the address carried with only three dissentient peers, viz. Earl Derby, Lords Holland and King—Mr. Pitt moves in the British House of Commons, the order of the day to consider the King's message—Mr. Jones opposes	1047
Refers to the speech of Mr. Foster, <i>Note</i>	1048
The motion for the committee agreed to	1049
Mr. Pitt discusses the mode of carrying the union into effect; goes over the same grounds and same arguments as made use of in the Irish parliament, and concludes by submitting the manner of accomplishing it to the wisdom of the committee—Mr. Grey against the measure of union	1052
Mr. Grey enters into a narrative of the union with Scotland, and concludes his speech by moving for an address to his majesty, praying to suspend for some time the zeal of his ministers—Mr. Johnstone in a maiden speech, Messrs. Gregory Page, Turner, and General Loftus approve of the measure—Dr. Lawrence opposes it as unjust and impolitic—Mr. Sheridan opposes it upon a conviction, that it was not relished by the Irish people, &c.	1056
Mr. Grey's motion is negatived by 236 against 30—The three first articles voted—The majorities upon the other articles in the like proportion—Lord Hawkesbury's speech upon the general nature of representation in parliament	1057
Difference between the Scotch and Irish peers as stated by Lord Grenville—Lord Mulgrave objects to the Irish peers eligibility for sitting in the commons—The chancellor of the exchequer supports the original clause—Lord Mulgrave's motion negatived by 50 against 7—Lord Holland moves, that some pledge be given to the Catholics, promising relief from the disabilities under which that respectable body laboured	1058
Lord Borlington opposes the motion as unreasonable—The Marquis of Lansdowne is convinced of the wisdom of the measure at large and not inimical to the motion	1059
Lord Fitzwilliam thought the motion conciliatory and expedient—Lord Hobart and the Earl of Liverpool moved the previous question—The Earl of Moira wished the previous question might be	

- be withdrawn—Lord Grenville thought that the question of Catholic emancipation would be best treated by an united parliament—The previous question superseded the motion—Several petitions from the woollen manufacturers of Great Britain presented to the House of Commons against the free exportation of raw materials, &c.—Witnesses examined at the bar—The commercial article passed the 1st May, 1800 ————— 1060
- Mr. Banks in the course of the debates was of opinion, that the scheme was hazardous from the discontent of the Catholics—Sir William Young declares the union very much approved of by the Catholics, from the report of Lord Kenmare—The second reading of the resolutions ordered, —For the second reading, 208, against it, 26—On the 5th May the commercial article with its clauses, agreed to ————— 1061
- Various motions in the House of Commons by Dr. Lawrence, Mr. Grey, Sir William Dolben, and Mr. Tierney—All negatived—An address voted, importing, that the House of Commons observed with satisfaction, that the articles transmitted from Ireland were conformable to those voted in that house last session—The address communicated to the peers—On the 7th permission granted to Irish peers to represent British counties or boroughs ————— 1062
- Upon the peers being moved to join in the address, Lord Bolton speaks in favor of union, recurring to the commercial propositions, 1785; on the house dividing, after a long and animated debate, on the merits and demerits of the union, and the lords joining in the address, the motion for the address is carried by 54 against 7—Lord Castlereagh moves in the Irish House of Commons for a bill to regulate the election of members for the Imperial parliament—He states the leading principles, and nominates the towns or cities most entitled from wealth and population to be represented in the imperial parliament ————— 1063
- The motion opposed as premature, but carried by a majority of 55—The bill passes the house the 20th May, 1800—This bill comprised the mode of electing the commons and peers, spiritual and temporal, for the Imperial parliament, as well then, as hereafter—The resolutions sent back from England referred by the Irish commons to a private committee ————— 1064
- Sir Lawrence Parsons moves for a consideration in a general committee—The motion lost—The resolutions formed into a bill and leave to introduce it—*A bill for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland*, carried by 160 against 100—Mr. Grattan moves to put off the bill till the 1st of August, branding it with constitutional murder carried through by force of martial law and corruption—Lord Castlereagh defends the bill, and censures Mr. Grattan's language as inflammatory—Sir John Parnell repels any traitorous disposition in the Anti-unionists—A violent debate 1065
- Mr. Grattan's motion lost by 124 against 87—Lord Corry moves a long address to the king against the bill—Seconded by Messrs. Saurin, Goold, Egan, and J. C. Beresford—Opposed by the attorney general. The address negatived by 135 against 77—Address comprising the arguments of the Anti-unionists in the appendix, No. CXX—Many Anti-unionists retire from the house—The bill carried up to the peers—On its second reading the Earls Farnham and Bellamont offer some clauses, which are negatived—The bill passes the committee without amendment, and read a third time 13th of June—A protest entered by the Duke of Leinster and the other dissenting peers 1066
- The minister's plan of indemnity for the extinction of boroughs, at the rate of 15,000*l.* each borough exposes a necessary demand by way of grant upon the public, of 1,260,000*l.*—Mr. Saurin, C. Beresford, and Mr. Dawson maintain, that they had no right to indemnity—Mr. Prendergast maintains the justice of the plan, which was adopted—The same plan presented to the lords
- VOL. II. c and

and only opposed by the Earl of Farnham—The Anti-unionists give up the question for lost—	
A list of the members who voted for and against this great question, and the parliamentary arrangements preparatory therefore, appendix, No. CXXII.—After the bill passed the Irish parliament, Mr. Pitt introduces a similar bill in the British Commons—Sent on the 24th June to the British Peers—The British bill receives the royal assent, 2d July, 1800—The British parliament prorogued—His majesty's speech to both houses	1067
The royal assent given in Ireland to the Union bill on the anniversary of the accession of the House of Brunswick to the thrones of Great Britain and Ireland, 1st August, 1800—The act at length in the Appendix, No. CXXIII.—The lord lieutenant's speech to both houses of the Irish parliament	1068
The example of the Scotch Union followed upon the elections of members for the united parliament—Not one of the peers who voted against the union are to be found in the number of the elected, <i>Note</i>	1069
A list of the members drawn by ballot for the Imperial parliament	1070
His majesty enters the House of Lords 31 Dec. 1800—The Commons commanded to attend—The speaker of the House of Commons addresses his majesty—His majesty's speech from the throne to both houses of parliament	1071
The Lord Chancellor signifies his majesty's commands, that the proclamation be read, &c.—The proclamation at length	1072
Other proclamations read, declaring what ensigns and colours should be borne by sea	1076

THE CONTENTS

OF THE

APPENDIX to the SECOND VOLUME.

No.

LXX.	THE difference between Messrs. Flood and Grattan ; from the debates in the Irish House of Commons	1 to 19
LXXI.	Mr. Monck Mason's speech against parliamentary reform	19 to 30
LXXII.	The speeches of Mr. Grattan and Mr. Beresford on the revenues of Ireland	30 to 41
LXXIII.	The speech of Mr. Gardner on Irish commerce	41 to 51
LXXIV.	Pastoral exhortation of the Right Rev. Doctor Troy, the Catholic Bishop of Ossory, to his flock	51 to 52
LXXV.	Address presented to his majesty, at St. James's, by the lords and Commons on the 29th of July 1785, and his majesty's answer	52 to 55
LXXVI.	Speech of Mr. Grattan on the East India trade	55 to 73
LXXVII.	The resolutions of the Irish House of Commons, relating to the treaty of navigation and commerce with the French king	73 to 76
LXXVIII.	Mr. Grattan's speech upon tithes	76 to 122
LXXIX.	Correct list of the majority and minority on the questions respecting the regency, with a list of those members who did not vote on those questions	122 to 130
LXXX.	Protests upon the regency	130 to 132
LXXXI.	Division of the House of Lords on a motion for adjourning the consideration of the address to the Prince of Wales, to a distant day	132 to 137
LXXXII.	Report of the commissioners on the police bill	137 to 141
LXXXIII.	Mr. Grattan's second speech upon tithes	141 to 165
LXXXIV.	Declaration of the Catholic society of Dublin	165 to 171
LXXXV.	The constitution of the United Irishmen in 1791	171 to 173
LXXXVI.	The address that was presented to his Excellency John, Earl of Westmorland, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland	173 to 175
LXXXVII.	Declaration of the society of the United Irishmen	175 to 179
LXXXVIII.	Declaration of the Catholics of Ireland	179 to 182
LXXXIX.	Proceedings of the sub-committee of Roman Catholics	182 to 187

CONTENTS OF THE APPENDIX

XC. Resolutions relative to the Catholic admission to the elective franchise	187 to 199
XCI. Queries to foreign universities, with their answers	199 to 204
XCII. Opinions of Messrs. Butler and Burston upon the Catholic delegation	204 to 209
XCIII. Circular letter addressed to the Catholic gentlemen of the kingdom of Ireland, with a plan for electing delegates	209 to 211
XCIV. Declaration	211 to 215
XCV. Petition of the Catholics of Ireland	215 to 224
XCVI. A list of all the boroughs in Ireland, and their respective patrons	224 to 228
XCVII. A bill for amending and improving the state of the representation of the people in parliament	228 to 235
XCVIII. Kildare resolutions against the Defenders	235 to 239
XCIX. Lord Viscount Gosford's address to the grand jury of Armagh	239 to 242
C. Mr. Arthur O'Connor's address to his fellow citizens, for which he was confined by an order of the privy council	242 to 251
CI. By the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland, a proclamation	251 to 252
CII. Doctor Francis Moylan to his beloved flock, the Roman Catholics of the diocese of Corke	252 to 254
CIII. The appeal of the people of Ulster to their countrymen, and to the empire at large	254 to 262
CIV. Mr. Pelham's letter to General Lake, 3d March	262 to 265
CV. By the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland, a proclamation	265 to 269
CVI. Proceedings of the freemen and freeholders of Dublin and of Corke	269 to 275
CVII. Loyal declarations of Catholics and of Orangemen	275 to 280
CVIII. To the meeting of freemen and freeholders, assembled at the Exchange, on Saturday, the 29th of July	280 to 284
CIX. A pastoral letter to the Catholic clergy of the united dioceses of Waterford and Lismore, by the Right Reverend Doctor Hufsey, and two letters of Mr. Burke to Doctor Hufsey	284 to 294
CX. Address of the Roman Catholics of Ireland	294 to 297
CXI. Addressees of the Dissenters and Catholics	297 to 298
CXII. Roman Catholic chapels destroyed or damaged during the late rebellion	299 to 300
CXIII. Mr. Hay's letter to the Rev. Mr. Gordon	300 to 303
CXIV. Resolutions of the united army of Wexford	303 to 305
CXV. Refutation of the charges against Dr. Caulfield and the Catholic clergy of Wexford	306 to 309
CXVla. A list of the members who voted against and for an Union with Great Britain on the 24th of January, 1799	309 to 312
CXVI. Copy of a letter from Dr. Caulfield to James Boyd, Esq.	312 to 313
CXVII. Resolutions in favor of Mr. Foster, and the address of the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor, sheriffs, commons, and citizens of Dublin in common council assembled	313 to 318
CXVIII. Addressees of Roman Catholics upon the Union	318 to 323
CXIX. The articles of Union	323 to 333
CXX. The	

TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

xxi

CXX. The House of Commons was moved, that the following address be presented to his majesty	333 to 348
CXXI. Protest of the Irish peers against the Union	348 to 359
CXXII. A correct list of all the writs issued with a view to parliamentary arrangements in Ireland, in the year 1800	359 to 366
CXXIII. An act for the Union of Great Britain with Ireland, the 2d of July, 1800	366 to 399
CXXIV. Proclamation respecting the arms or ensigns armorial of the united kingdom	399 to 400

ERRATA

ERRATA TO PART II. VOL. II.

- Page 722, Line 27, third word, for *of* read *off*.
786, line 28, for *far so* read *so far*.
848, line 25, for *against* read *for*.
969, line 33, for *is* read *was*.
1043, line 2, for *no* read *so*.
1059, line 6, for *its* read *his*.
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CHAPTER VII.

OF THE REBELLION IN 1798.

NOTWITHSTANDING the discoveries made by Reynolds and Armstrong, and the consequent arrests of the principal conspirators with their papers, from which circumstance the rebels were left without heads to plan, or officers to execute their designs, yet so deeply and widely was the flame of rebellion spread, that it was impossible to suppress the volcano from the eruption, which had been long settled for the 23d of May. It appears, that the plan of attack formed by Lord Edward Fitzgerald had been communicated to most of the rebels; for their first open acts of hostility, though apparently fortuitous, irregular, and confused, bore evident marks of a deep laid scheme for surprizing the military by separate, though simultaneous attacks, to surround in a cordon the city of Dublin, and cut off all succours and resources from without. On that day Mr. Neilson* and some other of the leading conspirators were arrested; and the city and county of Dublin were proclaimed by the lord lieutenant and council in a state of insurrection; the guards at the castle, and all the great objects of attack were trebled; and in fact the whole city was converted into a besieged garrison. Thus the rebels were unable to effect any thing by surprise. Without leaders, and almost without arms or ammunition, the infatuated multitude ventured on the bloody contest. Notwithstanding the apparent forwardness of the north, the first commotions appeared in different parts of Leinster. The northern and Connaught-mail coaches were stopped by parties of the insurgents on the night of the 23d of May; and, at about twelve o'clock on the morning of the 24th, a large body of rebels attacked the town and gaol of Naas, about

* Mr. Neilson was seized between nine and ten in the evening, by Gregg, the keeper of Newgate, as he was reconnoitring the prison: a scuffle ensued, and Neilson snapped a pistol at him: by the intervention of two yeomen, he was secured and committed. It is reported, and appears probable, that a large number of the conspirators who were awaiting his orders, having lost their leader, dispersed for that night.

fourteen miles from Dublin, where Lord Gosford commanded.* As the guard had been seasonably increased, in expectation of such an attack, the assailants were repulsed, and driven into a narrow avenue, where, without order or discipline, they sustained for some time the attack of the Armagh militia, and of the fencible corps raised by Sir Watkins William Wynne, and known by the name of the Ancient Britons. The king's troops lost two officers, and about thirty men; and the rebels, as was reported, lost 140 in the contest and their flight. They were completely dispersed, and several of them taken prisoners. On the same day, a small division of his majesty's forces were surprised at the town of Prosperous; and a detachment at the village of Clane cut their way through to Naas, with considerable loss. About the same time, General Dundas encountered a large body of insurgents on the hills near Kilcullin, and 130 of these misguided persons were left dead upon the field.

On the following day, a body of about 400 rebels, under the command of two gentlemen of the names of Ledwich and Keough, marched from Rathfarnham, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, along the foot of the mountain towards Belgatt and Cloudalkin: in their progress, they were met by a party of thirty-five dragoons, under the command of Lord Roden. After some resistance, the rebels were defeated, great numbers were killed and wounded, and their leaders Ledwich and Keough were taken. They were immediately tried by a court martial, and executed, having pleaded in vain, that they had been forced into the service.

Although the first effort of the rebels had been thus defeated, still they entertained the most sanguine hopes of succeeding in another attempt. Ge-

* The preparation to receive the rebels at Naas proceeded from the following circumstance: Lord Gosford, who commanded the Armagh militia, a part of which was quartered at Naas, was on that day in Dublin, and whilst he was conversing with Mr. Cook, in the castle, an anonymous letter was received, announcing the intended attack of Naas on that night by a numerous band of rebels, who were then hovering about that town. Lord Gosford was more stricken with the letter than the under secretary; he took it with him, and instantly set out for Naas. On his arrival there, his son, who commanded the regiment in his absence, shewed him a similar letter, in the same hand-writing, which he had that day received at Naas. Upon this double information, the sincerity of the anonymous informer seemed no longer questionable, and the garrison was immediately prepared for defence, which the rebels, who lay concealed at the backs of the houses, did not expect: this fortunate preparation saved the garrison from surprise. This discomfiture of the rebels in their first attack, gave confidence and spirit to the army, and by several of the rebels was considered as ominous.

General Lake, who, upon the resignation of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, had been appointed commander in chief, published the following notice on the morning of the 24th of May :

“ Lieutenant General Lake, commanding his majesty’s forces in this kingdom, having received from his excellency the lord lieutenant, full powers to put down the rebellion, and to punish rebels in the most summary manner, according to martial law, does hereby give notice to all his majesty’s subjects, that he is determined to exert the powers entrusted to him in the most vigorous manner, for the immediate suppression of the same; and that all persons acting in the present rebellion, or in any wise aiding or assisting therein, will be treated by him as rebels, and punished accordingly.”

“ And Lieutenant General Lake hereby requires all the inhabitants of the city of Dublin (the great officers of state, members of the houses of parliament, privy counsellors, magistrates, and military persons, in uniform, excepted), to remain within their respective dwellings from nine o’clock at night till five in the morning, under pain of punishment.”

On the same morning also, for better securing the peace of the city, the lord mayor published the following proclamation :

“ THOMAS FLEMING.

“ WHEREAS the circumstances of the present crisis demand every possible precaution, these are therefore to desire all persons who have registered arms, forthwith to give in (in writing) an exact list or inventory of such arms at the town clerk’s office, who will file and enter the same in a book to be kept for that purpose; and all persons who have not registered their arms, are hereby required forthwith to deliver up to me, or some other of the magistrates of this city, all arms and ammunition of every kind in their possession: And if, after this proclamation, any person having registered their arms shall be found not to have given in a true list or inventory of such arms; or if any person who has not registered, shall be found to have in their power or possession any arms or ammunition whatever, such person or persons will, on such arms being discovered, be forthwith sent on board his majesty’s navy, as by law directed.

“ And I do hereby desire, that all housekeepers do place upon the outside of their doors a list of all persons in their respective houses, distinguishing such as are strangers from those who actually make part of their family:

“ but as there may happen to be persons who, from pecuniary embarrass-
 “ ments, are obliged to conceal themselves, I do not require such names to
 “ be placed on the outside of the door, provided their names are sent to me.
 “ And I hereby call upon all his majesty’s subjects within the county of the
 “ city of Dublin immediately to comply with this regulation, as calculated
 “ for the public security; as those persons who shall wilfully neglect a regu-
 “ lation so easy and salutary, as well as persons giving false statements of the
 “ inmates of their houses, must, in the present crisis, abide the consequences
 “ of such neglect.”

These measures of government so far appeased the turbulence of the in-
 surgents, and tranquillized the metropolis, that the House of Commons met
 amidst the surrounding din of arms, and uninterruptedly went through the
 business of the day. Lord Castlereagh presented to them a message from the
 lord lieutenant, that he thought it his indispensable duty, with the advice
 of the privy council, under the present circumstances of the kingdom, to
 issue a proclamation,* which he had ordered to be laid before the House of
 Commons,

* The following is the form of that proclamation.

“ By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland—A Proclamation.

“ CAMDEN.

“ HIS excellency the lord lieutenant, by and with the advice of the privy
 “ council, has issued orders to all the general officers, commanding his majesty’s forces, to punish
 “ all persons acting, aiding, or in any manner assisting in the rebellion, which now exists, within
 “ this kingdom, and has broken out in the most daring and violent attacks upon his majesty’s
 “ forces, according to martial law, either by death or otherwise, as to them shall seem expedient,
 “ for the punishment and suppression of all rebels in their several districts, of which all his majesty’s
 “ subjects are hereby required to take notice.

“ Given at the council chamber in Dublin, the 24th day of May, 1798.

“ W. Armagh,	Ely,	J. Beresford,
“ Clare, C.	Dillon,	J. Parnell,
“ Charles Cashell,	Perry,	H. Cavendish,
“ W. Tuam,	O’Neill,	J. Blaquiere,
“ Waterford,	Carleton,	H. Langrishe,
“ Drogheda,	Castlereagh,	Theo. Jones,
“ Ormond and Ossory,	H. Meath,	Jos. Cooper,
“ Westmeath,	G. L. Kildare,	D. Latouche,
“ Shannon,	Mulkerry,	J. Monck Mason,
“ Bellamont,	Glintworth,	Arthur Wolfe,
		“ Roden,

Commons, to whom he remarked, the time for speaking was now gone by, and that period at last come, when deeds and not words were to shew the dispositions of members of that house, and of every man who truly valued the constitution of the land, or wished to maintain the laws, and protect the lives and properties of his majesty's subjects. Every thing which courage, honor, fortune, could offer in the common cause, was now called for. The rebels had openly thrown off the mask, and avowed themselves in open arms; and notwithstanding their numbers and desperation, he found no reason to tremble for the issue of the contest, but expected that in a few days it would be decided, to their utter discomfiture and destruction.

Afterwards the chancellor of the exchequer rose and said, that the events which had so recently occurred had fully proved the measures taken by government were right, and fully justified the house in the support which it had already given with so much spirit and promptitude to his excellency on the occasion. He then moved the following resolution: "That an humble
" address be presented to his excellency the lord lieutenant, to express our
" cordial acknowledgment for the message sent this day by his excellency
" to the house. We entirely approve the decisive measure his excellency has
" taken by the advice of the privy council, however we may lament its ne-
" cessity. We renew our engagement of support, we reflect on the general
" firmness and vigor which are manifested, we feel the fullest assurance, that
" the rebellion will be speedily crushed."

Colonel Maxwell rose to express his hearty assent to the address, and to second the motion. He sincerely gave great credit to the government for the measures they had adopted through the whole of that business. He observed, the rebels were now in open arms against his majesty's forces, and against them the proclamation of that day was directed. The principal fomenters and leaders of the rebellion were in prison, and as the object of vesting confidentially an absolute authority in the executive, was for the purpose of crushing rebellion as speedily as possible, and insuring the security of the state, he would submit to the wisdom of the house, whether it would not be

" Roden,	Rossmore,	Robert Ross,
" Altamont,	Tyrawley,	Isaac Corry,
" Glandore,	John Foster,	Lodge Morres.
" Farnham,		

" GOD save the KING."

right and necessary, that military executions should have retrospect to those persons that were then confined, and that they should be disposed of as expeditiously as possible, in order that the rebels, who looked up to them as leaders, might no longer derive any encouragement from the expectation of rescuing them at a future day from their captivity.

Lord Castlereagh most earnestly besought gentlemen, that they would not suffer the zeal and warmth of their feelings on this occasion to run away with their good sense; that they would not proceed to that which would be unconstitutional indeed; but above all, he conjured them not to press a measure upon his excellency, which must brand his administration with the imputation of cruelty, and sink it to the same degraded and sanguinary level with that government, which sought to destroy the happiest constitution. For Heaven's sake, let not gentlemen press a general and indiscriminating system of unnecessary vengeance, nor call upon his excellency to violate the great duty of the executive, that of administering justice in mercy. He most earnestly conjured them not to think of clogging the address by any such amendment as that suggested, nor in their laudable zeal for the repression of rebellion to close the door of mercy against the deluded inhabitants of Ireland, disposed to return to their allegiance, and whom the state was anxious once more to embrace in its parental arms.

The question being put, was carried *nem. con.* and on the motion of Lord Castlereagh, ordered to be presented as expeditiously as possible to his excellency, by such members as were of his majesty's privy council.

The house on the motion of Lord Castlereagh adjourned to that day se'nnight.

The rigorous vigilance of government within the capital kept such of the conspirators from rising, who remained in the city for the purposes of internal insurrection: but the seizure of so many of their leaders prevented any concert or command, and consequently effect in their movements. The country was in the mean time beset in every direction for twenty or thirty miles around with different corps of this undisciplined and ferocious rabble, acting for the most part half armed, and without plan or command. They generally awaited the signal, which they expected, of the castle, the barracks, and the whole city of Dublin, being in their possession. It was a most melancholy proof of the progress of rebellion, that every person almost without distinction, in and about Dublin, whose situation in life put him in the
occasion

occasion of retaining any number of men either as servants, artificers, workmen, or labourers, was suddenly left and abandoned by those persons attending their respective posts for the general rising. These are awful lessons of the powerful force of secret combinations, in a people linked together at first upon fair principles, cemented by a common cause of unquestionable grievance, at last goaded into revenge and despair by cruelty. The determined secrecy, and silence, and energy, and confidence, and boldness of some hundred thousands of every description, mostly in the lowest orders of society, fill the mind with the most alarming gloom, that the roots of such an inveterate hold of the passions may be still gaining strength in the ground, above which they have for a season ceased to send forth any shoots. Future prevention and remedy must be radical, if unfortunately again these evils should return. The pruning knife in lopping off a single twig gives germination to a little forest. This cautious reserve or malignant check upon the passions of a ferocious multitude, whilst it fills the mind with dread, loudly acquits the body of the base charge of systematic assassination. Had such been their design, the admission into families must have been their first object: and yet it is lamentably true, that scarcely was there a family of consequence throughout the nation, in which several sworn members of the union were not to be found. War having now been openly commenced by the rebels, government proceeded to the strongest measures of coercion. Although by no public official act were the picketings, stranglings, floggings, and torturings to extort confessions, justified or sanctioned, yet it is universally known, that under the very eye of government, and with more than their tacit permission, were these outrages practised, in defiance of the constitution as admitted by all, in defiance of humanity and policy as maintained by most men. In mentioning the Irish government, it is not meant, that this system proceeded from its chief governor: it was boasted to have been extorted from him. And to this hour it is not only defended and justified, but panegyricized by the advocates and creatures of the infuriate drivers of that system of terrorism.

So far from there being any doubt of the existence of any such practices a short time previous to and during the rebellion, that Sir Richard Musgrave has, in an additional appendix to his memoirs of the different rebellions in Ireland, given to the public his observations upon whipping and free quarters. He admits indeed, that whosoever considers it abstractedly, must of course
condemn

condemn it as obviously repugnant to the letter of the law, the benign principles of our constitution, and those of justice and humanity ; but he was convinced, that such persons as dispassionately considered the existing circumstances, and the pressure of the occasion under which it was adopted, would readily admit them to be, if not an excuse, at least an ample extenuation of that practice. “ Suppose,” says he, “ the fullest information could have been obtained of the guilt of every individual, it would have been impracticable to arrest and commit the multitude. Some men of discernment and fortitude perceived, that some new expedient must be adopted to prevent the subversion of government, and the destruction of society ; and whipping was resorted to.

“ As to the violation of the forms of the law by this practice, it should be recollected, the law of nature, which suggested the necessity of it, supercedes all positive institutions, as it is imprinted on the heart of man for the preservation of his creatures, as it speaks strongly and instinctively, and as its end will be baffled by the slowness of deliberation.

“ When the sword of civil war is drawn, the laws are silent. As to the violation of humanity, it should be recollected, that nothing could exceed the cruelty of this banditti ; that their object was the extirpation of the loyalists ; that of the whippers, the preservation of the community at large.

“ This practice was never sanctioned by government, as they, on the contrary, used their utmost exertions to prevent it ; and the evidence extorted from the person whipped never was used to convict any person, and was employed for no other person but to discover concealed arms, and to defeat the deleterious schemes of the traitors. Free quarter was confined merely to the province of Leinster.

“ When government were possessed of the evidence, that the inhabitants of a village or a town, who had taken the usual oaths to lull and deceive the magistrates, were possessed of concealed arms, and meditated an insurrection and massacre, they sent amongst them a certain number of troops, whom they were obliged to maintain by contributions levied on themselves. This took place a few days before the rebellion broke out.

“ It has been universally allowed, that the military severities practised in the county of Kildare occasioned a premature explosion of the plot, which the directory intended to have deferred, till the French effected a landing ; and one of them, Mr. Emmet, declared, in his evidence upon oath, before

“ fore the secret committee of the lords, that, but for the salutary effects
 “ of those military severities, there would have been a very general and for-
 “ midable insurrection in every part of the country:”

This warm advocate for the torture has not with his usual minuteness favoured his reader with any instances of innocent persons having undergone this severe trial from wanton suspicion, personal revenge, or malevolent cruelty. Yet many such there were; as must necessarily be the case, where the very cast of a countenance that displeased a corporal or common yeoman sufficed to subject the unfortunate passenger to this military ordeal. No man can give credit to the assertion, that *government used their utmost exertions to prevent it*, who knows any thing of the state of Ireland at that disastrous period. In Beresford's Riding House, Sandy's Prevot, the Old Custom House, the Royal Exchange, some of the barracks, and other places in Dublin, there were daily, hourly notorious exhibitions of these torturings, as there also were in almost every town, village, or hamlet throughout the kingdom, in which troops were quartered.*

Many attacks were made by the rebels on the second day of the rebellion (the 24th of May), generally with ill success; the chief of which were those of Carlow, Hacketstown, and Monastereven. There were also several skirmishes near Rathfarnham, Tallagh, Lucan, Luske, Dunboyne, Barretstown, Collon, and Baltinglass. At Dunboyne and Barretstown the insurgents are allowed to have had the advantage. But in all the other rencontres, though greatly superior in numbers, they were easily defeated with incredible loss of their men.

The non-arrival of the mail coach at the usual hour of eight o'clock in the morning at Carlow, was to be the signal for rising there and in its vicinity. This town lies about forty miles south-west of Dublin. Of the intended attack, the garrison was apprised by an intercepted letter, and from Lieutenant Roe, of the North Cork militia, who had observed the peasants assembling in the vicinity late in the evening of the 24th of May. The garrison consisted in the whole of about four hundred and fifty men, commanded by Colonel Mahon, of the ninth dragoons, and they were very judiciously posted for the

* It is too large a credit to be allowed to this author's assertion, that *the evidence extorted from the person whipped never was used to convict any person*. If the security of the monarch be to be found in the affectionate hearts of his people, it is matter of important consideration how far these practices tended more to unite or separate the two kingdoms.

reception of the assailants. A body, perhaps amounting to a thousand or fifteen hundred, having assembled before the house of Sir Edward Crosbie, a mile and a half distant from Carlow, marched into the town at two o'clock in the morning on the 25th of May, in a very unguarded and tumultuary manner, shouting as they rushed into Tullow Street, with vain confidence, that the town was their own, they received so destructive a fire from the garrison, that they recoiled and endeavoured to retreat; but finding their flight intercepted, numbers took refuge in the houses, which were immediately fired by the soldiery. About eighty houses, with some hundred men, were consumed in this conflagration. As about half this column of assailants had arrived within the town, and few escaped from that situation, their loss can hardly be estimated at less than four hundred; while not a man was even wounded on the side of the loyalists.

After the defeat, executions commenced here, as they did elsewhere in this calamitous period, and about two hundred in a short time were hanged or shot, according to martial law. Among the earliest victims was Sir Edward Crosbie, before whose house the rebel column had assembled, but who certainly had not accompanied them in their march; he was condemned and shot as an United Irishman; his friends affirm, with apparent truth, that he fell a sacrifice to the confusion, which necessarily attends a trial by military law, in the rage of a rebellion, and that his innocence would have been manifested, if certain circumstances had been made public, which were suppressed from delicacy to administration, then supposed to be dangerously situated.* It is reported, that Sir Edward Crosbie had no further connection with the re-

* Sometimes apparently trifling incidents disclose points of the highest importance to the state. Mr. Elliot, going from Carlow, after the repulse of the rebels, to visit his house, three miles from the town, saw a group of peasants, his neighbours, assembled in the road at the end of his avenue, whom he supposed to have met for the mutual enquiries about the news. He was advancing without apprehension of danger, when observing two guns levelled at him, he galloped off, and fortunately escaped both shots. Hearing a shout from them, with a declaration that he might come to them with confidence of safety, he returned, and called to them to meet him without arms. Finding that they declined this proof of pacific intention, he again galloped away, and escaped some more shots. When he returned soon after with a body of yeomanry, the peasants, expecting no mercy, fled to places of concealment; but perceiving that, quite contrary to their expectations, their cabins were not burned, nor any severe punishment intended, they returned to their occupations, and remained perfectly quiet. A contrary conduct in this gentleman would have sent those and others to augment the rebel forces.

bels, than that they exercised on a lawn before the house, which of course Sir Edward could not prevent.

In the attack upon Slane, a mere handful of troops about seventeen yeomen and forty of the Armagh militia, although surprized in the houses on which they were billeted, fought their way separately to their rallying post, and then made so vigorous a stand, that some hundreds of the rebels were with considerable slaughter repulsed, and put to a most dastardly flight. Several of the assailants of this small town appeared dressed in the uniforms of the Cork militia and Ancient Britons; which appearance, in this and several other instances, proved a fatal deceit to the king's troops. They were the spoils taken at Prosperous; at which place the success of the rebels, amongst other causes, was owing to their having been headed or led on to the attack by an officer; as their defeats in most other places, with immense superiority of numbers, were to be attributed to the want of some intelligent person to controul and direct them. Their discomfitures in general were not the effect of fear or cowardice, but of want of discipline and organization. The unfortunate Dr. Esmond, a Roman Catholic gentleman of good family, independent fortune, and uncommon accomplishments, had drank so deeply of the intoxicating poison of this rebellious union, that in him it had extinguished all religious and moral rectitude, so that to the high crime of treason he superadded the turpitude of the rankest duplicity and deceit. He was lieutenant of the Clane cavalry commanded by Captain Griffiths, and on the 23d of May spent some hours over the bottle with Captain Swayne of the North Cork militia, who commanded at Prosperous. They parted but a very short time before Esmond set out for his traitorous attack upon Prosperous: he had seduced several of the corps to attend him on that fatal occasion.

After the repulse of the rebels at Clane, Captain Griffiths had orders to march with his corps to Naas; but at the moment before he set out he received from one of his corps (named Mite), who had been missing the preceding night, a letter informing him of the conduct of Esmond, who, he said, had commanded at the attack of Prosperous; and that he (Mite) had accompanied him to the entrance of that town, and then made his escape. He had scarcely received the letter when Esmond appeared and joined the troop, with his hair dressed, his boots and breeches quite clean, and fully

accounted. The captain prudently suppressed his indignant emotions till he arrived at Naas.

As the rebellion may be properly said to have broken out at Naas, it will be proper, to be more particular in the detail of that transaction, than of others, in order to put the reader into the fair possession of the spirit, principles, and conduct, upon which the rebellion was begun and resisted, and how far they effected the progress of that dreadful warfare. It is to be presumed, as the rebels were uniform in their mode of attack on this first day, that the horrid plan had been long preconcerted by those, who at a distance from the place of execution, had issued their inhuman mandates to imbrue their country in blood and slaughter. The chief part of the inhabitants of Naas were strongly disaffected, or the intended attack would have been otherwise communicated to Lord Gosford, who commanded three hundred of the Armagh militia in the town, than by the anonymous letters before mentioned. For numerous rebels were concealed during the greater part of the day in houses and gardens of the town; so that on the first onset the streets were suddenly filled by their rushing out of the front doors of the houses, in or behind which they had lain concealed. The alarm was given by a violent and barbarous shout, that the town was their own. Several shots were instantly fired into the apartments of Lord Gosford, before any thing else was attempted. It was afterwards acknowledged by prisoners, and it appeared by several written orders found in the pockets of the slain and wounded, that their orders were to put to death without quarter every officer, regular lists of whom were written upon these papers; then to disarm such of the soldiery as would not instantly join them, and reserve them for further deliberation, presuming it is to be imagined, that their expected success and cooler reflection would bring them over to their cause. The savage attempt to carry these sanguinary orders into execution, although it providentially failed at Naas, too fatally succeeded at Prosperous and elsewhere, from want of timely information of the intent of the rebels. In the general confusion, government had neglected to send to the different posts (for they knew of each intended attack): this omission was the cause of much blood having been spilled on the fatal night of the 23d of May, and tended to render the contest more ferocious and cruel on both sides. Not only was quarter refused to all rebels, who had arms in their hands, but many others were put to death, who had given no symptoms of disaffection; and after the heat of battle others were coolly executed

cuted without any form of trial whatever.* To the thinking mind it becomes a matter of most awful alarm, that such sanguinary plans should have been so long kept secret by such numbers of a promiscuous multitude, and that so few efficient means were taken to eradicate and extinguish, that determined spirit of disaffection, secrecy, and conspiracy, with which there is but too fatal evidence, they were once possessed. The incorporate union

* The truth of this appears from the case of Dr. Esmond, who escaped in this instance, and that of Walsh and others, who fell victims to these deliberate military executions. Lord Gosford, upon the representations of Captain Griffith, who till the 24th of May, 1798, had been most grossly deceived by Dr. Esmond's insidious conduct and false appearances of loyalty, confirmed by written and oral evidence of his having headed the fatal attack on Prosperous, ordered him under arrest; whither some time after his lordship went with Mr. Burgh, who resided within a quarter of a mile of Naas, and was like most of his neighbours in habits of intimacy and friendship with Dr. Esmond, whose private character was eminently engaging, to question him as to the charges laid against him. Upon their arrival, Dr. Esmond accosted Mr. Burgh with great affability, and for some minutes observed a disdainful reserve towards Lord Gosford. He then rather sternly interrogated his lordship, by what authority he had confined him. The answer was, that having received such serious charges from so respectable a quarter, as the commanding officer then at Naas, he was called upon by his duty to act as he had done: at which Dr. Esmond, snapping his fingers, replied with affected indifference, that if any one respectable man of the county could support the charge, he was ready that hour to mount the scaffold. The arrival in the mean time of Generals Dundas and Wilford with the forces under their command, disembarassed Lord Gosford of any further responsibility. General Dundas made some enquiries about Dr. Esmond of some officers and gentlemen of the country, and upon the strength of their opinions had instantly given orders for his execution within half an hour. Fifty men and an officer were actually under these orders at the door of the apartment where he was confined, when Lord Gosford and Mr. Burgh were with him. Lord Gosford, who though he had found it his duty to put Dr. Esmond under arrest, never conceived the idea of his being executed without a trial, undertook to take with him to General Dundas the officer (by name Robinson) who had received the order to see to the execution of Dr. Esmond. His lordship submitted to the General the propriety of not proceeding to those lengths without putting the prisoner on his trial: that it would otherwise be direct murder: to which the General readily assented, but feared it was too late, and that his first hasty commands had been obeyed. Upon assurance to the contrary, they were instantly countermanded, and Dr. Esmond was sent up to Dublin under an escort in Lord Gosford's carriage, where under a fair trial he met the fate, which his aggravated guilt deserved. On the next morning, upon Lord Gosford's attending General Dundas for orders, he was asked whether the persons, who were then hanging in the sight of the general's window, had been executed by his lordship's orders. Lord Gosford observed, that his command having ceased upon the arrival of the general, he had given no order, and knew nothing about the execution. General Dundas observed, that it had been very regularly and coolly done, for he had with his glass been watching the whole progress. No further notice was taken of the affair.

of the two countries affords the ready and sure means: but the non-application of them may be irretrievably fatal to the British empire.

On the very day, on which the unfortunate Esmond was disgracing the cause of his king, country, and religion, the chief of the Catholics in and about Dublin,* were exerting their utmost endeavours to assert the unshaken loyalty of themselves and the respectable part of their body, against the malevolent attempts of their enemies to affix the guilt of rebellion upon the whole Catholic body, and to render the present disastrous contest the more bloody and ferocious by throwing in the deadly venom of religious acrimony.

In the raging violence of open hostilities between a powerful army and an incensed, licentious, and vindictive populace, without discipline or command, many of them unprovided with arms, and more unaccustomed to use them, it was to be expected, that every latent spark of diffidence, animosity, or hatred should be mutually blown into a flame, and rendered as malevolently active against the adverse party as the vindictive ingenuity of depraved ferocity could devise. The original founders, the chief promoters and conductors of the rebellious union were all Protestants (except Esmond, M'Nevin, and some few others) but the great mass of the unfortunate and wretched peasants, who had been seduced or goaded into insurgency, undoubtedly were mostly Roman Catholics. There were some corps of Catholic yeomanry, as Lord Fingal's; there were several Catholics in some of the Protestant corps of yomen; most of the Irish militia-men were Catholic, but the rest of the army were to a man Protestant. Unfortunately the virulency of the contest was sharpened by the infusion of all the embittered rancour and opprobrium respectively attached to the terms *Papist* and *Heretic*. These antiquated flambeaux of religious bigotry were lighted up anew by both

* On the 24th of May the following notice was given in the Dublin Journal and other papers.
 “ *Roman Catholics*. An address to the lord lieutenant, intended to be immediately presented, and
 “ containing a declaration of political principles applicable to the circumstances of the present mo-
 “ ment, lies, for signature, at Fitzpatrick's, bookseller, Ormond-quay; at the Earl of Fingal's,
 “ Great George's-street, Rutland's-square; Lord Viscount Kenmare's, Great George's-street; Ma-
 “ lachy Donelan's, Esq. Mountjoy's-square; and Counsellor Bellew's, No. 6, Upper Gardiner's-
 “ street, Mountjoy's-square. All signatures must be given in on or before Saturday next.”

Two addresses to the lord lieutenant from the Roman Catholics, are to be seen in Appendix, No. CX.

parties, and used by them mutually as the most destructive weapons of their warfare. Without alluding to any justification or even palliation for treason, it falls to the duty of the faithful annalist to detail the real causes of that irritation, which on either side led to cruelties and outrages, which no circumstances whatever could countenance or attenuate. - No nation feels more keenly and repents more highly than the Irish the sufferings and oppressions of their ancestors : none so personally make a common cause with them ; because none hold them in so much respect and veneration. Their own sufferings under the penal code for a length of time, and the recent provocations which they had received from the picketings, whippings, half hangings, burnings, ravishings, and free-quarters of the army, all operated to enflame the Irish against those, whom they in their native language called *Safanagh*, which* meant indifferently English or Protestants, and to which idea it was lamentably true, that recent circumstances prompted them to annex the most odious and sanguinary epithets. On the other hand every fiction, exaggeration, and obloquy of Popish superstition, Popish massacre, and Popish cruelty, perfidy, and inhumanity were eagerly collected, improved upon, and circulated through the ranks to deaden humanity and irritate the ferocity of the troops.

The misfortune of civil war and rebellion is, that whilst the loyalists command the superiority, they are too apt to follow up the rigor of the law, with more atrocity, than considerateness. It follows not, that because the law

* The answer of Doctor M'Nevin to the Archbishop of Cashel in the secret committee of the lords, elucidates and confirms this Statement. *Mem. p. 71.*

“ *Archbishop of Cashel.* Can you account for the massacres committed upon the Protestants by the Papists in the county of Wexford ?

“ *M'Nevin.* My lord, I am far from being the apologist of massacres, however provoked : but
 “ if I am rightly informed as to the conduct of the magistrates of that county, the massacres you
 “ allude to were acts of retaliation upon enemies, much more than fanaticism : moreover, my
 “ lord, it has been the misfortune of this country, scarcely ever to have known the English natives or settlers, otherwise than enemies ; and in his language the Irish peasant has but one name
 “ for Protestant and Englishman, and confounds them ; he calls both by the name of *Safanagh* ;
 “ his conversation therefore is less against a religionist than against a foe, his prejudice is the effect of the ignorance he is kept in, and the treatment he receives ; how can we be surprized at
 “ it, when so much pains are taken to brutalize him ?

“ *Lord Chancellor.* I agree with Doctor M'Nevin ; the Irish peasant considers the two words
 “ as synonymous, he calls Protestant and Englishman, indifferently, *Safanagh.*”

may

may justify the killing of a traitor with arms in his hands, that it is wise to carry on a war *ad internecionem* without quarter. Retaliation in such cases must be expected: and nothing so effectually blunts the edge of cruelty as retaliation. It is a truth beyond question, that the military executions, which generally took place immediately after these engagements greatly irritated, and necessarily therefore increased the ferocity of the rebels. The bulletins, which daily announced the engagements with the rebels, seldom, if ever, represented the true numbers of the forces, or of the slain. These misrepresentations might have been well intended to inspire the loyalists with confidence in themselves and a contempt of the enemy. It is a serious evil, when the people becomes convinced of the insincerity of government. On the 25th of May, a letter from General Dundas to Lord Castlereagh was published, in which it was asserted, that in an attack made upon a very large body of the rebels near Kilcullen Bridge, 130 of the rebels were slain, and not one of his majesty's troops was either killed or wounded. A like account was published from Hacketstown, received at the castle from the Reverend James M'Ghee on the same day. In consequence of an information, that a large body of rebels were marching to attack the town, Lieutenant Gardiner, with men under his command, and a party of yeomanry commanded by Captain Hardy, went out to meet them. Having reconnoitred their force, which amounted to between three and four hundred, they took post on the hill under the church, and when the rebels came tolerably near, the officers and men made a feint, and retreated into the barracks. The rebels seeing this, came on with a great shout, imagining the day to be their own. In few minutes Captain Hume came up with about thirty of his troop, and instantly charged them, on which the rebels retreated. A general pursuit took place, and so complete was the rout, that above three hundred of the miscreants then lay dead on the field of battle. And not a man (Mr. Gardiner excepted, and one foldier who received a contusion in his arm) was in the least injured.

Wherever any rebels appeared in arms, an immediate attack and general pursuit usually ensued: in which none was spared. The armed rebels generally escaped, and the slaughter fell on the disarmed multitude, who fled from fear and consternation. On the 26th of May, some blood was really spilled in the field of battle. A body of about 4000 rebels which had taken post on the hill of Tarah in the county of Meath, was attacked by about 400
loyalists

loyalists and completely routed, with the slaughter of three hundred and fifty of their men,* who according to the government account were found dead on the field of battle, together with their leader, in his uniform; but only with the loss of nine killed and sixteen wounded of the victorious party, which was composed of three companies of the regiment of Reay fencibles; Lord Fingal's troop of yeoman cavalry; those of Captain Preston and Lower Kells; and Captain Molloy's company of yeoman infantry. The army is also reported to have taken 300 horses, and all the ammunition, arms, provisions, and baggage of the rebels, together with eight of the Reay fencibles whom they had taken prisoners. This defeat of the rebels at Tarah disconcerted their design of falling upon Trim and Naas, and laying open the communication of the metropolis with the northern parts of the kingdom, as other successful movements produced the like effect in the west.

On the 26th of the month, in order to prevent a rising within the city, the lord mayor of Dublin published in the newspapers and hand bills the following notice.

“ A CAUTION

“ Left the innocent should suffer for the guilty.

“ The lord mayor requests his fellow citizens to keep within their houses as much as possible they can, suitable to their convenience, after sun-set, in this time of peril, as the streets should be kept as clear as possible, should any tumult or rising to support rebellion be attempted, in order that the troops and artillery may act with full effect in case of any disturbance.”

And the lord lieutenant in an official letter to the Duke of Portland on the same day, assured his grace, that the city of Dublin had been perfectly tran-

* Musg. p. 297. This author also reports, that the king's troops would have remained on the field all night, “ but that they had not a single cartridge left either for the gun or the small arms.” The inference is then a most incredible panic in the rebels to flee from such inferiority of numbers, being ten to one, when the fire upon them had wholly ceased: to abandon their arms which could not have much encumbered a flight, made without pursuit, and to leave behind them their horses, which must have aided their escape, as it was frequent for two or three rebels to mount one horse for the sake of celerity. The same author informs us also, that the rebels “ made three desperate onsets, and in the last laid hold of the cannon.” These accounts will be marvellous to posterity, when ocular evidence will exist no more. Either the rebels had no ammunition, or the king's troops were not, according to this author, prevented from the want of it from keeping the field.

quail, owing to the precautions which had been taken. It was impossible to describe, in terms sufficiently strong, the indefatigable zeal, patience, and spirit, of the yeomanry corps. Too much praise could not be given to his majesty's regular and militia forces; and the latter had had opportunities of evincing their steadiness, discipline, and bravery, which must give the highest satisfaction to his majesty, and inspire the best grounded confidence in their exertion, should they have a more formidable enemy to contend with.

The same letter also stated, that a party of the rebels, to the amount of several hundreds, were attacked by a detachment of the Antrim militia, a small party of cavalry, and Captain Stratford's yeomanry; and they being driven into the town of Baltinglas, they lost about 150 men. And that on the same morning an account had been received from Major Hardy, that the day before a body of three or four thousand had collected near Dunlavin, where they were entirely defeated, with the loss of 500 men, by Lieutenant Gardner, at the head of a detachment of the Antrim militia, and Captain Hardy's and Captain Hume's yeomanry. That Lieutenant General Craig had left Dublin, in the hopes of meeting the body of rebels which had collected near Dunboyne, and parties were sent in different directions to surround them. They, however, fled in the night, on hearing the approach of the troops. That the general came up, with a party consisting of about 500, some of whom were put to the sword. And that by accounts from the north, it appeared that the province of Ulster was quiet.

So beset were all the roads and communications to and with the metropolis by the rebels, that it had the appearance of a besieged city. The mail coaches had ceased to run, and nothing could move with safety on the road without a strong military escort.* It would be painful to the reader to wade through the particular instances of outrage and barbarity committed during this rebellion, both by the soldiery and the insurgents, in burning, plundering, maiming, torturing, ravishing, and murdering. These barbarities were practised reciprocally: and it is allowed by the best informed and most impartial persons, that infinitely more cold blood was shed, more property destroyed,

* The author of the *Memoirs* (Musg. 288) gives us here also some more incredible instances of the extreme stupidity and cowardice of the insurgents: who having been informed of the intention of sending four waggons of ammunition to Naas, which were escorted by 24 men of the merchants corps, permitted them to proceed, although there were 1400 rebels in the woods ready to cut them off.

more houses burned, and more women abused* by the troops, than by the insurgents: and it must be noted, that whatever gloss, palliation, or justification we may derive from the law to throw over the conduct of the military, that same law would work but faintly upon the passions of a lawless multitude in open rebellion, towards the prevention of retaliation. *Inter arma silent leges.*

Discouraged by defeats, some of the rebels began to wish for leave to retire in safety to their homes, and resume their peaceful occupations. Of this a remarkable instance occurred on the 28th, and another on the 31st of May: Lieut. General Dundas, who had, in the afternoon of the 24th, defeated a rebel force near Kilcullen, and relieved that little town, received on the 28th, at his quarters at Naas, by Thomas Kelly, Esq. a magistrate, a message from a rebel chief named Perkins, who was then at the head of about 2000 men, posted on an eminence called Knockawlin-hill, on the borders of the Curragh of Kildare, a beautiful plain, used as a race-course, twenty-two miles south-westward of the metropolis. The purport of this message was, that Perkins' men should surrender their arms, on condition of their being permitted to return unmolested to their habitations, and of the liberation of Perkins' brother from the jail of Naas. The general having sent a messenger for advice to Dublin Castle, and received permission, assented to the terms, and approaching the post of Knockawlin on the 31st, received the personal surrender of Perkins, and a few of his associates, the rest dispersing homeward

* As to this species of outrage, which rests not in proof, it is universally allowed to have been exclusively on the side of the military: it produced an indignant horror in the country, which went beyond, but prevented retaliation. It is a characteristic mark of the Irish nation, neither to forget nor forgive an insult or injury done to the honor of their female relatives. It has been boasted of by officers of rank, that within certain large districts a woman had not been left undefiled: and upon observation in answer, that the sex must then have been very complying, the reply was, that the bayonet removed all squeamishness. A lady of fashion, having in conversation been questioned as to this difference of conduct towards the sex, in the military and the rebels, attributed it in disgust to a want of gallantry in the croppies. By these general remarks, it is not meant to verify or justify the saying of a field officer, or a lady of quality, both of whom could be named: but merely to shew the prevalence of the general feelings and prepossessions at that time upon these horrid subjects: and consequently what effects must naturally have flowed from them. In all matters of irritation and revenge, it is the conviction that the injury exists which produces the bad effect. Even Sir Richard Musgrave admits, (p. 429) that "on most occasions they did not offer any violence to the tender sex."

in all directions with shouts of joy, and leaving thirteen cart-loads of pikes behind.

This disposition to surrender, which good policy would have encouraged among the insurgents, was blasted three days after by military ardor, which, when it eludes the salutary restraints of discipline, and is exerted against an unresisting object, ceases to be laudable. Major General Sir James Duffe, who had made a rapid march from Limerick with six hundred men, to open the communication of the metropolis with that quarter, received intelligence that a large body of men, assembled at a place called Gibbet-rath, on the Curragh, for the purpose of surrender, to which they had been admitted by General Dundas. Unfortunately, as the troops advanced near the insurgents to receive their surrendered weapons, one of the latter foolishly swearing that he would not deliver his gun otherwise than empty, discharged it with the muzzle upwards. The soldiers instantly considering this as an act of hostility, fired on the unresisting multitude, who fled with the utmost precipitation, and were pursued with slaughter by a company of fencible cavalry, denominated Lord Jocelyn's fox hunters. Above two hundred of the insurgents fell upon this occasion; and a far greater number would have shared their fate, if a retreat had not been founded with all possible dispatch, agreeably to the instructions of General Dundas, who had sent an express from his quarters at Kilcullen to prevent such an accident. In the public prints, this body of insurgents is asserted to have assembled for the purpose of battle, and to have actually fired on the troops; but the truth ought to be related without respect of persons or party. The affair is well known to have been otherwise, and the rebels were crowded in a place neither fit for defence nor escape, a wide plain, without hedge, ditch, or bog, quite contrary to their constantly practised modes of warfare.

This eagerness of the soldiery for the slaughter of unresisting rebels, was often fatal to the loyalists; for frequently some of the latter were prisoners with the former; and being bound among them by the troops, were not always distinguished from them. A remarkable instance, in the march of this army, was on the point of having taken place in the melancholy catalogue which might be authentically formed. A Protestant clergyman of an amiable character, Mr. Williamfon, of Kildare, who had fallen into the hands of the insurgents, and been saved from slaughter by the humanity of a Roman Catholic priest, was, as having been spared by the rebels, deemed a rebel by the soldiery,

foldiery, who were proceeding instantly to hang him, when they were in a critical moment prevented, by the interference of his brother-in-law, Colonel Sankey.*

All measures during such an infuriate contest, whether in the field or in the cabinet, will ever partake of the violence, with which it is carried forward. The misrepresentation† of this slaughter of the rebels, after they had surrendered,

* The foregoing impartial account is taken from the Rev. James Gordon's History of the Rebellion, p. 101: and melancholy is it to observe how widely it differs from the official account published by government of that affair.

“ DUBLIN CASTLE, *May 29, 1798, half past Nine, P. M.*

“ Extract of a Letter from Major General Sir JAMES DUFFE, to Lieutenant General LAKE, dated
“ Monasterevan.

“ I MARCHED from Limerick on Sunday morning with sixty dragoons, Dublin militia,
“ three field pieces, and two curricule guns, to open the communication with Dublin, which I judged
“ of the utmost importance to government. By means of cars for the infantry, I reached this
“ place in 48 hours. I am now, at seven o'clock, this morning (Tuesday) marching to surround
“ the town of Kildare, the head quarters of the rebels, with seven pieces of artillery, 150 dragoons,
“ and 350 infantry, determined to make a dreadful example of the rebels. I have left the whole
“ country behind me perfectly quiet, and well protected by means of the troops and yeomanry corps.
“ I hope to be able to forward this to you by the mail coach, which I will escort to Naas. I am
“ sufficiently strong. You may depend on my prudence and success. My guns are well manned,
“ and the troops in high spirits. The cruelties the rebels have committed on some of the officers
“ and men, have exasperated them to a great degree. Of my future operations, I will endeavour
“ to inform you.”

“ PS. *Two o'Clock, P. M. Kildare.*

“ WE found the rebels retiring from the town on our arrival, armed; we followed them with
“ the dragoons. I sent on some of the yeomen to tell them, on laying down their arms, they
“ should not be hurt. Unfortunately, some of them fired on the troops; from that moment they
“ were attacked on all sides—nothing could stop the rage of the troops. I believe from two to three
“ hundred of the rebels were killed. We have three men killed, and several wounded. I am too
“ much fatigued to enlarge.”

† It is far from the author's intentions, and still further from his wishes, to enter into a scrutiny of the truth of all the facts related by cotemporary annalists. He feels it his duty to notice the falsity of some, and to submit in return to his reader the best evidence that he has been able to procure for other facts, which are material to develop the truth, and to render historical justice to the Irish nation. With this view he submits to the reader a letter written by an eye witness of the affair at Naas on the 24th, by a clergyman of respectability and credit, to his bishop, from whose hand writing the following copy is taken.

dered, and had been received into protection by General Dundas, was deeply lamented by many confederate and loyal subjects, as a great discouragement to

“ NAAS, June 25, 1801.

“ MY LORD,

“ I HAVE remarked, in the account which Sir Richard Musgrave has given in his book on the late rebellion, that he has in the article regarding Naas, made very great mis-statements. He says, there was a Captain Davis wounded, &c. not one word regarding that fact is true. There was no Captain Davis in the garrison at that time. Captain Davis came in a short time after, and is yet alive. All the officers then in the garrison of Naas know this to be the fact. Sir Richard also states, that two hundred rebels were killed in the attack on Naas. The officers alluded to can give testimony, as they were witnesses that more than nine or ten rebels did not fall on the occasion; but in the course of three or four hours after, fifty-seven of a crowd in the street were killed. Many of these were shot when escaping from their huts, which were set on fire: others were taken out of their houses, from off their gardens, and brought to the ship, as the expression was, and hanged in the street. I know two men, Costelloe and Card, son and son-in-law of William Costelloe, who lives near Cruddoxtown, on the Ballimore road, who were called out of their field when they were at work, by a horseman, who getting ill on the road, was not able to go forward with his party to Ballimore. They relying on their innocence, and thinking they were only going to gaol, walked on quietly with this single dragoon. When they were brought to the inn at Naas, they were instantly conducted across the street to the ship, and hanged. The same day a young man of the name of Walsh, was brought into Naas, who was said by a female to be the person, who shot Captain Swaine, in the action at Prosperous. It is now well known that he was not within sixteen miles of Prosperous, when the action took place there: nevertheless, he was taken without any form of trial to the ship, and there hanged, dragged naked through the street to the lower end of the town, and there set fire to; and when half burned, his body opened, his heart taken out and put on the point of a wattle, which was instantly placed on the top of a house, where it remained until taken down by one of the military, who marched into town about nine weeks after. When the body had been almost consumed, a large piece of it was brought into the next house, where the mistress of it, Mrs. Nowland, was obliged to furnish a knife, fork, and plate, and an old woman of the name of Daniel was obliged to bring them salt. These two women heard them say, ‘ that Paddy ate sweet,’ and confirmed with a ‘ d—n their eyes.’ These women are living, and worthy of credit, being judged honest and respectable in their line and situation of life. Another fact mis-stated, or rather falsely asserted by Sir Richard: he says, there was one Cullen charged with firing three shots at a yeoman; and that a person called Kennedy, who was to prosecute said Cullen, was seen speaking to a priest by Mr. Kemmis the crown solicitor, through the bar of the gaol; and that in consequence of this conversation, said Kennedy denied what he had said before regarding Cullen. A more hardy falsehood than this could not be asserted. Mr. Kemmis, whose character entitles him to credit, will, I dare say, if asked, declare, that not one word of the assertion, so far as it regards him, Kennedy, or the priest, is true. Neither is it possible it could be true, as no one of the name of Kennedy was in gaol to prosecute

to such surrender in future. Even the well intended propagation of notorious falsehood, under the sanction of authority, must necessarily ulcerate those, whom that same authority prevents from publishing the reality in justification. The Irish press had been for some time under that imperious control, that no printer dared to publish any thing not perfectly agreeable to the higher powers. In fact, the licentiousness of the press had effectually destroyed its liberty; as every excess produces its opposite extreme.

The rebellion, notwithstanding the many and severe defeats of the insurgents, spread itself in all directions, and particularly to the south. Almost the whole of the county of Kildare was in open rebellion. Hitherto, notwithstanding the malevolent attempts of too many persons in high situations to identify the terms rebel and papist, it had not yet become absolutely a war of religious difference. Almost all the chiefs and leaders of the rebels were Protestants, though the greater part of the individuals concerned in it were Catholics, that being the religion of the lower orders of the people. The great and prevailing distinction, which was acted upon, was that of Orange men and United Irishmen: the external emblems of which were orange and green cockades.* Throughout the rebellion, and ever since, it has been unwise policy

“ prosecute Cullen. The only prosecutor was Serjeant James Talland, who said, that Cullen charged and fired three shots at him. But when asked by counsel, why he did not fire at Cullen whilst he (Cullen) was charging and firing three shots at him, he answered, that Cullen was in a sand pit. The court, not satisfied with this answer, further asked the prosecutor, whether the same view which enabled him to see Cullen charge and discharge several shots, did not allow him also an opportunity to fire at least one shot at Cullen. It is perhaps to the unsatisfactory manner in which the prosecutor answered this question, that Cullen partly owes his life. This, when it could not be proved that Cullen was a yeoman, excited additional zeal in his counsel, who petitioned the court to save a point of law. The court humanely extended the royal clemency, under the amnesty act, with reference to the twelve judges. Cullen was brought forward at the following assize and acquitted. Thus the crown solicitor, Mr. Kemmis, Cullen’s advocate, counsellors Charles Ball and R. Espinasse, Baron Smith, his judge, the grand and petty juries of successive assizes at Naas, and others, bear testimony that Cullen’s life was saved in this manner, and not by the pretended solicitation or interference of any priest.

“ NAAS, *June 25, 1801.*

Signed DUNNE, R. P.

“ Rev. Doctor TROX, Dublin.”

* Thus at Enniscorthy on the 28th of May, so fluctuating for some time was the success of the day, that to avoid the fury of each prevailing party in turn, persons alternately hoisted the orange and the green ribbon. (Gordon 94) Credit cannot be given to the numberless assertions of Sir

Richard

licy to resort to falsehood, in exaggerating the numbers of the rebels, in sinking those of the loyalists, in blackening the atrocities of the former, in softening those of the latter; If however any state reason could have been supposed to exist by the most alarmed, agitated and impassioned loyalist, for thus resorting to fiction, falsity, or misrepresentation, that time is gone by, and it is necessary, that the light of truth, like the meridian sun, should shine equally upon Ireland, as upon the rest of the globe.

It has been observed, that whilst rebellion raged about the metropolis and to the Southward, the North, which had heretofore been considered the hot-bed of disaffection and treason, was perfectly quiet: there both Dissenters and Catholics were prominent in conveying to government the strongest sentiments of loyalty and zeal for preserving the constitution against external and internal foes.* The ill success of the rebels in most rencounters had partly opened the communication with the capital, which in the first days of the rebellion had been kept in a species of blockade. But insurrection burst out in a part† where it was least expected, and was growing into so formidable a force, as to occasion the most serious alarms for the safety of government. The County of Wexford had been but very recently and but partially organized, and many of its Roman Catholic inhabitants had addressed the lord lieutenant through the medium of the Earl of Mountnorris, protesting their loyalty, and pledging themselves to arm, if permitted, in defence of govern-

Richard Musgrave, that the rebels spared Catholics houses, property, and persons, and confined their outrages to Protestants. On the contrary they were furious against some Catholic clergymen, who strongly opposed their principles and reprobated their conduct: they termed them Orange priests. It is not true, as Sir R. Musgrave states, (p. 315,) that "all the Protestant houses from Baltinglass to Hacketstown, Rathdrum and Blessington were burned; but that the property of a Roman Catholic did not receive the smallest injury in that extensive tract." The property of Protestants and Catholics was plundered indiscriminately by the rebels. They took away all the sheep of the Rev. Mr. Devoy, Popish priest of Ballymore Eustace, and bullocks and sheep to a large amount from the Rev. Richard Doyle of Welfield, which he claimed and received compensation for from the commissioners of suffering loyalists. The rebels burnt all Hacketstown (except that station defended by the military) and a great part of it was inhabited by the Catholics. Mr. Cullen, a respectable old gentleman of that town and a Roman Catholic, recovered compensation for his house and property destroyed on that occasion by the rebels. The rebels plundered and seized all property indiscriminately for support of their camp at Blackamore Hill. Many other Catholics in different parts of the kingdom suffered, and received compensation from the commissioners.

* Amongst many such addresses a sample is given of both in the Appendix, No. CXI.

† Gordon, p. 86.

ment,

ment, whenever there should be occasion. Not above six hundred men, at most, of the regular army or militia were stationed in the county, the defence of which was almost abandoned to the troops of yeomen and their supplementaries, while the magistrates in the several districts were employed in ordering the seizure, imprisonment, and whipping of numbers of suspected persons: these yeomen, being protestants, and mostly Orangemen, acted with a spirit ill fitted to allay religious hatred, or to prevent a proneness to rebel. To excite so violent an irritation by floggings, imprisonments, and a variety of insults, without sufficient means to enforce obedience, appears to have been an unfortunate mistake, as was also, that of the institution of yeomen cavalry instead of infantry.

Whether any insurrection would in the then existing state of the kingdom have taken place in the county of Wexford, or, in case of its eruption, how much less formidable and sanguinary it would have been, if no acts of severity had been committed by the soldiery, the yeomen, or their supplementary associates, though without the direct authority of their superiors, or command of the magistrates, is a question which no man can positively answer. In the neighbourhood of Gorey,* the terror of the whippings was in particular so great,

* The reverend author here, with manly and honorable candor, gives an instance of the violent effect which this system of terrorism produced under his own eye. The physical effects of extreme fear and horror are often different, always violent. (*Gordon*, p. 88.) “As an instance of this terror I shall relate the following fact. On the morning of the 23d of May, a labouring man, named Dennis M'Daniel, came to my house, with looks of the utmost consternation and dismay, and confessed to me that he had taken the United Irishmen's oath, and had paid for a pike with which he had not yet been furnished, nineteen-pence halfpenny, to one Kilty, a smith, who had administered the oath to him and many others. While I sent my eldest son, who was a lieutenant of yeomanry, to arrest Kilty, I exhorted M'Daniel to surrender himself to a magistrate, and make his confession, but this he positively refused, saying, that he should in that case be lashed to make him produce a pike which he had not, and to confess what he knew not. I then advised him, as the only alternative, to remain quietly at home, promising, that, if he should be arrested on the information of others, I would represent his case to the magistrates. He took my advice, but the fear of arrest and lashing had so taken possession of his thoughts, that he could neither eat nor sleep, and on the morning of the 25th he fell on his face and expired in a little grove near my house.” The same author (2d edition, p. 105) adds in a note, “That some magistrates of the county of Wexford, affirm, that not more than one man was flogged in all the county before the insurrection. I wish these gentlemen would publish their affirmation or negation in print. They must admit that several were flogged in the town of Gorey alone. Of these

great, that the people would have been extremely glad to renounce for ever all notions of opposition to government, if they could have been assured of permission to remain in a state of quietness.

The insurrection in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford assumed an appearance unusually ferocious. In the county of Wexford there had long subsisted a rivalry bordering on rancour, between the Protestants and Catholics. The public peace in that country had notwithstanding often been interrupted by those mobbish risings which will sometimes take place even where the conduct of their superiors is perfectly free from harshness. The county of Wicklow was one of the most thriving districts in the kingdom. There were persons of the different religions, in all the middle and inferior ranks, and they lived together in habits of great cordiality and good neighbourhood. The landed interest of the county of Wexford had always been prominent in their antipathy to the Catholics, and their representatives in parliament had uniformly opposed every mitigation of the popery laws. In these circumstances may be traced something of a predisposing cause to the insurrection of the county of Wexford; but there existed no such circumstance with respect to the county of Wicklow. Other special circumstances affected the county of Wexford, which tended to bring forward the insurgency in that county.

* After the proclamation of the 30th of March, the Orange system made no public appearance in the county of Wexford, until the beginning of April, on the arrival there of the North Cork militia, commanded by Lord Kingsborough. In this regiment, there were a great number of Orangemen, who were zealous in making proselytes, and displaying their devices; having medals and orange ribbons triumphantly pendant from their bosoms. It is believed, that previous to this period, there were but few actual Orangemen in the county; but soon after, those whose principles inclined that way, finding themselves supported by the military, joined the association, and publicly avowed themselves, by assuming the devices of the fraternity.

“ these I knew three: Anthony Bolger, Michael Davies, and one Howlet; and they must admit, that at least one flagellation, if not more, was exacted in the town of Little Limerick, near Gorey. I have not at present sufficient ground to suspect that any of these were flogged without proper cause; but half hangings enough were committed by others without any consultation of magistrates. The floggings, however, in the county of Wexford, were almost nothing comparative with other counties; and the terror of people of this county arose chiefly from floggings inflicted elsewhere; and the incipency of floggings among themselves, house burnings, &c.”

* Hay's History of the Insurrection of the County of Wexford, p. 57.

It

* It is said, that the North Cork regiment were also the inventors—but they certainly were the introducers of the pitch-cap torture into the county of Wexford. Any person having their hair cut short, (and therefore called a croppy, by which appellation the soldiery designated an United Irishman, on being pointed out by some loyal neighbour, was immediately seized and brought into a guard-house, where caps either of coarse linen or strong brown paper, be-fineared inside with pitch, were always kept ready for service. The unfortunate victim had one of these well heated, compressed on his head, and when judged of a proper degree of coolness, so that it could not be easily pulled off, the sufferer was turned out amidst the horrid acclamations of the merciless torturers: and to the view of vast numbers of people, who generally crowded about the guard-house door, attracted by the afflicted cries of the tormented. Many of those persecuted in this manner, experienced additional anguish from the melted pitch trickling into their eyes. This afforded a rare addition of enjoyment to these keen sportsmen, who reiterated their horrid yells of exultation, on the repetition of the several accidents to which their game was liable upon being turned out; for in the confusion and hurry of escaping from the ferocious hands of these more than savage tormentors, the blinded victims frequently fell or inadvertently dashed their heads against the walls in their way. The pain of disengaging the pitched cap from the head must have been next to intolerable. The hair was often torn out by the roots, and not unfrequently parts of the skin were so scalded or blistered as to adhere and come off along with it. The terror and dismay that these outrages occasioned are inconceivable. A serjeant of the North Cork, nicknamed *Tom the Devil*, was most ingenious in devising new modes of torture. Moistened gunpowder was frequently rubbed into the hair cut close and then set on fire; some, while shearing for this purpose, had the tips of their ears snipt off; sometimes an entire ear, and often both ears were completely cut off; and many lost part of their noses during the like preparation. But, strange to tell, these atrocities were publicly practised without the least reserve in open day, and no magistrate or officer ever interfered, but shamefully connived at this extraordinary mode of quieting the people! Some of the miserable sufferers on these shocking occasions, or some of their relations or friends actuated by a principle of retaliation, if not of revenge, cut short the hair of several persons whom they either considered as enemies or suspected of having pointed them

* Hay, (p. 57,) who was on the spot and vouches for the truth of this narration.

out as objects for such desperate treatment. This was done with a view, that those active citizens should fall in for a little experience of the like discipline, or to make the fashion of short hair so general that it might no longer be a mark of party distinction. Females were also exposed to the grossest insults from these military ruffians. Many women had their petticoats, handkerchiefs, caps, ribbons, and all parts of their dresses that exhibited a shade of green (considered the national colour of Ireland) torn off, and their ears assailed by the most vile and indecent ribaldry. This was a circumstance so unforeseen, and of course so little provided against, that many women of enthusiastic loyalty suffered outrage in this manner. Some of these ladies would not on any account have worn any thing, which they could even imagine partook in any degree of *croppysm*. They were, however, unwarily involved until undeceived by the gentle hints from these kind guardians of allegiance.

Great as the apprehensions from Orangemen had been before among the people, they were now multiplied ten-fold, and aggravated terror led them in numbers to be sworn United Irishmen, in order to counteract the supposed plan of their rumoured exterminators. The fears of the people became so great at length, that they forsook their houses in the night and slept, (if under such circumstances they could sleep) in the ditches. These facts were notorious at the time, and had the magistrates, and gentlemen of the country been actuated by the feelings that humanity naturally excites on such occasions, they might, with very little trouble have convinced the deluded populace of the fallacy of such reports, and they should have promised them public protection. In general, however, the fact was otherwise. The melancholy situation of the people was regarded with the utmost indifference; few individuals felt any concern or gave themselves any trouble about what they thought: and no efforts whatever were made to allay their apprehensions, or at all to undeceive them. Their minds were left to the operations of their fears, to dissipate which if any pains had been taken, it is certain that these horrid conceptions entertained of Orangemen could never have taken such strong hold of their scared imaginations, and that violence would have been repressed in its origin.

The following circumstance occasioned the insurgency in the county of Wicklow, to become so very much an affair of religion. Some persons in Dublin, who had been very active in promoting the repeal of the popery laws, afterwards unfortunately entered into the projects of the revolution; these men made use of the influence they had thus acquired upon many of their brethren to prevent the Catholics from going into the yeomanry, they circulated
among

among that people an opinion which readily gained ground, that their co-operation was very essential to government, and, that by holding back on that occasion they would procure all the advantages, which had been promised and were expected under Lord Fitzwilliam; their suggestions were attended to more in the county of Wicklow than elsewhere. The consequent backwardness of the Catholics to join the armed corps threw a suspicion on that people, but created a necessity of filling up the numbers necessary for the defence of the country with the lowest cast of protestants, who afterwards, when the heat of party ran high, made a very bad use of their arms and of their power.

By these means the division of the county of Wicklow into these parties first took place, and that division prepared the way for the revolutionary missionaries, who came afterwards to tamper with the people and dispose them for insurrection. The introduction of the united business crowned the whole, many were drawn into it from reports artfully circulated, that the British empire was on the eve of dissolution, that the armed Protestants intended to massacre and expel them from Wicklow, as they had from Armagh. This alarm was so prevalent, that on many occasions all the inhabitants for an extent of thirty miles deserted their houses, and slept in the open fields; this fact was proved on a trial before Lord Yelverton, at the summer assizes of Wicklow, 1798. Many joined the association, because they had no other alternative; the armed corps generally considered every Catholic a rebel; they received no credit much less merit for any act of loyalty. After the corps were put on permanent duty, and the officers and magistrates began to torture and burn houses, multitudes of these people became fugitives from fear or actual want of dwellings: many from being exasperated at the sufferings of their acquaintance, friends and kindred; common sufferings brought these persons together and formed the rebellion of Wicklow and Wexford: many atrocious acts were committed in that rebellion, but they were acts of retaliation. The armed corps in the first days of the rebellion, and even in the two or three weeks preceding it, had shot many persons who were merely passing quietly through the county; the relatives of these murdered victims became furious for revenge, and murdered madly those of the opposite party, who fell into their possession.

Whatever effects different management might have produced in the county of Wexford, the ebullition of the rebellion in that county seems to have been more a sudden gust of revenge, than a preconcerted design. The insurgents

were more numerous and ferocious than elsewhere; and in many instances they were headed by persons, who never had been members of the association of United Irishmen; but whom the sudden pressure of circumstances had seduced or driven into that unfortunate rebellion. The general insurrection in that county did not take place till Whitsunday, which fell on the 27th of May. But the zeal, says Sir Richard Musgrave, of Father John Murphy of Boolavogue chappel, in the parish of Kilcormick, was so intemperate, that he began his military career at six o'clock on Saturday evening the 26th of May.* It is a fact necessary to be known, that before the breaking out of the rebellion in Wicklow and Wexford not one Roman Catholic clergyman ever entered into the united association, except one Roach, who was under ecclesiastic censures, and interdicted from the exercise of his spiritual functions. This Father Murphy was living quietly in his parish, when some yeomen entered it and burned his chapel. In a sudden fall of fury (for priests have their passions) he with a party of his parishioners fell upon them, and the two officers commanding the yeomen were killed. Imagining then that no retreat was left, the party encamped on the hill of Oularde, all the fugitives and exasperated persons about the country joined the camp, and this formed a commencement of the Wexford rebellion; in two days they were in sufficient force to defeat some of the North Cork Militia, who attempted to disperse them. Murphy unquestionably after he had thus engaged in the rebellion employed all the influence which he derived from his character of a priest to encourage and support his party, and omitted no art to animate and fortify them by religious bigotry and enthusiasm. He and the other priests † who were driven into the rebellion
either

* The Bishop of Kilala has in his narrative of what passed at Killala in the Summer of 1798, (p. 82,) given the following reason, why in every popular commotion in Ireland, some Roman Catholic priests will probably be found concerned in it. "The almost total dependance of the Romish clergy of Ireland upon their people for the means of subsistence is the cause, according to my best judgment, why upon every popular commotion many priests of that communion have been, and until measures of better policy are adopted, always will be found in the ranks of sedition and opposition to the established government. The peasant will love a revolution, because he feels the weight of poverty, and has not often the sense to perceive that a change of masters may render it heavier; the priest must follow the impulse of the popular wave, or be left behind on the beach, to perish."

† Widely as this unfortunate rebellion raged, it would have been truly strange if not one of the Catholic priests had been seduced to join in it. Their number was, however, comparatively small, and it will not be uninteresting to the public to learn, what manner of men those, who gave into it
generally

either by the intemperance of the loyalists or hurried away by the violence of their own people, celebrated mafs constantly, and prayed and preached in the camps;

generally were. The following account of moft of them, who joined the rebellion at Wexford is extracted from a letter of Dr. Caulfield, the Roman Catholic Bifhop of Wexford, to Dr. Troy, the Roman Catholic archbifhop of Dublin,—Dated from Wexford, September 2, 1798. The author has this in the hand writing of that prelate.

1. Thomas Dixon of Cattle-bridge, had been curate at the Lady's Ifland for fome years; but for drinking, dancing, and diforderly conduct, was fufpended about four years ago. After fome time of apparent amendment, he was fent to affift Rev. David Cullen of Blackwater, where he relapsed into his former pranks, and was fufpected latterly of being active in the accufed bufinefs of *uniting*, for which I interdicted and fufpended him above twelve months ago. He was afterwards apprehended, tried, and convicted here, and fent on board the tender lying at Duncannon Fort, where he took a fever and died.

2. Rev. Thomas Clinch, native of Camolin, had been appointed curate to Rev. Thomas Rogers in Bantry; but turning out a moft beaftly drunkard and unfit for duty, was fufpended about two years ago, and remained fo. He joined the rebels, and was killed in their retreat from Vinegar Hill.

3. Rev. Mogue Kearin or Kearns of the Duffry had been employed by Doctor Delany for fome time, but latterly difmiffed. He was notorious for drinking and fighting; and joined the rebels, among whom he made a gigantic figure, and was hanged at Edenderry.

4. Rev. John Murphy, curate to Rev. Patt Cogly of Boolyvogue, ever giddy, but not noted for immorality, was the firft to commence the rebellion and became a fignal general in it. He had been apparently but not really dutiful to his fuperior. He was whipped, hanged, beheaded, and his body burnt in the county Carlow, at Tullow.

5. Rev. Philip Roche, alias General Roache, had been curate to Rev. John Synnott of Gorey; had been a proper man and would be ufeful, but indulging in excefs of drinking, and beginning to agitate, he became obnoxious and was removed. He was afterwards fent curate, after reprehention, admonition, and inftruction by his fuperior, to Rev. Thomas Rogers in Bantry, the other extremity of the diocefe, laft winter: I heard nothing remarkable of him there, till he joined the rebels and foon became a leader. He was hanged here and his body thrown into the river the 22d of June.

6. There is another reptile, Rev. Bryan Murphy, who was very active in the rebellion. He had been *deprived* and fufpended about three years ago. Nevertheless he had addrefs enough to procure a protection when the rebels were routed, and remains undifturbed.

7. There is a Rev. Mr. Byrne, a Carmelite, at Goff's Bridge, who fhewed himfelf a very zealous, active rebel. He alfo got a protection. He was a drinking, giddy man. I advifed him to quit the diocefe and threatened fufpenfion..

N. B. From Dr. Troy. This Byrne was killed in the houfe of a Dr. Waddy, in the county of Wexford, when on a friendly vifit in the year 1800, by the fall of a port-cullis, whether by defign or accident is not known. The circumftance was mentioned in the public papers.

8. Rev. John Keane, under cenfures the greater part of his life for drunkennefs and other irregularities. He is a weak poor fool. He has not been questioned, nor is he worth notice.

9. Rev.

camp; when once embarked in the cause they could not otherwise have given it the sanction of plausibility; and these circumstances have been unwarrantably put forward in order to justify a charge, that the rebellion originated in a religious spirit, and was connected with the anxiety and the efforts used to extend the political privileges of the Roman Catholics.

From this commencement of open hostilities in the county of Wexford, the commotion spread rapidly on all sides; and the collection of rebel parties was greatly promoted by the reports disseminated of numbers of people shot in the roads, at work in the fields, and even in their houses, unarmed and unoffending, by fraggling parties of yeomen. Influenced by these reports, which certainly were not without too much foundation, great numbers took refuge with their friends in arms, inasmuch, that on the following morning of Whit-Sunday, the 27th of May, two large bodies were collected, one on the Hill of Oulart, nearly midway between Gorey and Wexford, about eleven miles to the South of the former; the other on Kilthomas Hill, an inferior ridge of Slyceve Bwee mountain, about nine miles westward of Gorey. They formed a confused multitude of both sexes and of all ages. Reports have varied their numbers from seven or eight to two or three thousand men in arms: against these a body of about 200 yeomen, on the same morning, marched from the neighbouring town of Carnew, in the county of Wicklow. The rebels were stricken with a panic, and fled, after a few discharges of musketry from the yeomen, at too great a distance to make any considerable execution. About a hundred and fifty of the rebels were killed in the pursuit: the yeomen burned two Roman Catholic chapels, and about a hundred cabins and farm houses of Catholics in the course of seven miles march.

The event of battle was very different, on the same day, on the hill of Oulart, where Father Murphy commanded. A detachment of a hundred and ten men of the North Cork Militia, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Foote, marched from Wexford, and attacked the rebels on the southern side of the hill. The rebels fled at the first onset and were pursued by the militia, without rank or order. Farther Murphy rallied again some hundreds of the rebels who by his encouragement charged their pursuers with so much fury, that with their pikes they killed, almost in an instant, the whole detach-

9. Rev. John Redmond, curate of Rev. Francis Kavanagh, a most regular, attentive, zealous priest without reproach ever until the accursed rebellion; whether he joined them through terror, as was the case with some, or volunteer'd, I know not. He surprized me more than all the rest. He was hanged near Gorey on the 21st or 22d of June last.

ment,

ment, except the lieutenant colonel, a serjeant, and three privates. If we may believe the accounts of some of the insurgents, no more than about three hundred of their number ventured on this furious attack, of whom only six were armed with firelocks, the rest with pikes, and that only three of them were killed, and six wounded, by the disordered soldiery.

While the country exhibited a scene of distress and consternation, houses in flames, and families flying on all sides for asylum, the loyalists to the towns, others to the hills, the body of rebels, under Father Murphy, marched from Oulart, flushed with victory, and perpetually augmented on its way by new accessions. They first took possession of Camolin, a small town six miles westward of Gorey, the loyal inhabitants of which had taken refuge in the latter; thence they advanced to Ferns two miles further, whence the loyalists had fled, six miles southward to Enniscorthy, whither they were followed by the rebels; who on their arrival before that town amounted to the number of 7000 men, 800 of whom were armed with guns, which they had seized at Camolin almost immediately after they had been sent to that place by the Earl of Mountnorris. About one o'clock on the 28th of May, Enniscorthy was attacked by this vast multitude, and after a vigorous defence by the comparatively small garrison, was left in possession of the insurgents. The garrison retreated and fell back on Wexford: they lost above ninety of their men, and the town was on fire in several places: they were attended by a confused number of unfortunate loyal inhabitants, but fortunately were not pursued by the rebels, who easily might have cut them off in their retreat. Having arrived at Wexford, they again retreated from that town on the 30th of May. The cutting off a company of the Meath militia coming to their relief on that morning; the taking of the two howitzers they had with them, and the Donegal detachment being obliged to fall back into Wexford, after an unsuccessful conflict with the rebels, threw that whole garrison into consternation: the men of the North Cork, under the command of Captain Snowe, became extremely insubordinate: they had been without food, except a very trifle, since their arrival from Enniscorthy, and had been upon constant duty; except the night they marched in, no provisions were to be bought. Although Captain Snowe and some other officers were against retreating, the Scarawalsh Yeomanry, with their officers, and the men of the North Cork, in spite of all the officer's endeavours marched out of the town; some scaled the breast work; Captain Snowe thought it his duty not to abandon such a number of men, he therefore took the charge of them, and succeeded in keeping them together

ther on the retreat, and preventing every species of depredation and violence, not a single instance of which occurred, except the taking some horses from the adjacent fields to mount some of the fainting and worn out-soldiers.

The men were kept together till night fall, when upon an unexpected fire on them at Tailor's Town Bridge, they dispersed notwithstanding every thing were done to rally them, and Captain Snowe after experiencing much suffering during the night, did not arrive at Duncannon fort till seven o'clock the next morning.

*To disperse the insurgents, if possible, without battle or concession, or perhaps to divert their attention and retard their progress, an expedient was assayed by Captain Boyd of the Wexford cavalry. This officer had, in consequence of a requisition to that purpose of the sheriff and other gentlemen, on the 25th and 27th, from information or suspicion of treasonable designs, arrested Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey of Bargycastle, John Henry Colclough of Ballyteigh, and Edward Fitzgerald of Newpark, all three respectable gentlemen of the county of Wexford. Visiting them in prison on the 29th, Captain Boyd agreed with these gentlemen, that one of them should go to the rebels at Enniscorthy, and endeavour to persuade them to disperse and return to their homes; but would not give authority to promise any terms to the insurgents in case of submission. Colclough at the request of Mr. Harvey, agreed to go on condition of his being accompanied by Mr. Fitzgerald. On the arrival of these two gentlemen at Enniscorthy, about four in the afternoon of the same day, they found the rebels in a state of confusion, distracted in their councils, and undetermined in any plan of operation; some proposing to attack Newtownbarry, others Ross, others Wexford, others to remain in their present posts: the greater number to march home for the defence of their houses against Orangemen.†

* Gordon, 2d Edition, p. 117. Whenever I refer to the authority of the Reverend Mr. Gordon, I do it under a full conviction, that he has throughout his history meant and intended, as an upright and honorable man to represent facts as they really existed. I give him credit therefore for what he advances positively. The public is much indebted to a gentleman of his profession, who nobly dares to support the truth at the risk of his own promotion in the church. There is unfortunately too much ground to presume, that the contrary conduct would have rendered his preferment more sure.

† The dread of *Orangemen* not of *Protestants* appears to have affected those rebels throughout. Thus Sir Richard Musgrave has perhaps unintentionally admitted (p. 335) "that on Whitfunday "they rose in mobs, armed with pikes and guns, and vowed vengeance against the *Protestants* as "*Orangemen*."

It

*It was but the resolution of a moment to march in a body to attack Wexford. Mr. Fitzgerald they detained in the camp, and Mr. Colclough they sent back to announce their hostile intentions.

Mr. Colclough arrived in Wexford early in the evening, and waited in the bull ring (a small square in the town so denominated) until the officers and other gentlemen in the place had there assembled, when he informed them, in a very audible voice from on horse-back, that having gone out, according to their directions, to the insurgents on Vinegar hill, he found, as he had already suggested before his departure, that he possessed no influence with the people, who had ordered him to return and announce their determination of marching to the attack of Wexford; adding that they had detained Mr. Fitzgerald. Mr. Colclough then requested to be informed, if it were intended to make further trial of his services, or to require his longer attendance, as otherwise they must be sensible how eager he must be to relieve the anxiety of his family by his presence. He was then entreated to endeavour to maintain tranquillity in his own neighbourhood, which having promised to do as much as in his power, he called at the gaol to visit Mr. Harvey, with whom he agreed, (according to the compact with Captain Boyd) to return next day and take his place in the gaol, and then set off through the barony of Forth, for his own dwelling at Ballyteigue, distant about ten miles from Wexford.

Early in the morning of the 29th, Colonel Maxwell, of the Donegal militia, with two hundred men of his regiment and a six pounder, arrived in Wexford from Duncannon fort, dispatched by General Fawcett, who had been apprized of the insurrection on the 27th, by Captain Knox, an officer sent to escort Serjeant Stanley, a judge of assize, on his way to Munster. This reinforcement being insufficient, an express was sent from the mayor of Wexford to the general, requesting an additional force; he expeditiously returned with an exhilarating answer, that the general himself would commence his march for Wexford on the same evening from Dungannon, with the 13th regiment, four companies of the Meath militia, and a party of artillery with two howitzers. On the receipt of this intelligence, Colonel Maxwell, leaving the five passes into the town guarded by the yeoman and North Cork militia, took post with his men on the windmill hill above the town, at

* Hays, page 103.

day break on the following morning, the 30th, with resolution to march against the enemy on the arrival of General Fawcett's army.

That general had marched according to his promise, on the evening of the 29th; but halting at Taghmon, seven miles from Wexford, he had sent forward a detachment of 88 men, including 18 of the artillery, with the howitzers, under the command of Captain Adams, of the Meath militia. This detachment was intercepted early in the morning of the 30th, by the rebels under the Three Rocks, which they had occupied as a military station, being about three miles from Wexford: the howitzers were taken, and almost the whole party slain.* The dismay and confusion that took place in Wexford is more easily imagined than described.

Colonel Maxwell, informed of the destruction of Captain Adams's detachment by two officers who had escaped the slaughter, advanced immediately with what forces he could collect towards the enemy with, design to retake the howitzers, and cooperate with General Fawcett, of whose retreat he had no suspicion, but observing his left flank exposed by the retreat of some of the Taghmon cavalry and the enemy, making a motion to surround him, he retired to Wexford, with the loss of Lieutenant Colonel Watson killed, and two privates wounded.

Every thing now wore the aspect of a gloomy desperate consternation. Some yeomen and supplementaries posted nearly opposite the gaol, were heard continually to threaten to put all the prisoners to death, which so roused the attention of the gaoler to protect his charge, that he barricaded the door, and delivered up the key to Mr. Harvey. This gentleman was, indeed, so apprehensive of violence, that he had concealed himself in the chimney, and it was not without great difficulty that some magistrates were admitted to see Mr. Harvey in the gaol, and, at their most urgent entreaties, he wrote the following notice to the insurgents.

" I have been treated in prison with all possible humanity, and am now at liberty. I have procured the liberty of all the prisoners. If you pretend

* The following official account was given of this affair.

" DUBLIN CASTLE, June 2d, 1798.

" ACCOUNTS have been received from Major General Eustace at New Ross, stating that Major General Fawcett having marched with a company of the Meath regiment from Duncannon fort, this small force was surrounded by a very large body between Taghmon and Wexford, and defeated: General Fawcett effected his retreat to Duncannon Fort."

" to

“ to christian charity, do not commit massacre, or burn the property of the inhabitants, and spare your prisoners lives.

“ *Wednesday, 30th of May, 1798.*

“ B. B. HARVEY.”

This note was undertaken to be forwarded by one Doyle, a yeoman of the Heathfield cavalry, who volunteered this hazardous service in coloured clothes; but when ready to set off he was discovered to be a Roman Catholic, and therefore reflected upon, for so the whisper went about, “ how could a Papist be trusted?” The yeoman, finding his zeal meet with a reception so contrary to his expectation, again put on his uniform, and retreated with his captain; Counsellor Richards with his brother, then undertook to announce the surrender of the town to the insurgents, whose camp they reached in safety, though clad in full uniform. Scarcely had these deputies set out upon their mission, when all the military corps, a part of the Wexford infantry under Captain Hughes only excepted, made the best of their way out of town in whatever direction they imagined they could find safety, without acquainting their neighbours on duty of their intentions. The principal inhabitants, whose services had been accepted of for the defence of the town were mostly Catholics, and, according to the prevalent system, were subject to the greatest insults and reflections. They were always placed in front of the posts, and cautioned to behave well, or that death should be consequence. Accordingly persons were placed behind them to keep them to their duty, and these were so watchful of their charge, that they would not even permit them to turn about their heads. Thus were the armed inhabitants left at their post, abandoned by their officers, and actually ignorant of the flight of the soldiery, until all possible means of retreating were cut off. Upon the approach of the insurgents, the confusion and dismay were excessive, the few remaining officers and privates ran confusedly through the town, threw off their uniforms, and hid themselves wherever their fears suggested. Some ran for boats to convey them off, and threw their arms and ammunition into the water. Some from an insufficiency of men's clothes assumed female attire for the purpose of disguise. Extreme confusion, tumult, and panic were every where exhibited. The North Cork regiment on quitting the barracks had set them on fire, but it was soon after put out.

In the mean time Mr. Richards having arrived at the Three Rocks, made it known to the rebel chiefs, that they were deputed to inform the people, that the town would be surrendered to them, on condition of sparing lives and prop-

perties; these terms, they were informed, would not be complied with, unless the arms and ammunition of the garrison were also surrendered. Mr. Loftus Richards was therefore detained as a hostage, and Counsellor Richards and Mr. Fitzgerald were sent back to the town, to settle and arrange the articles of capitulation; these gentlemen on their arrival, to their astonishment found the place abandoned by the military. A rebel multitude was just ready to pour in and take unconditional possession of the town. It was therefore thought necessary to treat with them, in order to prevent the consequences apprehended from such a tumultuary influx of people. Doctor Jacob, then mayor of the town and captain of the Wexford infantry, entreated Mr. Fitzgerald to announce to the people rushing in, that the town was actually surrendered; and to use every argument, that his prudence might suggest, to make their entry as peaceable as possible. Mr. Fitzgerald complied, and instantly after this communication, thousands of people poured into the town, over the wooden bridge, shouting and exhibiting all the marks of extravagant and victorious exultation. They first proceeded to the gaol, released all the prisoners, and insisted that Mr. Harvey should become their commander. All the houses in town, not abandoned by the inhabitants, now became decorated with green boughs, and other emblematic symbols of insurgency. The doors were universally thrown open, and the most liberal offers made of spirits and drink, which however were not as freely accepted, until the persons offering them had first drank themselves, as a proof that the liquor was not poisoned, a report having prevailed to that effect. This circumstance prevented more rapid intoxication, and perhaps many lamentable excesses.

The insurgents being in possession of the town, several of the yeomen, having thrown off their uniforms, affected with all the signs and emblems of the United Irishmen, to convince them of their unfeigned cordiality and friendship; those who did not throw open their doors with offers of refreshment and accommodation to the insurgents, suffered by plunder, their substance being considered as enemy's property. The house of Captain Boyd was a singular exception. It was, though not deserted, pillaged, and underwent all the effects of popular hatred and revenge.

These troops who had fled from Wexford, signalized themselves in their retreat by plundering and devastating the country; by burning the cabins and shooting the peasants in their progress; and thus they augmented the number
and

and rage of the insurgents. These excesses were seen from the insurgents' station at the Three rocks, and it was with extreme difficulty, that the enraged multitude were hindered by their chiefs from rushing down upon Wexford and taking summary vengeance of the town and its inhabitants.

The turn of this rebellion now rendered both sides ferocious, even to their associates. When Gorey could be no longer defended by the small garrison of thirty of the North Cork militia and some undisciplined yeomen, though reinforced by a detachment of the Antrim militia on the 27th of May, orders were given to evacuate the town on the next morning at five o'clock and retire to Arklow. This retreat was a melancholy scene of confusion, fear, and desperation: the reception the fugitives found at Arklow was ill suited to relieve their calamitous situation. Fainting with hunger, thirst, fatigue, and the want of sleep, they were denied admittance into the town, and forced to seek rest and refuge under the neighbouring hedges; some of the better sort were by favor admitted, on condition of quitting the town in half an hour. Those that entered, were obliged to deliver their arms at the gate of the barrack to the guard, who promised to restore them; instead of which, they were afterwards formed into a pile in the yard of the barrack and burned. One man scrupling to surrender his arms, was shot by the guard. No refreshment could be procured by money for man or horse; the hearts of the inhabitants were hardened. As the rebels had bent their course to the south, Gorey remained unmolested though destitute of defence, and filled with a variety of goods brought thither for safety; but the pilfering of the lower class of the towns-folk was prevented by the better sort of Catholics, who formed themselves into guards to protect the houses of their Protestant neighbours. On the 30th and 31st of May, the greater part of the fugitives returned from about Arklow to their homes, and the militia and yeomanry, who had abandoned Gorey, on the 28th resumed their station.

The town of Enniscorthy is situated at the foot of a commanding eminence called Vinegar Hill: here the rebels formed, what they called a camp:* made entrenchments round it, and placed some batteries on them. They then stationed a large garrison in the town, which was relieved every day by

* It is remarkable that the small town of Clonnegall, under the command of Lieutenant Holmes, (a justice) of the North Cork, was kept under such laudable discipline and firmness, that though in the neighbourhood of Carnew, it never fell into the hands of the rebels.

an officer's guard from the camp. Such great numbers of the lower class of the people from the adjacent country flocked to their camp, that it soon consisted of at least ten thousand men, women and children. They posted strong picquet guards, centinels, and videts in all the avenues leading to the town, and for some miles round it. They then proceeded to destroy, with wanton and bigotted ferocity, the interior of the church of Enniscorthy.*

A body of more than 1000 rebels in advancing towards Gorey on the 1st of June, had taken possession of a small village called Ballycannoo, four miles to the south of Gorey, and were proceeding to take possession of an advantageous post called Ballymanaann Hill, midway between the village and the town, when they were met by the whole of the small garrison of Gorey, and by a steady and well directed fire, the rebels were soon completely routed. The garrison consisted only of twenty of the Antrim and twenty of the North Cork militia, with fifty yeoman infantry, and three troops of yeoman cavalry.† Had the cavalry pursued, they might have greatly annoyed the rebels. This victorious band on their return to Gorey fired most of the houses at Ballicannoo, and entered the town in triumph with 100 horses and other spoil, which they had taken. In this, as in every other engagement at the beginning of the rebellion, the insurgents elevated their guns too much for execution; which accounts for the paucity of the slain on the part of the king's troops: on this occasion three only were wounded and none killed. The rebels are said to have lost above three-score.

This success, coupled with that at Newtonbarry, gave a momentary check to the ardor of the rebels. A party from Vinegar Hill surrounded this latter town

* This is the first outrage committed by the rebels on a Protestant church. They were afterwards repeated in some, though not very many instances. In order to avoid the odious detail of the wanton destruction of places of divine worship, a list may be seen of the Catholic chapels destroyed in time of and after the rebellion in Appendix, No. CXII.

† The Reverend Mr. Gordon recounts (p. 136.) an occurrence after the battle, of which his son was a witness, which greatly illustrates the state of the country at that time: two yeomen “ coming to a brake or clump of bushes, and observing a small motion, as if some persons were “ hiding there, one of them fired into it, and the shot was answered by a most piteous and loud “ screech of a child. The other yeoman was then urged by his companion to fire; but he being “ a gentleman, and less ferocious, instead of firing, commanded the concealed persons to appear, “ when a poor woman and eight children, almost naked, one of whom was severely wounded, “ came trembling from the brake, where they had secreted themselves for safety.”

in such a manner, that Colonel L'Estrange, more hastily it appears, than necessarily, gave orders to abandon it, contrary to the earnest remonstrances of the officers of the yeomen and volunteers. After a retreat of about a mile, he yielded to the solicitations of Lieutenant Colonel Westenra, and suffered the troops to be led back to the succour of a few determined loyalists, who had remained in the town, and continued a fire on the enemy from some houses. This accidental manœuvre had all the advantages of a preconcerted stratagem. The rebels, who had rushed into the street in a confused multitude, intent on plunder and devastation, and totally unapprehensive of the return of the troops, were unprepared and driven out of the town with the loss of about two hundred men.*

One of the great mischiefs attendant upon the necessary dispersion of our troops into small detachments, was the multiplication of commands: which sometimes necessarily fell upon persons little qualified for that arduous charge, under the critical and delicate situation of the army. Whatever excesses and faults were unfortunately committed by them, cast disgrace and obloquy upon the service in general. † On advice received at Newtonbarry of the attack intended by the rebels, an express had been sent to Clonnegall, two miles and a half distant, ordering the troops posted there to march immediately to Newtonbarry. The commander of these troops, Lieutenant Young of the Donegal militia, instead of marching immediately, spent two hours in hanging four prisoners, in spite of the urgent remonstrances of the gentlemen of the town, and an officer of the North Cork, who considered these men as not deserving death: some of them having actually declined to join the rebels, when it was fully in their power. By this delay, and an unaccountably circuitous march, three miles longer than the direct road, the troops arrived not at Newtonbarry till after the action was entirely over. Mr. Young, on his arrival in Clonnegall, had commanded the inhabitants to furnish every individual of his soldiers with a feather-bed, and had, without the least necessity, turned Mr. Derenzy, a brave and loyal gentleman and his children, out of their beds. When remonstrances were made to this officer for the incessant depredations of his men, his answer was, "I am the commanding officer, and damn the croppies."

* The light in which this conduct of the commanding officer at Newtonbarry was set forth in the official bulletin, was, *that he at first retreated in order to collect his force.*

† Gord. 2 edit. p. 151.

The rebels having been foiled in their late efforts, and disheartened at their recent defeats, had taken post on Corrigrua hill in great force, where they rested on their arms till the 4th of June. Meantime, the long and anxiously expected army under General Loftus, arrived at Gorey. The fight of fifteen hundred fine troops, with five pieces of artillery, filled every loyal breast with confidence, that the immediate and total dispersion of the rebels was at hand. The plan was, to march the army in two divisions, by different roads at Corrigrua, and attack the enemy in conjunction with other troops. The rebels were in the mean time preparing to quit Corrigrua, and to march to Gorey. Information had been received by the rebel chiefs, of the intended motions of the army, and they acted upon it. But when intelligence of the plan of the rebels march was brought to the army, by a respectable farmer, named Thomas Dowling, the officers despised his information, and even threatened him with imprisonment. Both armies marched about the same time: that of the rebels surprised a division under Colonel Walpole*, at a place called Tubberneering. The rebels instantly poured a tremendous fire from the fields on both sides of the road, and he received a bullet through the head from the first fire. His troops fled in the utmost disorder, leaving their cannon, consisting of two six pounders, and a smaller piece, in the hands of the enemy. They were pursued as far as Gorey, in their flight through which, they were galled by the fire of some of the rebels who had taken station in the houses. The unfortunate loyalists of Gorey, once more fled to Arklow with the routed army, leaving all their effects behind.

While Walpole's division was attacked by the enemy, General Loftus, being within hearing of the musquetry, detached seventy men, the grenadier company of the Antrim militia, across the fields to its assistance; but they were intercepted by the rebels, and almost all killed or taken. The general, still ignorant of the fate of Colonel Walpole's division, and unable to bring his artillery across the fields, continued his march along the highway, by a long

* This gentleman was a relative and favorite of Lord Camden's. He was no soldier; but being ambitious of signalizing himself in the rebellion, had, through importunity at the castle, where favor had too frequently outweighed merit, procured the command of five hundred men. He had only one quality of a soldier—courage; which, without discretion in a commander, becomes rashness. He refused to employ scouts or flanking parties; and was not aware of the enemy till they were within gun shot. He was conspicuously mounted on a white charger, in full uniform and plumage.

circuit,

circuit, to the field of battle, where he was first acquainted with the melancholy event. For some way he followed the rebels toward Gorey, but finding them posted on Gorey-hill, from which they fired upon him the cannon taken from Colonel Walpole, he retreated to Carnew; and still contrary to the opinion of most of his officers, thinking Carnew an unsafe post, though at the head of twelve hundred effective men, he abandoned that part of the country to the rebels, and retreated nine miles farther, to the town of Tullow, in the county of Carlow.

Whilst one formidable body of the Wexford insurgents was advancing toward the north, another still more formidable was preparing to penetrate to the south west. The conquest of New Ross, which is situated on the river formed by the united streams of the Nord and the Barrow, would have laid open a communication with the disaffected in the counties of Waterford and Kilkenny, in which many thousands were supposed ready to rise in arms at the appearance of their successful confederates. The possession of that important post, when it might have been effected without opposition, immediately upon their success at Enniscorthy, had, fortunately for the royal cause, been abandoned on account of a personal difference amongst their chiefs. The rebel army at Wexford chose Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey,* as soon as he was liberated from prison, for their generalissimo, and they divided into two main bodies: one of which directed its course northward to Gorey; the other, which was headed by Harvey in person, took post on Carrickburn mountain, within six miles of Ross, where it was reviewed and organized till the 4th of June, when it marched to Corbet hill, within a mile of that town which it was intended to attack the next morning. Harvey, though neither

* The following was the form of their appointment.

“ AT a meeting of the commanders of the united army, held at Carrickburn camp, on the 1st of June, 1798, it was unanimously agreed, that Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey should be appointed and elected commander in chief of the united army of the county of Wexford, from and after the first day of June, 1798.

“ Signed by order of the different commanding officers of the camp,

“ NICHOLAS GRAY, Secretary.”

“ It was likewise agreed, that Edward Roche should from and after the 1st day of June instant, be elected, and is hereby elected a general officer of the united army of the county of Wexford.

“ Signed by the above authority,

“ NICHOLAS GRAY.”

destitute of personal courage, nor of a good understanding, possessed no military experience, much less those rare talents, by which an undisciplined multitude may be directed and controlled. He formed the plan of an attack on three different parts of the town at once, which would probably have succeeded had it been put in execution. Having sent a summons to General Johnson, the commander of the king's troops, with a flag of truce, to surrender the town, the bearer of it, one Furlong, was shot by a sentinel of an out-post.* Whilst Harvey was arranging his forces for the assault, they were galled by the fire of some out-posts: he ordered a brave young man, of the name of Kelly, to put himself at the head of five hundred men, and drive in the out posts. Kelly was followed confusedly by a much greater number than he wished: he executed his commission; but could not bring back the men as ordered; they rushed impetuously into the town, drove back the cavalry with slaughter on the infantry, seized the cannon, and being followed in their successful career by crowds from the hills, seemed some time nearly masters of the town. From a full persuasion of a decided victory in favor of the rebel army, some officers of the garrison fled to Waterford, twelve miles distant, with the alarming intelligence.

The original plan of attack was thus defeated by this premature, though successful onset, in one quarter; the Dublin and Donegal militia maintained their posts at the market house, and at a station called Fairgate, and prevented the rebels from penetrating into the centre of the town; while Major General Johnson, aided by the extraordinary exertions of an inhabitant of Ross,

* To shoot all persons carrying flags of truce from the rebels, appears to have been a maxim with his majesty's forces. This measure if wise, was certainly less productive of good, than evil consequences. In Furlong's pocket was found the following letter of summons to General Johnson.

“ SIR,

“ AS a friend to humanity, I request you will surrender the town of Ross to the Wexford forces, now assembled against that town; your resistance will but provoke rapine and plunder, to the ruin of the most innocent. Flushed with victory, the Wexford forces, now innumerable and irresistible, will not be controlled, if they meet with resistance. To prevent, therefore, the total ruin of all property in the town, I urge you to a speedy surrender, which you will be forced to in a few hours, with loss and bloodshed, as you are surrounded on all sides. Your answer is required in four hours. Mr. Furlong carries this letter, and will bring the answer.

“ I am, Sir,

“ B. B. HARVEY,

General commanding, &c. &c. &c.”

“ *Camp at Corbet Hill, half past three o'clock*

“ *in the morning, June 5, 1798.*”

named

named M'Cormick, who had served in the army, though not then in commission, brought back to the charge the troops that had fled across the river to the Kilkenny side; they presently recovered their post, and drove the rebels from the town, the outskirts of which were now in flames, fired by the assailants or disaffected inhabitants, as Enniscorthy had been. The rebels, in their turn, rallied by their chiefs, returned with fury to the assault, and regained some ground. Again dislodged by the same exertions as before, and a third time rallied, they were at last finally repulsed, after an engagement of above ten hours, ending about two o'clock in the afternoon.

The official bulletin, published at Dublin on the 8th of June, stated, that on the 5th, about six in the morning, the rebels attacked the position of General Johnson, at New Ross, with a very large force and great impetuosity; but that, after a contest of several hours, they were completely repulsed. The loss of the rebels was very great, the streets being literally strewn with their carcasses. An iron gun upon a ship carriage had been taken; and late in the evening they retreated entirely to Carrickbyrne, leaving several iron ship guns not mounted.

General Johnson stated, that too much praise could not be given to the forces under his command.

The general severely regretted the loss of that brave officer, Lord Mountjoy, who fell early in the contest. A return of the killed and wounded of his majesty's forces had not then been received, but it appeared not to have been considerable. It was supposed to have been about 300, though the official detail afterwards made reduced them to about half that number.*

* The impetuosity and ardor with which the rebels assailed the town of Ross, and the prodigality with which they threw away their lives, surpassed belief. The troops did not stand it; and the difficulty, with which that noble and meritorious officer, General Johnson, rallied them, proves the terror, which this ferocious, though irregular charge of the rebels had created. The first assailants had no sooner dislodged the troops, than, instead of pursuing them on their retreat, they fell most voraciously to plunder, and became quickly disabled to act from intoxication, whereby they were so easily repulsed on the return of the fugitive troops. Sir Richard Musgrave says, (p. 410) "that such was their enthusiasm, that though whole ranks of them were seen to fall, they were succeeded by others, who seemed to court the fate of their companions, by rushing on our troops with renovated ardor."

One rebel, emboldened by fanaticism and drunkenness, advanced before his comrades, seized a gun, crammed his hat and wig into it, and cried out, "come on, boys, her mouth is stopped." At that instant the gunner laid the match to the gun, and blew the unfortunate savage to atoms. This fact has been verified by the affidavit of a person who saw it from a window.

Bloody as was the carnage at New Rofs, where the rebels were said to have lost between two and three thousand men, the horror of that scene vanished before the inhuman massacre of a number of unfortunate prisoners,* men, women,

* Such inhuman massacres in cold blood are in their nature too horrible to find advocates, whether perpetrated under the brutal orders of a king's officer on avowed rebels, or of rebels in retaliation; by a Henry at Agincourt, a Suwarrow at Praga, or a Bonaparte in Palestine. To a deed so foul the grossest misinterpretation must be expected in the frantic rage of party to be super-added to its own essential atrocity. Sir Richard Musgrave (p. 426) has asserted, that "John Murphy, the rebel captain, Nicholas Sweetman, and William Devereux, who both held the same rank, commanded a guard of 300 rebels, and that when the rebel army began to give way at Rofs, an express was sent to Murphy, to put the Protestant prisoners to death, as the king's troops were gaining the day; but Murphy refused to comply without a direct order from the general: that he soon after received another message to the same purpose, with this addition, that the prisoners, if released, would become very furious and vindictive: that shortly a third express arrived, saying the priest gave orders that the prisoners should be put to death: that the rebels, on hearing the sanction of the priest, became outrageous, and began to pull off their clothes, the better to perform the bloody deed."

There is no question, but that the rebels were universally and unexceptionably determined upon the principle of retaliation and retribution: they considered every man that lost his life under military execution, without trial, as a murdered victim whose blood was to be revenged: so sanguinary and vindictive had this warfare fatally become. Besides numerous instances of such military executions, wherever the army had gained an advantage, they bore deeply in their minds the deliberate and brutal murder of thirty-eight prisoners, most of whom had not (at least who were said and believed not to have) committed any act of treason at Dunlavin on the 24th of May; and the like wanton and atrocious murder of thirty-nine prisoners of the like description at Carnew, on the morning of Whitfun Monday, merely because the party, which had them in custody, had orders to march, and they were unwilling to discharge them, but wanted time to examine, much more to try them. A gentleman of punctilious veracity and retentive memory has assured me, that he was present in the House of Commons at the examination of a Mr. Frizell, a person of respectability, at the bar of that house, in the summer of 1798, who was a prisoner in the house of Scullabogue on the 4th of June. He was asked every question that could be suggested relative to the massacre: to which his answers were substantially as follows: That having been taken prisoner by a party of the rebels, he was confined to a room on the ground floor in Scullabogue house, with twenty or thirty other persons; that a rebel guard with a pike stood near the window, with whom he conversed: that persons were frequently called out of the room in which he was by name, and he believes were soon after shot, as he heard the report of musquets shortly after they had been so called out; that he understood that many were burned in the barn, the smoke of which he could discover from the window: that the centinel pikeman assured him, that they would not hurt a hair of his head, as he was always known to have behaved well to the poor: that he did not know of his own knowledge, but

women, and children, mostly Protestants, burned to death in a barn at Scullabogue on the evening of that same day. Scullabogue house, which is the property of a Mr. King, was situated at the foot of Carrickburn mountain. When the rebel army marched to Corbet hill, these prisoners had been left under a guard, commanded by John Murphy, of Loghnaghur. The runaways declared, that the royal army in Ross were shooting all the prisoners, and butchering the Catholics, who had fallen into their hands, feigned an order from Harvey for the execution of those at Scullabogue. This order, which Harvey himself, a Protestant, and a man of humanity, was utterly incapable of giving, Murphy is said to have resisted; but his resistance was vain. Thirty-seven were shot and piked at the hall door; and the rest, a hundred and eighty-four in number according to report, crammed into a barn, were burned alive, the roof being fired, and straw thrown into the flames to feed the conflagration.

It appears upon the whole, that the burning of the prisoners at Scullabogue was not, as has been generally represented, the consequence of any regular order or system, but perpetrated by some runaway rebels from the assault on Ross (the coward being ever cruel), who, to palliate their own flight, invented or magnified the cruelty of the king's troops. It is generally believed, that several persons, who were on guard at Scullabogue, and suffered for the transaction, were in truth the most innocent of that inhuman and barbarous massacre.*

but only from the reports current amongst the prisoners, what the particular cause was, for which the rebels had set fire to the barn. Upon which, Mr. Ogle rose with precipitancy from his seat, and put this question to him with great eagerness: Sir, tell us what the cause was. It having been suggested, that the question would be more regularly put from the chair, it was repeated to him in form; and Mr. Frizell answered, that the only cause that he, or he believed the other prisoners ever understood, induced the rebels to this action, was, that they had received intelligence, that the military were again putting all the rebel prisoners to death in the town of Ross, as they had done at Dunlavin and Carnew. Mr. Ogle asked no more questions of Mr. Frizell, and he was soon after dismissed from the bar. To those gentlemen who were present at this examination, the truth of this statement is submitted.

* According to some accounts, about fifteen Catholics perished in this barn. But I find, in a letter from Dr. Caulfield to Dr. Troy, of the 29th of October, 1799; that he could "mention but" seven, viz. two men of the name of Neille, the clerk of Mr. Shalloe's chapel, Johnston a piper, Eleanor Ryan a servant maid, Edward Ryan her father, and Edward Killa a herd. The people at Wexford (town) were not the authors of that massacre, nor had they any hand in it. We cannot tell who commanded the guard that remained there."

On

On the day ensuing the rebels defeat at Rofs, they re-assumed their former position on Carrickburn hill. Great discontent pervaded the whole army from their failure on the preceding day. Loud murmurs were heard against their commander in chief, who in consequence thereof resigned his command, and retired to Wexford. He is said to have been much disgusted, not only at the turn of events in the field, but more particularly at the general insubordination that prevailed throughout their ranks. Being a man of natural benevolence and humanity, he was shocked at the massacre at Scullabogue: and the last act of his power was, the issuing general orders denouncing the penalty of death against such persons, as should murder the prisoners, burn any house, or commit any plunder, without special written orders from the commander in chief.*

The

* GENERAL ORDERS.

At a Meeting of the General and several Officers of the United Army of the County of Wexford, the following Resolutions were agreed upon :

Resolved, That the commander in chief shall send guards to certain baronies for the purpose of bringing in all men they shall find loitering or delaying at home, or elsewhere; and if any resistance be given to those guards so to be sent by the commanding officer's orders, it is our desire and orders, that such persons so giving resistance, shall be liable to be put to death by the guards, who are to bear a commission for that purpose; and all such persons so to be found loitering and delaying at home, when brought in by the guards, shall be tried by a court-martial, appointed and chosen from amongst the commanders of all the different corps, and be punished with death.

Resolved, That all officers shall immediately repair to their respective quarters, and remain with their different corps, and not depart therefrom under pain of death, unless authorized to quit by written orders from the commander in chief for that purpose.

It is also ordered, that a guard shall be kept in rear of the different armies, with orders to shoot all persons who shall fly or desert from any engagement, and that these orders shall be taken notice of by all officers commanding such engagement.

All men refusing to obey their superior officers, to be tried by a court-martial, and punished according to their sentence.

It is also ordered, that all men who shall attempt to leave their respective quarters when they have been halted by the commander in chief, shall suffer death, unless they shall have leave from their officers for so doing.

It is ordered by the commander in chief, that all persons who have stolen or taken away any horse or horses, shall immediately bring in all such horses to the camp, at head-quarters, otherwise every horse that shall be seen or found in the possession of any person to whom he does not belong, shall be seized, and the person convicted of taking it shall suffer death.

And

The rebels remained only two days at Carrickburn; they took post on Sleeva Keelta, another hill which rises over the river of Rofs, probably with design to intercept the navigation of the channel between Waterford, Rofs, and Duncannon Fort. In this they in some degree succeeded; for, though they failed in their attempts on some gun-boats, they obliged some small vessels to surrender, in one of which was a mail, from which they learned much concerning the state of the kingdom in general from newspapers and private letters. Here, by a tumultuous election, was chosen for general, in the room of Harvey, Father Philip Roche, who has been before mentioned to be a man of large stature and boisterous manners, not ill adapted to direct by influence the disorderly bands he had to deal with.

This choice of Father Roche shews how much the warfare had now altered its complexion, and began to assume the form of a fanatic and religious crusade. The term *United Irishmen* had been designedly merged into that of *Popish Rebels* on one side, and the denomination of *Orangemen* into that of *Protestants and Heretics* on the other. It shews also how little guided the Wexford rebels were by any thing like a preconcerted plan from their first rising. Of all men, the Roman Catholic priests were the least qualified for feats of arms and military conduct. Yet they being the individuals, to whom the lower class of society paid the most personal subservience and obedience, it was perhaps considered prudent to confide the command of this indomitable rabble to persons of that description. The few of them* who had debased their mi-

And any goods that shall have been plundered from any house, if not brought in to head-quarters, or returned immediately to the houses or owners, that all persons so plundering as aforesaid shall, on being convicted thereof, suffer death.

It is also resolved, that any person or persons who shall take upon him or them to kill or murder any person or prisoner, burn any house, or commit any plunder, without special written orders from the commander in chief, shall suffer death.

Head-quarters, Carrickbyrne camp,

June 6, 1798.

By order of

B. B. HARVEY, Commander in Chief.

FRANCIS BREEN, Secretary and Adjutant.

* From the most unbiassed accounts which I have seen, the number of Roman Catholic priests, who gave into the rebellion, fell considerably short of a score, which out of two thousand and upwards in the kingdom is a very small proportion. Amongst those few no prelate or ecclesiastic of consequence and respectability was to be found. Some few of them appear to have been intimidated by their flock and forced into the cause under threats and menaces of their lives. Such were not prominently active in the field; but weak enough to sanction by their authority and functions the execrable cause of rebellion.

nistry

niftry by giving into the rebellion were either ferociously fanatical, or profligately hypocritical: such characters were supereminently adapted to control these licentious and ungovernable bands. Little is it to be wondered at, that men, who could so pollute the sacred character, as to convert the mild and persuasive weapons of the Evangelist, into the exterminating sword of blood and devastation, should sharpen the latter with every fraud, imposition, and falsehood, which the innate reverence of the Irish at all times for the sacred character of the priesthood, enabled them to father upon them and thus mislead and enflame the people.*

Quitting the post of Slyeave Keelter in three days after their arrival, the troops of Philip Roche occupied the hill of Lacken, within two miles of Ros, where they formed a less irregular encampment than usual, many tents being erected for their officers. Here for some days they lay inactive, regaling themselves on the slaughtered cattle and liquors, they had plundered, supinely negligent of their safety, and open to be surprised on any night by a sortie from the garrison of Ros. Had the rebels, immediately after the rout of Walpole's army, advanced to Arklow, they could have taken possession of it without resistance, for the garrison fled from it before day break on the 5th of June, to Wicklow. The insurgents of the county of Wicklow had with extreme difficulty been kept in check by Major Hardy, the commander of

* Thus it appears not improbable, that in this particular Sir Richard Musgrave speaks some truth (*p.* 432.) "A respectable Protestant who was taken prisoner by the rebels, and compelled to serve in the camp at Carickbyrne, informed me, that Father Roche, in a public harangue, denounced all Protestants as hereticks, and that they could not have luck or grace while any of them were permitted to serve in their ranks: that on the same day he met Roche in a tent, and that he with singular dissimulation, assured him, that they made no religious distinction, and never regarded a man's religion, provided he was loyal and true to their cause: that Bagenal Harvey on hearing Roche's harangue, lamented to him, that the war unexpectedly turned out to be purely religious; that the priests had got absolute sway: that he seemed quite distracted, and wished he could make his escape."

And Mr. Gordon, (*p.* 157) speaking of Father Michael Murphy, who was killed at the battle of Arklow says, "this priest had been supposed by the more ignorant of his followers to be invulnerable by bullets or any other kind of weapon; to confirm them in which belief he had frequently shewed them musket balls, which he said he caught in his hands as they flew from the guns of the enemy. Though I was well acquainted with the extreme credulity of the lower classes of my Romanist countrymen, I could not give credit to this account until I found it confirmed beyond a doubt by various concurring testimonies. The same divine protection was believed to be possessed by father John, the famous fanatic already mentioned."

that

that district who had been very unaccountably repulsed in five different encounters; which advantages though singly of no great importance, rendered the rebels in those parts far more audacious, and eager to co-operate with the Wexford insurgents. The officer who commanded in Arklow when the garrison was preparing for flight, issued orders that no person should be permitted to quit the town until the garrison had marched; so that if the rebels had come, as they were every moment expected, the whole multitude of women and children of the loyalist's party must have fallen into their hands. This order was probably intended to prevent the intelligence of Walpole's defeat from being carried northward; it was quite nugatory, as that intelligence was conveyed by several different roads to the metropolis.*

As Major Hardy was ignorant of the great force of the rebels posted at Gorey, he highly disapproved of the evacuation of Arklow, and commanded the garrison instantly to return from Wicklow to their post, without even permission to taste any refreshment. It was augmented on the sixth by the arrival of the Cavan regiment of militia, and at one o'clock on the morning of the ninth by that of the Durham fencibles. The arrival of this regiment, which was well disciplined, most critically prevented the taking of Arklow, the consequences of which might have been fatal to the cause. This regiment had been remarkably successful in the preceding year, in the county of Down in disarming the United Irishmen, and thereby preventing the breaking out of rebellion in that part. When ordered southward, on account of the insurrection in Leinster, an ambuscade of seven thousand men was placed in the county of Meath, to the north of Balbriggan, to surround and cut it to pieces on its march; but by the excellent dispositions made by its commander Colonel Skerret, it passed this formidable ambuscade without loss, and arrived safely in Dublin; whence, after much deliberation, and a delay dangerous at such a crisis, it was sent to Arklow; carriages having been procured for the men, that they might arrive fresh at the scene of action.

After the defeat of Walpole's army on the 4th of June, the rebels had wasted much time in burning the town of Carnew, in trials of prisoners for Orangism, the plundering of houses, and other acts of like nature; at length however, they collected their force at Gorey, and advanced to attack Ark-

* An exaggerated account of this disaster was received by the disaffected in Dublin, before it was known by the members of administration at the castle; for the societies of the conspiracy had an established mode of speedy conveyance by verbal messages from one secretary to another.

low on the ninth, the only day in which that post had fortunately been prepared for defence. Their number exceeded twenty thousand, of whom near five thousand were armed with guns, the rest with pikes, and they were furnished with three serviceable pieces of artillery. The garrison consisted of sixteen hundred men including yeomen, supplementary men, and those of the artillery. The rebels attacked the town on all sides, except that which is washed by the river. The approach of that column, which advanced by the sea shore, was rapid and impetuous: the picquet guard of yeoman cavalry, stationed in that quarter, instantly galloped off in such terror, that most of them stopped not their flight till they had crossed the Barrow which was very broad, swimming their horses, in great peril of drowning. The farther progress of the assailants was prevented by the charge of the regular cavalry, supported by the fire of the infantry, who had been formed for the defence of the town, in a line composed of three regiments, with their battalion artillery, those of the Armagh and Cavan militia, and the Durham fencibles. The main effort of the rebels, who commenced the attack near four o'clock in the evening was directed against the station of the Durham, whose line extended through the field in front of the town to the road leading from Gorey.

As the rebels poured their fire from the shelter of ditches, so that the opposite fire of the soldiery had no effect, Colonel Skerret, the second in command, commanded his men to stand with ordered arms, their left wing covered by a breast work, and the right by a natural rising of the ground, until the enemy leaving their cover should advance to an open attack. This open attack was made three times in most formidable force, the assailants rushing within a few yards of the cannon mouths; but they were received with so close and effective a fire, that they were repulsed with great slaughter in every attempt. The Durhams were not only exposed to the fire of the enemy's small arms, but were also galled by their cannon. General Needham who in riding from post to post exposed himself to the enemy's fire, fearing to be overpowered by numbers began to talk of a retreat: to which Colonel Skerret spiritedly replied to the general, that they could not hope for victory otherwise than by preserving their ranks: if they broke, all was lost: he knew the spirit of his corps and could never bear the idea of its giving ground. By this magnanimous answer of the colonel the general was diverted some time from his scheme of a retreat, and in that time the business was decided by the retreat of the rebels, who retired in despair, when frustrated in their most furious assault

assault and dispirited by the death of Father Michael Murphy, who was killed by a cannon shot, within thirty yards of the Durham line, while he was leading his people to the attack.

The battle of Arklow, though not altogether the most bloody, was perhaps the most important of this civil war, since it most probably decided the fate of Ireland. As the rebels were not pursued (pursuit would have been hazardous, at the close of the evening), they carried away most of their wounded, so that their loss could not be ascertained, but is reported to have amounted to three or four hundred. The loss of the Durham regiment, out of three hundred and sixty men, of which it consisted, was twenty privates killed and wounded. The loss of men sustained by the rest of the army never was accurately ascertained, but was smaller than might have been expected: for though the weight of the combat lay on the Durhams, the action was every where warm, and the defence bravely maintained. The rebels' guns having been generally worked by the artillery men they had taken prisoners, were designedly pointed too high, which accounts for the paucity of the slain on the king's side.*

The town of Wexford was the prime seat or head quarters of the rebellion in the south. It remained in the possession of the rebel force about three weeks; namely, from the 30th of May to the 21st of June. During this space of time it was the melancholy scene of much distress and cruelty: and afterwards became the object of much more obloquy and defamation than the real horrors, great as they were, would justify. The sanguinary and vin-

* A very warm contest subsists between Sir Richard Musgrave and the Rev. Mr. Gordon, relative to their respective representations of the conduct of General Needham in this action: for the particulars of which, see the Appendix to the second edition of Mr. Gordon's History of the Rebellion, No. IX. The following was the official account of this battle:

“ Dublin, 10th June, 1798.

“ ACCOUNTS were received early this morning by Lieutenant General Lake, from Major General Needham, at Arklow, stating that the rebels had, in great force, attacked his position in Arklow, at six o'clock yesterday evening. They advanced in an irregular manner, and extended themselves for the purpose of turning his left flank, his rear and right flanks being strongly defended by the town and barrack of Arklow. Upon their endeavouring to enter the lower end of the town, they were charged by the 40th Dragoon Guards, 5th Dragoons, and Ancient Britons, and completely routed. All round the other points of the position, they were defeated with much slaughter. The loss of his majesty's troops was trifling, and their behaviour highly gallant.”

dictive turn the insurgency had very early taken, rendered submission to either, alike dreadful to both parties respectively. On the evacuation of the town by the military, all the vessels lying in the harbour were instantly crowded with fugitives, who dreaded nothing so much as to fall into the hands of the rebels. The quays and every avenue leading to the water side, were crowded with men, women, and children, begging in the most pitiable manner, to be admitted on board the vessels. They were filled in every part. On seeing the flames of the toll-house and bridge, all the vessels weighed and stood towards the mouth of the harbour, where they cast anchor. About one o'clock, a white flag was seen flying in Wexford (a signal that the rebels were in possession of the town); all the captains answered the signal, except two, who sailed for Wales. They then again weighed anchor, and stood for the town, where they soon landed all their passengers to share the fate of their neighbours.

The rebels who entered the town, were headed by Edward Roche, a farmer, who had been permanent serjeant in Colonel Le Hunte's corps of yeomen cavalry, from which he had lately deserted, and become a rebel general. They immediately by acclamation appointed Gen. Keugh governor and commandant of the town; and bore him on their shoulders to the court house. This extraordinary man, having been a private in his majesty's service, had risen to the rank of captain-lieutenant in the 6th regiment, in which he served in America. He was a man of engaging address, and of that competency of fortune, which enabled him to live comfortably in Wexford. Proud and ambitious, he appreciated his own abilities too highly: and in clubs and coffee-houses, he had long been in the habit of censuring the corruptions of government, and was so violent an advocate for reform, that the lord chancellor had deprived him of the commission of the peace, in the year 1796. In order to introduce some order into the town, the rebels chose certain persons to distribute provisions, and for that purpose to give tickets to the inhabitants to entitle them to a rateable portion of them, according to the number of inhabitants in each house. Many habitations of the Protestants who had made their escape were plundered, some of them were demolished, and but few of those who remained in the town were spared. Most of the Protestant men were committed to prison, except a few leaders who were really attached to their cause, or who affected to be so to save their lives, or those who concealed themselves.

Although

Although several of the Protestant inhabitants of Wexford were imprisoned, they were those only, whom the rebels considered the most obnoxious.* It has been asserted by one author, with a mischievous mixture of truth and falsehood, that "those who could obtain written protections from the Popish clergy, whose influence was unbounded, or from the rebel leaders, were not molested."† It is a most lamentable truth, that during the tumultuary rule of this ferocious and enflamed rabble, many partial, though premeditated and cruel murders without any form or pretence of trial, were perpetrated in Wexford, with a savage affectation of solemnity, in order to excite and extend the sanguinary enthusiasm of this frantic multitude. An author of candor and credit has said, that ‡ he could not state with accuracy, what number had been massacred during the whole time of the rebels' possession; he believed it to have amounted to 101.

Most, if not all of the massacres perpetrated in Wexford were laid at the door of an infuriate sanguinary monster by the name of Dixon, a captain of a trading vessel, who was on board his vessel with a large number of fugitives in the harbour, and was the first to re-land them: he had also behaved towards some of the ladies in his ship with brutal ferocity. This man had acquired an unfortunate ascendancy over the very worst and most fanatical part of this wretched assemblage. After his return to shore he was made a captain in the rebel army; which increased his influence, and extended his means of

* The following rebel proclamation seems to justify the idea, that they had no intent or wish to spill the blood of any, who had not been guilty of acts of cruelty, violence, and oppression against the people.

Proclamation of the People of the County of Wexford.

" WHEREAS it stands manifestly notorious, that James Boyd, Hawtry White, Hunter Gowran, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, late magistrates of this county, have committed the most horrid acts of cruelty, violence, and oppression, against our peaceable and well-affected countrymen. Now we, the people, associated and united for the purpose of procuring our just rights, and being determined to protect the persons and properties of those of all religious persuasions who have not oppressed us, and are willing with heart and hand to join our glorious cause, as well as to shew our marked disapprobation and horror of the crimes of the above delinquents, do call on our countrymen at large to use every exertion in their power to apprehend the bodies of the afore-said James Boyd, &c. &c. &c. and to secure and convey them to the gaol of Wexford, to be brought before the tribunal of the people.

" Done at Wexford, this 9th day of June, 1798.

" GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE."

† Musgrave, p. 445.

‡ Gordon, second edition, p. 190.

exciting

exciting the rabble, under the mask of zeal for their cause, to those inhuman atrocities, in which he appeared to delight. It happened, that some Orange furniture had been found by the wife of this man (an inhuman prototype of himself) in the drawing room of Mr. Le Hunte, four miles from Wexford, particularly two fire-screens, with emblematical figures; Dixon informed the mob, that his room had been the meeting place of Orangemen, and that the figures denoted the manner, in which the Roman Catholics were to be put to death by these conspirators; that they were to be first deprived of their fight, and then burned alive, without the exception even of children; and particularly that the seamen of that communion were to be roasted to death on red-hot anchors. Mr. Le Hunte, who had hitherto been permitted to remain with little molestation in a private house in the town, was instantly dragged into the street by the rabble, who would soon have torn him in pieces, if he had not been saved by the exertions of two Catholic gentlemen, who commanded an influence upon the people, named Edward Hay, and Robert Carty, who hurried him into the gaol, under pretence of bringing him to trial, and parried in the crowd the thrusts of the pikes, two of which, in spite of their endeavours, wounded him slightly in the back.*

The number of Protestants in the town of Wexford, when it fell into the hands of the rebels, did not merely consist of the inhabitants of that town and its environs, but had been greatly increased by the assemblage of refugees and prisoners from more distant parts of the country. Of these, about 260 were confined in the gaol and other places of imprisonment: several were confined in their own houses: the dread of massacre fell indiscriminately upon them all. In the perturbed state of a tumultuary assemblage of individuals so credulous, so irritable, and so ferocious, it would be useless to investigate the particular cause, motive, or incentive to each particular massacre. On the 6th day of June, under an order from Enniscorthy, ten prisoners at Wexford were selected for execution, and suffered accordingly. Conjectures

* Gordon, second edition, p. 178. This Mr. Hay, in 1802, wrote a very interesting letter to Mr. Gordon on some mis-statements in the first edition of his history, which the reverend author has had the candor to publish at full length in the Appendix to his second edition, and is to be seen in Appendix, No. CXIII. This gentleman (*ibid.*) says he is convinced, that Mr. Hay had no command among the rebels, and exerted himself only to save lives and property. Mr. Edward Hay has, since the publication of the Rev. Mr. Gordon's second edition, published a history of the insurrection of Wexford.

have been hazarded, why such orders emanated from Enniscorthy rather than from Wexford. The natural inference from the limitation of the victims to half a score, is that the rebels, who avowed to act upon the principles of retaliation, had received information that a similar number of their people had suffered in like manner on the preceding day. Bloody as the rebels are represented to have been, there could have been no other reason for their limiting their lust for murder to the particular number of ten. It has been said,* that a general slaughter of the prisoners was twice in vain attempted by the sanguinary Dixon, at the head of bands of peasants. He was magnanimously opposed, first by one Hore, a butcher, and next by one Scallion, a nautical trader; the former with a sword, the latter with a pistol, defying him to single combat, and insisting, that he must shew himself a man before he should dare to put defenceless men to death. Whatever fatal influence was practised by some individuals over the most profligate and infuriated fanatics of the multitude, the leaders of the rebels most solemnly disclaimed every idea of cruelty, and strongly recommended brotherly love and affection towards their countrymen of every religious persuasion.† An influx of fugitive rebels from the northern parts of the county into Wexford, by retailing some facts, and exaggerating or inventing more tales of cruelties, horrors, and barbarities committed upon them by the soldiery, had excited an unaccountable degree of ferociousness and revenge in the rebel multitude. The rage for retaliation which operated as strongly from the representation of false as of true facts, the barbarous Dixon enflamed by whiskey, and supported by the most inhuman exhortations. This monster had before assumed into his own hands a summary administration of justice, and by having exercised it upon an individual, whose character and conduct were odious to the multitude, had acquired from them a degree of credit in selecting the objects of his severity.

The Rev. Mr. Dixon, his relative, a Roman Catholic clergyman, having been sentenced to transportation, had been sent off to Duncannon Fort the day preceding the insurrection: he was found guilty on the testimony of one Francis Murphy, whose evidence was positively contradicted by three other witnesses. Under these circumstances, Dixon took a summary mode of

* Gordon, second edition, p. 180.

† See the proclamations, signed B. B. Harvey, on the 6th of June, and by Edward Roche, on the 7th, in the Appendix, No. CXIV.

avenging the fate of his kinsman, who was generally beloved. He brought the man out of gaol, upon his own sole authority, and conducted him down to the bull-ring, where he obliged three revenue officers, who were then prisoners, and whom he brought out along with him, to shoot him, and afterwards bear his body to the quay and throw it into the water. This execution took place, with all its shocking circumstances, while most of the town's people were at prayers, and was utterly unknown to the principal inhabitants.

It has unaccountably been so keen a study of some historiographers of this period of Irish history to represent the Catholic clergy in general, and particularly Dr. Caulfield, the Catholic bishop of Ferns, and others of his clergy in that diocese, as aiding and fomenting the rebellion, that it becomes necessary to notice the circumstances, as a point interesting and important to Irish history. Sir Richard Musgrave has left no stone unturned, that he thought would affix blame and obloquy upon that prelate and the Catholic clergy of his diocese. Dr. Caulfield has truly observed in the Preface to his reply to the misrepresentations of Sir Richard Musgrave, "that if one tenth part of what is asserted by Sir Richard Musgrave were founded in fact, the parties would not at this day be alive to refute his calumnies."*

From

* Waving every idea of controversy about the conduct of Dr. Caulfield in these calamitous scenes it suffices to state two letters written to Dr. Troy by Colonel Littlehales, secretary to Lord Cornwallis, after the heat of the ferment had subsided, after the publication of Sir Richard Musgrave's Memoirs, and a still more embittered pamphlet, most improperly called *Veridicus*, in which that baronet has employed his whole store of bile and rancor to criminate the bishop: these letters are vouchers, that government considered the subject of them in a light widely different from that, in which he has been attempted to be represented by Sir Richard Musgrave. They are official testimonies of his loyalty, and sanction the continuance of the fair historical narrative, regardless of the false statements, judgments, and inferences of the baronet and his female assistants.

Dublin Castle, May 11th, 1800.

" SIR,

" IN answer to the honor of your letter of the 9th instant, which I have laid before my lord lieutenant, I am to assure you, that government will give to Dr. Caulfield that protection, which, from his conduct and character as a loyal subject, he appears justly to merit.

" I have the honor to be,

" Sir,

" Your most obedient and faithful servant,

" The most Rev. Dr. Troy, &c. &c. &c.
North King Street."

" E. B. LITTLEHALES.

Dublin

From the breaking out of the rebellion, the number of Catholic priests in the town of Wexford was greatly augmented beyond the resident and officiating clergymen of that town. Many, who lived in the neighbourhood,* immediately fled into the town to avoid being dragged to the camps, or forced at the point of the pike, as they were often threatened by the rebels: some for a time lurked in the rocks on the coast, and others abandoned their dwellings, and slept (if they could sleep) in ditches, hedges, or brakes of furze, to avoid the shame, the disgust, and the horrors of the camps, and the impious insults of the parties, who were frequently sent in search of them. These latterly also took refuge in the town. In defiance of a very strong bias from a certain quarter to inculcate the Roman Catholic clergy in this unhappy contest, it is notorious, that in the diocese of Wexford not one of those who had a flock, not one parish priest was implicated, or had any concern in fomenting, encouraging, or aiding the rebellion: but had they possessed that degree of authority or influence generally attributed to them, there would have been no rebellion in that county: or if they retained or obtained such influence after the rebellion broke out, their respective flocks would have laid down their arms, and returned to their respective homes, and to their allegiance to their king. Whilst Dr. Caulfield was endeavouring to prevail on a party of rebels, who were plundering the house of his next door neighbour, Mr. Matt. Kavannah, to desist and retire, they told him in a most insulting and menacing tone, that they had information against his house; they instantly rushed into it, and searched for what they called Orangemen, bad men, &c. In vain did the Rev. Mr. Corrin, who was then in the house, endeavour to remonstrate and exhort them; they treated him with equal insolence.

Dublin Castle, June 30th, 1800.

“ SIR,

“ YOUR letter of the 28th current having reached me, with its enclosure
“ from Dr. Caulfield, I have stated their contents to my lord lieutenant, who desires me to say,
“ that his excellency has no cause whatsoever to alter the opinion he has imbibed of the loyalty
“ and proper deportment of Dr. Caulfield, whose letter I return.

“ I have the honor to be,

“ Sir,

“ Your most obedient and faithful servant,

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

“ The most Rev. Dr. Troy, &c. &c. &c.
North King Street.”

* Caulfield's Rep. p. 4.

VOL. II.

5 B

So

So radically had the infernal spirit of rebellion extinguished all sense of duty in the misguided wretches in this temporary phrenzy, that it became a service of as much danger to dehort them from their wicked purposes, as to hoist an orange cockade, or to threaten to flog, strangle, or picquet them.

Lord Kingsborough (now Earl of Kingston), the colonel of the North Cork regiment of militia, was in Dublin when the town was taken possession of by the rebels: but disbelieving the report of this disaster, he set out under that fatal incredulity to join his regiment: he travelled by land to Arklow, and thence proceeding by sea to Wexford, was taken prisoner with two officers of his own regiment off the harbour of that town.* The capture of Lord Kingsborough was considered by the rebels as an incident of peculiar importance to them, not only on account of his situation in life, but more especially as his lordship had ever been prominently forward in promoting the system of rigor and coercion so obnoxious to the United Irishmen. They had also further views upon his importance as an hostage, in case of their being driven to any terms of capitulation.

The monster Dixon, who retained with all his sanguinary ferocity a fur-

* Sir Richard Musgrave gives the following account of his detention. "For two days his lordship was lodged at the house of General Keugh; he was then removed to an inferior kind of inn, called the Cape of Good Hope, thence to the prison ship, where he remained but eight hours, having been afterwards lodged in a private house, where a guard was placed over him: Keugh asked him, how he thought government would treat him and his party, if they had them in their power? Lord Kingsborough replied, 'That they would hang every one of them.' On which Keugh observed, 'We know that we fight with halts round our necks.' The day of his lordship's arrival, Bagenal Harvey set out for the camp at Carrickbyrne, where the rebel army that attacked Ross was stationed. Keugh told Lord Kingsborough, 'that he would permit him to write to Lord Castlereagh, the lord lieutenant's secretary; but he said, he expected he would inform him how well he and his fellow prisoners were treated;' and he added, 'that he expected his friends Messrs. Sheares, Bond, Emmett, Jackson, McCann, &c. would receive similar treatment.' He informed Lord Kingsborough, that the members of the Irish Union had no confidence in the opposition party in the Irish parliament, because they considered them as insincere, and that they had propounded Catholic emancipation, and reform of parliament, merely to promote their own ambitious designs.

"Mrs. Snowe, the wife of Captain Snowe, of the North Cork regiment, informed me, that Lord Kingsborough asked her soon after his capture, 'whether she thought the rebel chieftains would have put him to death?' she replied, 'she was sure they would not, because they regarded him as a very good hostage, should they enter into any stipulations for their own safety; and that by preserving his life they might conciliate him, and obtain his influence and interest to secure their own.'

prising

prising influence over the lowest of that infuriate rabble, had amongst other means of inflaming them, the opportunity of a public house or inferior inn in the town, where his bloody satellites held their orgies.

On the 19th of June, General Edward Roche, and such of the insurgents of his neighbourhood as were at Vinegar Hill, were sent home to collect the whole mass of the people for general defence. By the march of the royal army in all directions, towards Vinegar Hill and Wexford, a general flight of such of the inhabitants as could get off took place.

The alarm was now general throughout the whole country; all men were called to attend the camps; and Wexford became the universal rendezvous of the fugitives, who reported, with various circumstances of horror, the progress of the different armies approaching in every direction, marking their movements with terrible devastation. Ships of war were also seen off the coast, and gun-boats blocked up the entrance of the harbour: and from the commanding situation of the camp at the Three Rocks, on the mountain of Forth, the general conflagration, which was as progressive as the march of the troops, was clearly perceivable. On the approach of the army, great numbers of countrymen, with their wives and children, and any little baggage they could hastily pack up, fled towards Wexford as to an asylum, and described, according to their fears, the plunder and destruction of houses, the murders and outrages of the soldiery let loose and encouraged to range over and devastate the country. General Moore, who advanced with a part of the army, did all in his power to prevent these atrocities, and had some of those outragers immediately put to death; but his humane and benevolent intentions were greatly baffled by the indomitable ferocity and revenge of the refugees returning home. Wexford regretted that general's being almost immediately ordered to Wicklow, where his conciliatory conduct and humanity were conspicuous, and will ever be remembered with gratitude by the people, who most eagerly flocked to his standard for protection.

While the principal inhabitants of Wexford were in consultation, to which they were now summoned, upon the best mode of self-preservation and defence, the order for all the armed men to appear in camp by break of day became imperious; and the outcry was so loud against the backwardness of the Wexford men, that several set off immediately. Captain Dixon, although booted, spurred, equipped, and accoutred for battle, refused to obey the orders of the commander in chief to attend at the Three Rocks. He was at

the time in the act of sending whiskey to about 70 countrymen, whom he had posted in the barrack, and there detained for his abominable purpose of a general massacre. These he had also reinforced by some thousands of the most dastardly and unruly, and therefore the most savage and cruel of the mob, who refused to march to the camp. These men he also rendered the more savage and ferocious with liquor, and with these auxiliaries he undertook the horrid work of blood.

The victims were conducted in successive parcels, of from ten to twenty, with horrible solemnity, each parcel surrounded by its guard of butchers, and preceded by a black flag marked with a white cross, to the place of execution, where they were variously put to death, one after another, but mostly each by four men at once, who standing two before and two behind the victim, thrust their pikes into the body, and raising it from the ground, held it suspended, writhing with pain, while any signs of life appeared. Some were slaughtered at the gaol, some at the market house, but the great butchery was on the bridge. A multitude of wretches, the greater part women, assembled to behold it, and rent the air with savage shouts of exultation at the arrival of each fresh parcel of victims at the fatal spot.

When 97 according to some or 35 according to other accounts had thus been butchered, the slaughter, which had commenced at two o'clock in the afternoon, was stopped at seven by the interference of Father Corrin, and the announcement of the alarming intelligence, that the post of Vinegar Hill was beset by the king's troops, and that reinforcements were required in that quarter. Father Corrin having vainly supplicated the assassins to desist, commanded them to pray before they should proceed farther in the work of death, and having thus caused them to kneel, dictated a prayer, that God would shew the same mercy to them, which they should shew to the surviving prisoners. The respite thus procured would probably have been short, if the exhortations of the priest had not been aided by the news of danger, which was announced aloud by some person, said to be Richard Monagan, or Monck, arriving hastily in the town, and which caused the multitude of spectators immediately to disperse. The surviving captives at the bridge were after a short pause reconducted to prison by their guard, with denunciations of a general massacre of all the Protestants the next day. The atrocity of these inhuman butcheries was aggravated by the mockery of justice, with which the monster Dixon attempted to sanction them. By the exertions of Mr. Edward Hay and some
others,

others, Dixon had been foiled in his particular vengeance against the life of Mr. Turner and Mr. Gainsford, whose blood the mob loudly called for, as they had led out the army against them on Whitfunday, and had burned several of their houses. A summary court of seven sat immediately upon those two gentlemen, and four of them being for their acquittal, the impetuous Dixon was about to retire in disgust and indignation, at being thus thwarted in his career of blood. But unfortunately at that critical moment, one Jackson, an Englishman, a carver and gilder, (the narrator of the Wexford cruelties) and one O'Connor, an organist, threw themselves on their knees to Captain Dixon, acknowledged themselves *Orangemen*, and ready to give every information, provided their lives might be spared. Dixon greedily availed himself of their proposal, as it afforded a new prospect of perpetrating his infernal designs. He instantly addressed the people assembled before the gaol, stating, that two Orangemen had become informers, and that proceeding to trial was therefore unnecessary, as the evidence of these men must be conclusive. It may easily be conceived, that, on this communication, horribly vociferated by Dixon, and re-echoed by his wife, the populace became ungovernable. The people instantly approved of his plan, and demanded that all Orangemen should be sent out to them. Eighteen intended for execution were first conducted from the gaol, under a strong guard, headed by Dixon, flanked by two Orange informers, whom he wished to exhibit as the grand support of his conduct. The fate of the prisoners was quickly decided, on their being conducted to the bridge. The proceedings concerning them were summary indeed. It was asked, did any one know any good action of the intended victim sufficient to save his life? If no answer were made, the assertion of an individual of some deed against the people, was conclusive evidence of guilt, and immediately death was the consequence, on this primary denunciation by Captain Dixon.*

When

* The following letter of Dr. Caulfield, though not intended for publication, I have considered as too material to be suppressed from the public. It was written in the next month after the tragical scene at Wexford.

Wexford, July 31, 1798.

“ To the Right Rev. Dr. TROY.

“ IT is impossible for me to gratify your curiosity, as I cannot collect or recollect the particulars of our conduct, or the individuals we endeavoured to serve or save during three long weeks of tragical confusion; and if I could, I really feel that modesty and decency would

We must leave the tumultuary horrors of Wexford to follow the movements of the army, which led to the final liberation of that town from the ruthless

would forbid me, because it would appear, that we claimed gratitude from the individuals, and acknowledgments from the public, which as it strikes me would appear ostentatious and indecorous. Certain it is, we could name many, very many persons, who, I apprehend, would not be pleased at seeing their names and religious professions published by us. I can say, there is not a Protestant, Presbyterian or Quaker in this town or adjoining baronies of Forth, Bargo, Keelmaler, Ballaghkeen, besides many from Enniscorthy, and other more remote parts, who fled and flocked in here, except such as quitted the country, that did not call on us for protection, and that we were employed from morning till night writing, speaking, and pleading for them, to procure protection from the leaders or chiefs of the insurrection, and in general we succeeded for the first fortnight. After that, the evil sanguinary spirit broke loose, and no protection availed. Our houses were constantly thronged, and every part, garrets, back houses, yards, every place filled with the people, their furniture, goods of all kinds. But, it soon became treason to plead for protection, for they were all Orangemen, and would destroy us all. In vain did we urge humanity, charity, religion, mercy. I declared, if any of them had killed my friend, my brother, or father, that I would protect and save him, if he threw himself on my mercy; for it was by shewing mercy, that I could expect mercy myself. This conduct and language graduated me equal to an Orangeman; my house must be pulled down or burnt, and my head knocked off. This last sentence was boldly pronounced to my face, surrounded as I was by four or five thousand pikes, spears, or muskets, when I was striving to save Lord Kingsborough's life, which we providentially effected by gaining over a few of those rebels, who had influence over the rest. That talk engaged me from nine o'clock in the morning till eight in the evening, during which time I had not a moment's rest, nor did I expect it in this wicked world, and I was alone, *i. e.* without any of the clergy with me the latter part of the day, except the Rev. James Roche, who mostly remained within doors with Lord Kingsborough. There were other priests there too, from the country, but dared not shew themselves or speak, for fear of pikes, &c. I remained until the king's army began to come in (it was Thursday the 21st of June), then I was in as perilous a situation as ever, not knowing but an indiscriminate slaughter might be their first act. However, I sat down with Lord Kingsborough and some others at his place of concealment to a bit of salt beef at the fall of night, and got a Captain Bourke of the North Cork militia, a worthy fellow, to escort me home. Two days before this the demon of murder broke out, and a banditti as if dispatched from hell assailed the gaol and barrack, both crammed with prisoners, and called them out by dozens to be executed, and two prison ships in the harbour, to be brought out, two others to be executed on the bridge. The Rev. Mr. Corrin dined with me, for my cry to the clergy was, that we should keep together, living or dying; and at the close of dinner a call for him came from Mr. Kellett, who was brought from the ship to the bridge for execution. He ran with all speed, and found Kellett and several others waiting the awful moment. He addressed the wretches in the best manner he could, warned them, that the blood they were spilling and to spill must shortly appear against them at the awful tribunal of God, and conjured them to stop, &c. &c. They did so, Kellett and the rest were allowed to live, and after that there was no massacre.

ruthless tyranny of the rebels. After the battle at Arklow the royal army remained some days close within its quarters, sending out patrols with great

massacre. Some days before there was a similar attack on the gaol, when Rev. Messrs. Corrin and Broe happened to be there and prevented its intended effect. On the above mentioned day, Mr. Corrin went home with Mr. Kellett, and all I could do could not bring him to town for near a week, although I sent him General Lake's protection. He had really pined away to a skeleton. My condition was, providentially for me, the reverse; for I never felt myself more vigorous, and the more pressing the difficulty and the more imminent the danger the firmer and the more steady was I. I had made up my mind to the worst at the set out, and afterwards took every occurrence as preparatory to the fatal moment I apprehended, and thus continued in unimpaired health, till the week before the last, when I was visited by a painful complaint for six days, but have got well rid of it, thank God. Indeed, the clergy of this town conducted themselves with zeal and activity through the whole, except while on board the vessel in harbour to which they occasionally fled to escape the fire, fury, &c. of the pikemen. When the rebels were defeated every where, and the king's army was approaching, a gentleman, my close neighbour, came to me and told me, he would go out to meet them at the risk of his life and represent me to the commanders as the protector of the protestants, &c. I thanked him and said, that government well knew my loyalty, and I was satisfied gave proper instructions to the commanders, that I had nothing to fear from the king's forces, except by a general conflagration, but, if necessary, I would avail myself of his kind offices, &c. I mentioned to you in a former letter my introduction to General Lake and his polite and kind attention to me, to the clergy, &c. His stay was short; but General Hunter, the day after he came here, called on me. I can't say it was so much a visit, as a confidential friendly conference. He has occasionally called on me since in the same confidential way, nor can I determine whether he deserves more credit for his sound understanding and judgment, or for his humane, compassionate feelings. He knows the spirit of prejudice prevailing here, as if he had lived many years among us. He condemns it as inimical to peace, tranquillity, and the public good. In a word, Providence has sent him a protecting angel to us. Now, my dear friend, do not call on me for further general detail; for I assure you, it sickens me on recollection, more than in the actual suffering. *Infandum amice, jubes renovare dolorem*. Through the whole I appeared publicly and with every degree of confidence, and for several days was stooped in the street at every step, to receive gratulations and thanks from the Protestants, for having saved them. Wishing you every happiness, I remain, &c.

P. S. I did not go to the gaol or prison ship at all, nor did I hear of the horrid murders committed there, till the bloody scene was over, and it was then too late. I could not find that there were more than two or three of this town engaged in the massacres; for the townsmen had been that morning ordered out to camp near Enniscorthy, and a horde of miscreants, like so many blood-hounds, rushed in from the country, and swore they would burn the town, if the prisoners were not given up to them; and, at the time there was not a force sufficient to restrain them. Indeed, most of the United men themselves shuddered at the horrid deeds. Lord Kingsborough, Messrs. Kellett and Bland, and many other Protestant gentlemen may be applied to for particular information concerning my conduct and that of the Catholic clergy of this town, on and previous to the 21st of June, when the king's army entered it.

caution,

caution, at first to a very small distance, and afterwards gradually farther. At last a troop of yeomen cavalry ventured so far on the road toward Gorey as to approach near the rebel station on Ask Hill. This post had been so thinned by perpetual desertions, that not more than a hundred men fit for action were then remaining in it, and these without a leader. About half of them fled with precipitation at the approach of the cavalry; the rest stripping to their shirts that they might be more expedite for the business, ran full speed to charge the cavalry with their pikes: but the latter avoided the attack, and retreated to Arklow with expedition. Immediately after, the country about Gorey was evacuated by the rebels, to the excessive joy of the loyalists, on whom they had been living at free quarter.

The army, at last, under Major General Needham, moved from Arklow to Gorey, on the 19th of June, and thence towards Enniscorthy on the 20th, according to a concerted plan, conducted by Lieutenant General Lake, that the great station of the rebels at Vinegar Hill should be surrounded by his majesty's forces, and attacked in all points at once. For this purpose, different armies moved at the same time from different quarters; one under Lieutenant General Dundas; another under Major Generals Sir James Duff and Loftus; that already mentioned from Arklow; and a fourth from Ross, under Major Generals Johnson and Eustace, who were to make the attack on the town of Enniscorthy. The march of the army from Ross was a kind of surprise to the bands of Philip Roche, on Lacken Hill, who fled in the utmost confusion, leaving their tents and a great quantity of plunder behind; separating into two bodies, one of which took its way to Wexford, the other to Vinegar Hill, where the Wexford insurgents were concentrating their force. This eminence, with the town of Enniscorthy at its foot, and the country for many miles round had been in possession of the rebels from the 28th of May, during which time the face of affairs had been indescribably horrid. Of the hapless prisoners, who had fallen into the hands of the rebels, some were put to death when taken, but most were dragged to Vinegar Hill, where, after a sham trial, often without any form of trial, many of them were shot, or transfixed with pikes; some lashed, or otherwise barbarously treated before their final * execution. Reports have carried the numbers of men thus butchered
on

* The rebel General Murphy experienced similar treatment from the army. He was tauntingly defied to work miracles, and otherwise scoffed at and insulted by a young officer, who went the length

on this fatal spot to about four hundred in all. The Rev. Mr. Gordon gives a singular instance of his own parish of Killeghny, five miles to the south-west of Enniscorthy, from the general slaughter; not one protestant of that parish having been killed in the rebellion, nor a house burned. These people surrounded on all sides before they were aware, found flight impracticable. Their preservation he ascribes to their temporising conformity with the Roman Catholic worship. The army employed to surround the rebel post of Vinegar Hill, constituted a force of about thirteen thousand effective men, with a formidable train of artillery. With this force the whole insurgent army at this post, in which lay the great strength of the rebellion, might have been completely surrounded. The attack began at seven o'clock on the morning of the 21st, with a firing of cannon and mortars. All the divisions were at their respective posts, except that of General Needham, who either from neglect or accident arrived not at his appointed position till nine, when the business was over. The rebels, after sustaining the fire of the artillery and small arms for an hour and an half, abandoned their station and fled where the passage lay open for them, which was the avenue intended to have been occupied by General Needham, most of them directing their course towards Wexford. Some hundreds were killed, who were found straggling from the main body after the battle; but most of all the real rebels escaped, and those who fell under the swords of the pursuers, were persons who had been forced away contrary to their inclinations, or who took that opportunity of escaping from the rebel army, or loyal prisoners.* As the flight of the rebels was precipitate, they left behind them a great quantity of rich plunder, together with all their cannon, amounting to thirteen in number, of which three were six-pounders. The loss on the side of the king's forces was very inconsiderable,

length of offering a most indecent insult to his person, which so irritated his feelings, that, though on the very brink of eternity, he doubled his fist and knocked down the officer at a blow; upon which he was unmercifully flagellated and instantly hanged.

* Doctor Hill, of Saint John's, near Enniscorthy, a gentleman highly esteemed by all his acquaintance, was with his two brothers, within a hair's breath of augmenting the number of slaughtered loyalists on this occasion. These three gentlemen, who had been prisoners with the rebels, and in the most imminent danger of their lives, ran for protection to the first whom they saw of the royal troops, and these happened to be Hessians. Three of these protectors immediately put their cocked pistols to the heads of the three gentlemen, when a pikeman, running at full speed past them to escape from other soldiers, diverted their attention for the moment: they thought proper to dispatch him first, but he led them such a chase as saved the gentlemen.

though one officer, Lieutenant Sandys, of the Longford Militia, was killed, and four others slightly wounded, Colonel King of the Sligo regiment, Colonel Vesey of the county of Dublin regiment, Lord Blaney, and Lieutenant Colonel Cole.*

Enniscorthy being thus recovered after having been above three weeks in the hands of the rebels, many loyalists in it were relieved from a dreadful state of terror. Excesses, as must be expected in such a state of affairs, were committed by the soldiery, particularly by the Hessian troops, who made no distinction between loyalists and rebels. The most remarkable act of this kind was the firing of a house, which had been used as an hospital by the rebels, in which numbers of sick and wounded who were unable to escape from the flames, were burned to ashes.†

The town of Wexford was relieved on the same day with Enniscorthy, Brigadier General Moore, according to the plan formed by General Lake, having made a movement towards that quarter from the side of Ross on the 19th, with a body of twelve hundred troops, furnished with artillery; and having directed his march to Taghmon, in his intended way to Enniscorthy, on the 20th, was, on his way thither, between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, attacked by a large force of the enemy from Wexford, perhaps five or six thousand, near a place called Goff's Bridge, not far from Hore Town. After an action, which continued till near eight, the rebels were repulsed with con-

* Great discontents prevailed in the army upon General Needham's conduct on this as on a former occasion. *Non nostrum est*, to institute a court of enquiry upon those, whose conduct has been commended by the commanding officer. It has raised a personal contest between Sir Richard Mufgrave and Mr. Gordon. The general has not a very powerful or persuasive advocate. The farcical appellations which became general after the action of the *late General Needham* and *General Needham's gap*, shew on which side the mass of inculpation lay. The following, however, is the official account given by General Lake, and published by government, of as much of that transaction as General Needham was or ought to have been engaged in. "Lieutenant General Dundas commanded the centre column, supported by a column upon the right under Major Generals Sir James Duff and Loftus; a fourth column upon the left, was commanded by the Honorable Major General Needham. To the determined spirit, with which these columns were conducted, and the great gallantry of the troops, we are indebted for the short resistance of the rebels, who maintained their ground obstinately for the time above mentioned, but on perceiving the danger of being surrounded, they fled with great precipitation.

† The Rev. Mr. Gordon says, he was informed by a surgeon, that the burning was accidental, the bed clothes having been set on fire by the wadding of the soldier's guns, who were shooting the patients in their beds.

siderable

considerable slaughter, and not without some loss on the other side. By the evolutions of the soldiery, and the rebels want of subordination to their chiefs, their pikemen were prevented from coming into action; so that no more than five hundred and sixty of their gun-men were really engaged. Yet the combat was long doubtful.

Joined by two regiments under Lord Dalhousie, the army took post on the field of battle; and on the morning of the 21st was proceeding to Taghmon, when Captain M'Manus, of the Antrim, and Lieutenant Hay, of the North Cork militia, who had been prisoners with the rebels, arrived with proposals from the inhabitants of Wexford to surrender the town, and to return to their allegiance, provided their lives and properties should be guaranteed by the commanding officer. To these proposals, which were forwarded to his superior commander, no answer was returned by General Moore; but, instead of proceeding to Taghmon, he immediately directed his march to Wexford, and stationed his army within a mile of that town.

We left Wexford contaminated with the butchery of some unfortunate prisoners, to which Father Corrin had, by his exertions, put a stop for that day.* It has been the constant assertion or assumption of most writers upon these

* Mr. Edward Hay, who was an eye-witness and a principal actor in many of the most important transactions at Wexford, has given the following account of the extent of this bloody scene on the 20th of June (p. 220.)

“Dreadful and shocking events are most subject to misrepresentations, as individuals will imagine excesses according to their several feelings; and although it is confidently asserted, that ninety-seven were put to death on the bridge, I have good reason to believe that thirty-five was the number that suffered. Among the various occupations assumed by different persons in the course of this melancholy catastrophe, one man, in a most audible voice, counted the victims one by one, as they were put to death; and I have further reason to believe, that thirty-five was the exact number of sufferers on the bridge, and one at the gaol door; amounting in all, that day in Wexford, to thirty-six; as on most particular enquiry, even with the help of the lists published, as well as from personal knowledge, I am enabled to know, that several who are stated to have been sacrificed on the bridge that day, suffered not then, nor there, nor at all in Wexford; so that I hope humanity will induce a future retraction of the lists alluded to, not only as the assertors have been evidently imposed upon, but as also their publication must help to keep up those animosities, which they profess they do not wish to encourage. But, if writers will persist in publishing those lists, why not, for the sake of general and true information, publish the number of the killed and wounded, by whatever means, on both sides; since it must stamp the character of a partizan to detail but one

these scenes, that on the next day every drop of Protestant blood in Wexford was to have been spilled. True it may be, that the ferocious Dixon, who, with his assassins intoxicated with revenge, fury and whiskey, had let out so much innocent blood on that day, had not been fatiated, and that they vociferated their infernal project of continuing the immolations on the next day. But suffice it for the historian faithfully to narrate the facts that have existed. Although it be allowed on all hands that Father Corrin put a stop to these inhuman butcheries, about seven o'clock in the evening, it has appeared to many persons, that the * Roman Catholic clergy cannot be exculpated from the imputation at least of not preventing these massacres, as it is natural to conclude, that their influence upon the rebels must have been as great at two as it was at seven of the clock of the same day. The reply of Dr. Caulfield to the misrepresentations of Sir Richard Musgrave, not only contains much historical information, but furnishes the only species of refutation, which the strictest historical justice can require. The evidence of the party will have its weight with the candid public, according to the credit it deserves. This writer (Sir Richard Musgrave) proceeds, and quotes from Mr. George Taylor's History of the Rebellion, in the county of Wexford: "That while this work
 " was going on, a rebel captain, being shocked at the cries of the victims, ran
 " to the Popish bishop, who was then drinking wine, with the utmost com-
 " posure, after dinner: and knowing that he could stop the massacre sooner

side of the question? On that ever-to-be-lamented day, there are many, who ran great risk of personal safety in becoming advocates for the unfortunate: I wish I could learn of as many, who exhibited equal proof of sincerity in favour of the hapless and ill-fated people! Were this the case, I verily believe I should not have to relate the dreadful desolation in the county of Wexford."

* More faith may perhaps be given to what Charles Jackson relates of others than of himself, particularly as to the means of saving his own life: his testimony of the conduct of the Roman Catholic clergy is very explicit. "The conduct of the Roman Catholic clergy of Wexford cannot be too much commended. The titular Bishop Caulfield, Father Corrin, Father Broe, and indeed the whole of the priests and friars of that town, on all occasions, used their interest and exerted their abilities in the cause of humanity. Every Sunday, after mass, they addressed their audiences, and implored them in the most earnest manner not to ill treat their prisoners, and not to have upon their consciences the reflection of having shed innocent blood. When they heard of executions going forward, they flew to the spot, and by every intreaty endeavoured to rescue the victims from destruction. Sometimes they succeeded; and, when they failed, they shewed sufficiently how sensibly they felt for the unhappy persons they could not save. The gallant Lord Kingborough owed his life to the resolute interposition of the Catholic bishop."

" than

“ than any other person, entreated him, for the mercy of God, to come and
 “ save the prisoners. He in a very unconcerned manner replied, ‘ it was no
 “ affair of his ; and requested the captain would sit down and take a glass of
 “ wine with him,’ adding, ‘ that the people must be gratified :’ the captain
 refused,” &c. &c.”

To this public, solemn, and hateful charge, Dr. Caulfield thus publicly, solemnly, and pointedly replies :

“ Now I solemnly declare to God and man, that no such captain or man
 “ came or applied to me ; and that any captain or man (or even Mr. Taylor
 “ himself) who gave such information, gave a false and unfounded one.

“ Then comes on : ‘ Mrs. O’Neil went to the doctor to complain of the mur-
 “ der of her nephew, Mr. Turner, on the bridge ; he was one of the first per-
 “ sons taken out of the prison-ship ; yet Doctor Caulfield did not interfere,
 “ nor did Mr. Corrin, though he was present, until Mr. Kellet sent a mes-
 “ senger for him ; and there were many persons massacred in the interval be-
 “ tween Mrs. O’Neil’s complaint, and the deliverance of Mr. Kellet.’ The
 “ real fact is, that Mrs. O’Neil only lamented the actual previous murder of
 “ her nephew, Edward Turner, but did not mention the death, the murder,
 “ or massacre of any other individual, much less a general massacre. She was
 “ not many minutes gone, when a messenger came to Mr. Corrin from Mr.
 “ Kellet, who, he said, was then on the bridge : Mr. Corrin went out to
 “ speak to the messenger, and returned in great fright and horror to tell me
 “ the message, and ran off speedily : nor did this messenger, in his hurry,
 “ mention any other to be killed, or in danger, but Mr. Kellet alone. So
 “ that I can with a clear conscience repeat what I said before ; and now so-
 “ lemnly protest and declare in the presence of Almighty God, my awful
 “ judge, and of the court of heaven, that I was absolutely ignorant of that
 “ massacre being intended, or perpetrated, until some hours after it had
 “ ceased. Nor did I see or hear of a * black flag that day, however incre-
 “ dible

* Mr. Hay, p. 222, gives the following account of the black flag : “ The black flag that ap-
 “ peared in Wexford on that day is, among other things, talked of with various chimerical con-
 “ jectures, and its notoriety as denouncing massacre has been confidently recorded ; notwithstand-
 “ ing that it is an absolute fact, that this identical black flag was, throughout the whole insurrec-
 “ tion, borne by a particular corps, and the carrying of banners of that colour was by no means a
 “ singular circumstance during that period, as flags of that and every other hue, except orange,
 “ were waved by the insurgents ; and from their different dyes ingenious conjectures, however
 “ ground-

“ dible it may appear to Sir Richard, for I kept mostly in my own house (and
 “ particularly that day), except when I was sent for by some protestant neigh-
 “ bour; and my residence is adjoining the town wall, and shut in from the
 “ street, of which I have no view, nor of the town, except of the tops of a
 “ few houses, and even them, for the most part, outside the town: so that
 “ as I am seldom out, I seldom know what passes in the street or town, until
 “ I am informed by others.”*

The following historical account is given by Dr. Caulfield himself of the transactions of the 21st of June; which, abstracting from the personal respectability of his character, cannot be supposed to have been falsely given with so much solemn notoriety in defiance of thousands of eye-witnesses amongst whom he was to continue, as he still does, to abide, with the solace and support of unimpeachable veracity and honour:—

“ † Having received a most pressing message from Lord Kingsborough and
 “ Captain Keugh, early on the morning of Thursday the 21st of June, 1798,
 “ I hastened to them, to the house of Robert Meyler, where Lord Kingsbo-

“ groundless, for the maintenance of prejudice, may be made as to the several dispositions of the
 “ bodies who moved under them, as little founded in fact or intention, as was the original destina-
 “ tion of the black ensign in question.”

* This statement of Dr. Caulfield is confirmed by the following oath of Mr. Corrin.—For some other oaths and declarations upon this subject, vide Appendix, No. CXV.

County of Wexford to wit.]—Rev. John Corrin, of Wexford, came before me this day, and made a voluntary and solemn oath on the Holy Evangelists, that Doctor Caulfield dined at home in his own house on Wednesday the 20th of June, 1798, and this deponent dined with him there on the same day: that this deponent verily believes, that Doctor Caulfield was not apprised of the massacre perpetrated on the bridge of Wexford on that day, until it had ceased: that he would have prevented that and all other murders and atrocious acts committed during the late horrid rebellion, had he the power to do so. This deponent further swears, that being out of town on duty, that day, from twelve o'clock to a quarter past four in the evening, he was not apprised of any one having been murdered on that day, until some time after his return Mrs. Catherine O'Neil, alias Goodhall, came to Dr. Caulfield's, and told the doctor and him, that her nephew, Edward Turner, had just been killed, without mentioning any general massacre, which this deponent had no knowledge of, until receiving a pressing message from Mr. Kellet, he hastened to the bridge, where he perceived several devoted victims, who, after this deponent had on his knees with tears and entreaties addressed the furious rabble, were all by Divine Providence spared.”

Sworn before me this 10th day of April, 1801.

JOHN CORRIN.

JOHN LYSTER.

† Report p. 15.

“ rough

“ rough was still a prisoner. On my arrival, Captain Keugh told me, he had
“ that morning given up the government of the town to Lord Kingsborough,
“ and the mayoralty to Dr. Jacob ; they both told me the rebels were beaten
“ and routed everywhere, and were pouring into the town by thousands, from
“ all quarters ; that if they continued any time in the town, they would pro-
“ ceed to murder all the prisoners, as they had declared the day before ; and
“ that if the troops should overtake them in town, they would make a general
“ slaughter of them, and perhaps indiscriminately of the inhabitants, and re-
“ duce the town to ashes : that the only means of preventing these shocking
“ disasters, was to get the rebels out of town ; that a strong representation of
“ their own danger, and of Lord Kingsborough’s negotiations with the mili-
“ tary commanders and government, would have more weight with the
“ rebels than any exhortations or consideration of duty. They then called
“ on and conjured me to exert myself, and to call the rest of the clergy to
“ help me to prevail on the rebels, as they came in, to leave the town, for
“ their own and the general safety.

“ In this state of things, I did not skulk or fly (as perhaps I might), I im-
“ mediately sent to the clergy ; they came to assist me, and not only they,
“ but many or most of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Wexford, loyal
“ men, (though some to save themselves had been obliged to appear as rebels)
“ nay even real professed rebels aided us. Mr. Perry, the notable Captain
“ Dixon, &c. helped us ; we did our utmost from nine or ten in the morning
“ to the going down of the sun, and under God, we succeeded in prevailing
“ on the rebels to leave the town ; and thereby prevented all the mischief and
“ misfortunes, which might and probably would attend and follow from their
“ remaining in it. There was no prisoner put to death, no Protestant mur-
“ dered, no houses burnt, (though several of the rebels threatened, and some
“ of them attempted to set fire to the town) no disaster took place, all was
“ saved, prisoners, protestants, inhabitants, and the town were safe.

“ When the occasion, the only one, and the circumstances occurred in
“ which I thought I could act with some effect, I set out with all the energy
“ of my mind and body, regardless of my own life, (which was repeatedly in
“ imminent danger) or of any other consideration than that before me, the
“ common safety. I traversed many thousand rebels on that day, exhorting,
“ beseeching, sometimes standing in a wood of pikes, or striving to walk
“ through them, and sometimes on my knees, conjuring them to depart ;
“ those

“ those who came in latest were the most obstinate, sanguinary, and infuriate,
 “ on whom we could hardly make any impression ; so that from constant and
 “ vehement speaking, I got quite hoarse, and from unremitted exertion I be-
 “ came so exhausted, so languid and faint, that I despaired of effecting my
 “ purpose, and would have given it up, were it not that the people of the
 “ town and many rebels of more humanity and reason still pressed me to con-
 “ tinue. I did so until the square, the streets, the town was cleared of rebels,
 “ except that a few stragglers might have lurked in private houses. Such
 “ was my conduct on that memorable and fortunate day.

“ The transaction, to which I here refer, was public and notorious. I call
 “ upon any person who can, to controvert the truth of my statement. Before
 “ I close this narrative, I must add, that the representations made so success-
 “ fully by the clergy, upon this occasion, would have produced little effect
 “ whilst the rebels entertained sanguine hopes of success, much less whilst they
 “ were elated and rendered confident by an appearance of victory. When
 “ we addressed them, they were routed, and their force broken by disasters ;
 “ applying ourselves to them at that critical moment, and holding out to them
 “ a prospect of pardon, which was the only hope they could indulge in such
 “ circumstances, we were the instruments under God of softening the unruly
 “ multitude into forbearance.

“ It is obvious that Lord Kingsborough might have been spared or saved,
 “ for reasons or circumstances that did not operate for others, or for any
 “ other individual. He was a nobleman of interest and consequence, an im-
 “ portant hostage, a military man treating with military commanders for fa-
 “ vourable terms for the rebels ; these circumstances and considerations did
 “ not attend or attach to other individuals, and which must have weight with
 “ even a rebel in his serious and cool senses, particularly in so perilous a situ-
 “ ation. Hence I think it fair to say, that his lordship might have been
 “ spared, though others had suffered. But, thank God, the truth is, no one
 “ suffered on that day or occasion.”*

Lord

* The Rev. Mr. Gordon is called upon by Dr. Caulfield in his reply (p. 19) if he cannot deny with effect, which he defies him to do, the statement which he solemnly declared to be the absolute truth, that he would change or withdraw his hypothetic argument and invidious conclusion : probably alluding to the supposed or assumed possibility of preventing the massacres, at two o'clock, by the persons who had influence enough to stop them at seven. Mr. Gordon in his 2d edition says, (p. 186)

“ I have

Lord Kingsborough certainly was considered by the rebel chiefs as a valuable hostage; and perhaps if they had fully availed themselves of this advantage, some terms might have been obtained in their favor; though of the lives of hostages no account seems to have been made by many of the commanders of his majesty's troops. The offers of surrender transmitted by Captain M^cManus, and forwarded by General Moore to his superior, were disdainfully rejected by General Lake, who returned for answer, that no terms could be granted to rebels in arms, but that the deluded multitude might have peace and protection when their arms and leaders should have been delivered into his hands.

Ensign Harman of the North Cork, who was sent with Mr. Carthy by Lord Kingsborough on a second mission to General Moore, was intercepted and shot, almost as soon as he had quitted the town, by one Timothy Whelan, a furious maniac, who having shot Ensign Harman, snapped a pistol at Mr.

“ I have apparently no right, and therefore no inclination to deny the Doctor's (Caulfield) statement.” He then refers to his own Appendix, No. 5, which contains a letter from Dr. Caulfield to a Magistrate, which appeared much in his favour, and which may also be seen in the Appendix to this work, No. CXVI. Upon this subject Mr. Gordon had thus argued (p. 183) which had dissatisfied Dr. Caulfield: “ Much has been written in the accusation and defence of the Romish clergy of Wexford, who are said to have refused to interfere until five hours of butchery had elapsed, and the news of the menacing movements of the king's forces arrived; though their influence might be supposed as powerful at two o'clock, when the massacre commenced, as at seven. I must confess myself incompetent to form an accurate judgment in this controversy: to attempt to stop the slaughter of real or supposed rebels, where the loyalists were victorious, would have been not only altogether fruitless in a Protestant clergyman, but even extremely dangerous to his personal safety. Certainly the influence of the Romish clergy over their followers (which, however, seems at present in a state of decline) is beyond all comparison greater than that of the Protestant over theirs; yet to what extent that influence might, among so infuriate a rabble, have been safely or successfully exerted; or how far constitutional timidity, or well grounded fear, may be justly admitted as a plea, I cannot pretend to determine. Dr. Caulfield, the Romish bishop, succeeded, with apparently extreme difficulty, in his endeavours to rescue from the assassins, Lord Kingsborough, Colonel of the North Cork regiment of militia, who had rendered himself particularly an object of hatred, at least, to the rebels, by actions, concerning the utility of which to the loyal party I shall not presume to give judgment, but leave the decision to the loyalists of Wexford, who saw the example which he set, and the discipline which he maintained in the regiment. The limitation of the Doctor's interference to a person of high rank, who might in reverse of fortune repay the service, has with seeming justice been deemed by some a proof of interested conduct; and his success, in favour of so obnoxious a subject, an irrefragable argument of his ability to save many others.”

Carthy, who instantly returned into town. This ruffian afterward had the audacity to attempt the life of Lord Kingsborough, in order to put an end at once to all accommodation; he would have been ordered for instant execution by the chiefs, but for fear of irritating the great body of the populace, too ready in such perturbed times to mistake desperation for heroism, and to substitute instant vengeance upon the unresisting for zeal and prowess in the general cause.

After the evacuation of Wexford by the main body of the rebels, Father Philip Roche, accompanied by three gentlemen of that denomination, met in his way out of town four men from the neighbourhood of Enniscorthy, who said, that they were going into Wexford to put the prisoners to death, since others had not the courage to do it, while Roche with a drawn sword commanded them to turn back without entering the town, and one of them presented a blunderbuss at him, and swore that none should prevent them: the three gentlemen of Roche's company fled, leaving him to contend alone with the four murderers. After a furious altercation the matter was compounded. The murderers took a solemn oath (and the low Irish consider an oath to a priest as peculiarly binding) that they would merely take a little refreshment, and immediately quit the town without the perpetration of any mischief. It cannot therefore be said, that the dreadful apprehensions of a general massacre by the rebels before they evacuated the town, were altogether without reason and grounds; though not founded either in the conduct or principles of the leaders, or the system or regular organization of their discipline, as appears from the before mentioned proclamations.

The insurgents were at length prevailed on, by the incessant entreaties and exertions of their chiefs, to quit the town. They divided themselves into two bodies: one under the command of the Reverend Philip Roche, marched into the barony of Forth, and encamped that night at Sledagh; the other, under the conduct of Messieurs Fitzgerald, Perry, and Edward Roche, proceeded over the bridge to Peppard's Castle, where they took their station for that night.

General Moore, availing himself of the retreat of the rebels, and having been informed by Captain Bourke of the peaceable disposition of the Wexford people, had approached within two miles of the town, when Captain Bóyd, the representative of Wexford (now returning home in General Moore's train) made many cautious and minute inquiries, from Captain Bourke who had been come recently from that town, and having himself,
from

from the commanding elevation of the road, observed the retreat of the insurgents over the bridge, entered the town attended with eight yeomen, almost with as much precipitancy, as he had formerly abandoned it; loudly declaring the army at his heels. The face of the town was instantly changed; persons, who but the moment before appeared anxious to demonstrate their friendship for the rebels, instantaneously changed sides, and vied with each other in exhibiting symptoms of their loyalty. General Moore, on consultation with Lord Kingsborough, thought it most adviseable not to let his troops into the town, which it had previously been determined to annihilate before the negociation had been proposed; so that it required the utmost precaution to prevent its being plundered, sacked and destroyed. General Moore took his station on the Windmill Hills, which completely commanded the town. A sloop of war, and three gun-boats were so stationed, that Wexford was thoroughly invested both by land and water. No sooner had the army entered the town, than all the wounded men in the hospital were put to the sword, and some of the straggling inhabitants lost their lives, notwithstanding the most express orders of General Moore, that no kind of excess should be committed.

Relying on the faith of Lord Kingsborough's promises of complete protection of persons and properties, several remained in the town of Wexford, unconscious of any reason to apprehend danger; but they were soon taken up and committed to gaol. The Reverend Philip Roche had such confidence in these assurances, and was so certain of obtaining similar terms for those under his command, that he left his force at Sledagh, in full hopes of being permitted to return in peace to their homes, and was on his way to Wexford unarmed, coming, as he thought, to receive a confirmation of the conditions, and so little apprehensive of danger, that he advanced within the lines, before he was recognized. He was instantly dragged from his horse, and in the most ignominious manner taken up to the camp on the Windmill Hills, pulled by the hair, kicked, buffeted, and at length hauled down to the gaol in such a condition as scarcely to be recognized. The people whom he had left, in expectation of being permitted to return quietly home, waited his arrival, but at last being informed of his fate, they abandoned all idea of peace, and set off under the command of the Reverend John Murphy to Fook's Mill, and so on, through Scollaghgap, into the county of Carlow.

From the encampment at Ballenkeele, commanded by General Needham,

detachments were sent out to scour the country. They burned the Catholic chapel of Ballemurein, besides several houses in the neighbourhood. The principal of these were that of Newpark, the seat of Mr. Fitzgerald, and that of Mr. Edmund Stafford, mistaking it for the dwelling of General Edward Roche. In short, death and desolation were spread throughout the country, which was searched and hunted so severely, that scarcely a man escaped: the old and harmless suffered, whilst they who had the use of their limbs and were guilty, had previously made off with the main body of the people. *The dead bodies scattered about, with their throats cut across, and mangled in the most shocking manner, exhibited scenes exceeding the usual horrors of war. The soldiery on this occasion, particularly the dragoons of General Ferdinand Hompesche, were permitted to indulge in such ferocity and brutal lust to the sex, that must perpetuate hatred and horror of the army to generations.

The northern part of the county of Wexford had been almost totally deserted by all the male inhabitants on the 19th, at the approach of the army under General Needham. Some of the yeomanry, who had formerly deserted it, returned to Gorey on the 21st, and on finding no officer of the army as was expected to command there, they, with many others, who returned along with them, scoured the country round, and killed great numbers in their houses, besides all the stragglers they met, most of whom were making the best of their way home unarmed from the insurgents, who were then believed to be totally discomfited. These transactions being made known to a body of the insurgents, encamped at Peppard's Castle, on the 22d, they resolved to retaliate, and directly marched for Gorey, whither they had otherwise no intention of proceeding. The yeomen and their associates, upon the near approach of the insurgents, fled back with precipitation; and thence accompanied by many others, hastened toward Arklow, but were pursued as far as Coolgreney, with the loss of forty-seven men. The day was called bloody Friday. The insurgents had been exasperated to this vengeance by discovering through the country as they came along, several dead men, with their skulls split asunder, their bowels ripped open, and their throats cut across, besides some dead women and children: they even met the dead bodies of two women, about which their surviving children were creeping,

* Hay's History of the Insurrection in the county of Wexford, p. 245.

and

and bewailing them ! These sights hastened the insurgent force to Gorey, where their exasperation was considerably augmented by discovering the pigs in the streets devouring the bodies of nine men, who had been hanged the day before, with several others recently shot, and some still expiring.

After the return of the insurgents from the pursuit, several persons were found lurking in the town and brought before Mr. Fitzgerald, particularly Mr. Pippard, sovereign of Gorey ; but from this gentleman's age and respectability, he was considered incapable of being accessory to the perpetration of the horrid cruelty, which provoked and prompted this sudden revenge, and he and others were saved, protected, and set at liberty. At this critical time the news of the burning of Mr. Fitzgerald's house, on so trying an occasion were remarkable ; forgetful of such great personal injury, he exerted his utmost endeavours to restrain the insurgents, who vociferated hourly for vengeance for their favorites, and succeeded in leading them off from Gorey ; when after a slight repast, they resumed their intended route, rested that night at the White Heaps on Croghan mountain, and on the 23d set off for the mountains of Wicklow.

In the midst of these scenes of blood and slaughter, it must not be forgotten, that the Marquis Cornwallis arrived in Dublin on the 20th of June, 1798, with a plenitude of power exceeding that of his predecessor, by the supremacy of the military command having been superadded to the civil government of the country. This appointment in this critical juncture appears under providence to have been the immediate salvation of Ireland, not only by putting an immediate check upon the uncontrolled ferociousness of the soldiery, by stopping military executions, suspending the sentences of courts martial till he had himself revised the minutes, by converting the system of coercion and terrorism into that of conciliation, by gaining the affections of the people, by drawing upon himself the hatred of the Orangemen, by bringing to bear the incorporate Union with Great Britain, as the efficient means of redressing popular grievances and crushing the seeds of perpetual feuds and acrimony kept up chiefly by the subsistence of Orangism. Immediately upon his arrival, he assumed the reins of government. In the first days of his administration the old system was completely acted upon in the final settlement of the Wexford rebellion. This instantly convinced his excellency of the imperious necessity of that total change of system, which was soon after established throughout the kingdom, so much to the honor of the chief governor

vernor and to the welfare of the British empire. These posthumous acts of the extorted system of coercion in the final scenes at Wexford, will be properly noticed at present, before we draw the attention of the reader to the progress of the rebellion in other parts of the kingdom.

After the total evacuation of the town of Wexford by the rebel forces, under a general confidence that their proposal and Lord Kingsborough's undertaking would have been attended to and observed, General Lake entered the town on the 22d of June, in the morning, and remained there with his staff for several days, in the house lately occupied by the rebel Governor Keugh. Although the town were providentially not delivered over to be sacked and demolished by the military, yet almost all the principal inhabitants were immediately taken up, confined to gaol, and arraigned for treason. Captain Keugh had remained at Lord Kingsborough's lodgings, and after the surrender of the town two centinels were placed on him there for two days, when he was removed to the gaol. Mr. Cornelius Grogan was taken at his seat at Johnstown where he had remained, unconscious of any danger until conducted to prison. Mr. Bagenal Harvey had gone to his residence at Bargycastle, in plenary confidence that the terms agreed upon with Lord Kingsborough, would be ratified; and under that conviction he sent some fat cattle into Wexford for the use of the army; but learning from the messenger who drove them thither, that no conditions whatever would be obtained, he hastened with the fatal news to Mr. Colclough. This gentleman had previously taken his wife and child to one of the Saltee islands, where he thought to have weathered out the storm of the angry time in a cave, which he had resorted to for concealment. Thither Mr. Harvey also repaired; they were all soon discovered, and the news of their being taken arrived in Wexford, while they were making the harbour in a boat. This attracted a great number of people to the quay, curious to see them brought in, and amidst this concourse Mr. Harvey, and Mr. Colclough and his lady were landed. The gentlemen were then led through the gazing multitude to the gaol, where they were confined in the condemned cells.

A court martial was instituted for the trial of prisoners on charges of treason. The Reverend Philip Roche was the first tried and condemned by this tribunal. Captain Keugh was the next put on his trial, at which he made a very able defence, but was also condemned. The entrance of the wooden bridge was the scene fixed on for the place of execution. The large statue
of

of the Reverend Philip Roche caused the rope he was hauled up with to break ; but another was soon procured, and his life was ended with double torture. The head of Captain Keugh was separated from his body, and placed on a pike over the front of the court house. Their bodies, together with those of others executed at the same time, were stripped and treated with the utmost brutality and indecency, previous to their being thrown over the bridge.

Mr. Grogan was brought to trial on the 26th, but the evidence, which he hoped to obtain of his innocence, did not attend on account of the general apprehension that prevailed. His trial was therefore postponed, and he was remanded to gaol. Mr. Harvey was then put on his trial, which lasted for the best part of the day, and ended in his condemnation. Mr. Grogan's trial was then resumed ; but this he did not expect until the next day, and consequently he had not been able to procure all the necessary evidence. It was indeed proved, that he was forced to join the insurgents, but this did not prevent a sentence of conviction. The condemnation of these gentlemen was afterwards confirmed by the Irish parliament, which passed an act of attainder against them, and a confiscation of their properties ; on the parliamentary enquiry into the merit of these proceedings, it appeared that the court martial had not been even sworn : Mr. Grogan has been considered by very many as sacrificed to the violent temper of the times. On the 27th Messrs. Harvey, Grogan, and Mr. Patrick Prendergast, a rich maltster in Wexford, were ordered out to execution. They were conducted to the bridge, and there hanged ; the heads of Messrs. Grogan and Harvey were cut off and placed upon pikes upon each side of that of Captain Keugh ; their bodies were stripped and treated with the usual brutal indecencies, before they were cast over the bridge ! Mr. Colclough was tried on the same day and condemned. On the next day he was executed, but his body, at the intercession of his lady, was given up to her to be interred. Mr. John Kelly of Killan, whose courage and intrepidity had been so conspicuous at the battle of Ross, now lay ill in Wexford, of a wound which he had received in that engagement ; he was taken prisoner from his bed, tried and condemned to die, and brought on a car to the place of execution, his head was cut off, and his body, after the accustomed indignities, was thrown over the bridge. The head, however, was reserved for other exhibition. It was first kicked about on the custom house quay, and then brought up into the town, thrown up and treated in the same manner opposite the house in which his sister lodged,

in

in order that she might witness the savage sport and horrid spectacle: the head was afterwards placed above that of Captain Keugh, over the door of the court house.

With this last bloody scene at Wexford the reign of terrorism may properly be said to have closed. On the 28th of June General Lake was ordered from Wexford, and a new system of mercy and conciliation was seriously entered upon. General Hunter, upon whom the command at Wexford fell on the departure of General Lake, found that the only severity he had to exercise was upon the gentry and yeomanry, whose sanguinary and vindictive exertions, it became necessary to check, lest the people should be goaded into a relapse. He soon gained the affections and gratitude of the people, who in consequence of that change of measures flocked in shoals to surrender their arms, take out protections, and return to their homes in peace.

The province of Ulster, where insurrection had been most of all dreaded, and where from the spirit of the inhabitants it would, if extensive, have been the most formidable, had hitherto remained undisturbed. On the 7th of June, a meeting of magistrates having been appointed in the town of Antrim for the prevention of rebellion, the insurgents, with design of seizing their persons, attacked the town at two o'clock in the afternoon, and soon overpowering the troops within it, very nearly gained possession. Major General Nugent, who commanded in that district having received intelligence of the intended rising, had ordered a body of troops to march to Antrim, who arrived after the rebels had taken possession of the town. They then attacked the insurgents in the town, but their van guard, consisting of cavalry, being repulsed with the loss of twenty three men killed and wounded, of which three were officers, Colonel Durham who commanded the troops, brought the artillery to batter the town, which obliged the insurgents to abandon it, together with a six pounder which they had brought with them, and two currie guns which they had taken from the king's army. They were pursued towards Slane's castle and Randal's town with considerable slaughter; on this day Lord O'Neil was mortally wounded.* A small body made an unsuccessful assault on the town of Larne and some feeble attempts were also made at Ballymena and Ballycastle. The main body of these northern insurgents retired to

* He had ridden into the town to attend the meeting of the magistrates, not knowing that the rebels were in possession of it. He shot one who had seized the bridle of his horse, after which he was dragged from his saddle, and so wounded with pikes that he died in a few days.

Donegar hill, where, disgusted with their want of success and other circumstances, they agreed to surrender their arms, and almost all of them dispersed.

On the 8th of June another body of insurgents in the county of Down near Saintfield, under the command of a Dr. Jackson, set fire to the house of a man named Mackee, an informer against the United Irishmen. They placed themselves the next day in ambuscade, and nearly surrounded a body of troops under Colonel Stapleton, consisting of York fencibles and yeomen cavalry, of whom they killed about sixty: the infantry, however, on whom the cavalry had been driven back in confusion, rallying with a coolness not very common in this war, dislodged and dispersed the rebels, and after a stay of two hours on the field of battle, retreated to Belfast.

Little discouraged by this defeat, in which their loss was very small, the rebels reassembled, and took post at Ballynahinch on the Windmill hill, and at the house and in the demesne of Lord Moira. On the 12th General Nugent marching from Belfast, and Colonel Stewart from Downpatrick, formed with fifteen hundred men a junction near the Windmill hill, of which they gained possession, together with the town, which before the action, they wantonly set on fire. The action was maintained about three hours with artillery with little or no execution, at length the Monaghan regiment of militia, posted with two field pieces at Lord Moira's great gate, was attacked with such determined fury by the pikemen of the insurgents, that it fell back in confusion on the Hillsborough cavalry; they likewise fell back in disorder. The want of discipline in the insurgents lost what their valor had gained. The disordered troops found means to rally, while the Argyleshire fencibles, entering the demesne, were making their attack on another side. The insurgents, confused and distracted, retreated up the hill, and making a stand at the top, at a kind of fortification, defended the post for some time with great courage, but at length gave way and dispersed in all directions. Their loss exceeded a hundred; that of the royal army not above half that number. The main body of these insurgents retired to the mountains of Slyeeve Croob, where they soon surrendered or separated, returning to their several homes; and thus terminated this short and partial, but active insurrection in the north, in the course of which some lighter actions had taken place, particularly at Portaferry, where they were repulsed by the yeomanry; they also set fire to a revenue cruiser in which forty men perished. On the subsiding of this local insurgency in the north eastern quarter of the island, another in-

VOL. II. 5 E insurgency

furgency of less force commenced in the opposite south western quarter, in the county of Cork. The principal action, and the only one, which government has thought proper to communicate to the public, took place near the village of Ballynascarty, where on the 19th of June, two hundred and twenty men of the Westmeath regiment of militia, with two six pounders, under the command of their Lieutenant Colonel, Sir Hugh O'Reilly, were attacked on their march from Clognakelty to Bandon, by a body of between three and four hundred men, armed almost all with pikes. This was only a part of the rebel force, here placed in ambush in a very advantageous position. The attack was made from an height on the left of the column, so unexpectedly and rapidly, that the troops had scarcely time to form; and at that critical moment, a hundred men of the Caithness legion arrived on the spot and by a brisk fire, helped to put the assailants to flight: their loss amounted to between fifty and a hundred men; that of the royal troops, by the commander's account, only to a serjeant and one private.

Fortunately for the country, the new system of moderation gained ground through the most disturbed parts of the country, and carried with it the happiest effects. General Hunter, at Wexford, Brigadier General Grose, stationed under him at Enniscorthy, and General Gascoyne, quartered at Ross with the Coldstream regiment of Guards, exhibited the blessed effects of the reverse of that system of coercive severity, which had been productive of so much evil to that unfortunate country.

The main body of the Wexford insurgents, supposed to be fifteen thousand in number, having lost most of those leaders who were men of education and property, directed its march, under Father John Murphy, north-westward to Scollogh-gap, an opening in the great ridge of Mount Leinster, which separates the counties of Wexford and Carlow, with intention to penetrate into Kilkenny, in hopes of raising the colliers about Castlecomer, who had been in a state of disturbance in the year 1793: upon entering the gap, they dispersed some troops, who opposed their progress, and burned the little town of Killedmond. They also defeated a small body of the 4th dragoon guards, and of the Wexford militia, who disturbed their passage over the river Barrow; some few were killed, and twenty-seven taken prisoners, of whom, seven condemned as Orange-men, were shot. This horrible function, it is reported, their fellow soldiers were forced to execute. Major General Sir Charles Asgill, who had marched with a force of about a thousand men, to seize the post of
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New-bridge, arrived too late to stop the progress of the rebel army, which by a rapid movement had pre-occupied that post, where they passed the night.

The general was likewise on the following day too late at Castlecomer for the protection of the town. On the next morning the rebel troops descended from the heights upon Castlecomer, and defeated a body of about two hundred and fifty men, who opposed them at Coolbawn, a mile and a half from that town, of whom they killed about fifty. The town was set on fire, and of this conflagration each party accuses the other.*

After the town had been plundered, the rebels abandoned it, and retired to the high grounds, where they remained for one night in consultation and advice, which ended in a general resolution to retreat back through the pass of Scollogh-gap, into the county of Wexford. According to this determination, they moved from the ridge in the morning of the 25th of June, and directing their march towards Newbridge, took post at a place called Kilcomny, on a rising ground. Here they were assailed on three sides at once on the following morning, by a force of nearly twelve hundred men, under General Sir Charles Asgill, and that of Major Matthews, of about five hundred, from Maryborough. After an hour's firing of cannon, the rebels, fearing to be surrounded, fled towards the gap with their usual celerity, leaving all their plunder and artillery behind them. Their artillery consisted of ten light pieces, and among the articles of plunder were seven hundred horses. They forced their way back through the gap, to the mountains of Wicklow.

The other body of Wexford insurgents, which had proceeded, after the attack upon Gorey, into the county of Wicklow, were there joined by the forces under Mr. Garret Byrne, on the 25th of June, near Hacketstown, before which they appeared about seven o'clock in the morning. The military were drawn up ready to receive them; but having been forced to give way, they retired into the barrack and a malt-house adjoining, from which their

* Notwithstanding the constant charges of this contest having become a religious war, it must be allowed that to the last, the innate and cordial enemy to the rebels, was the *Orangeman*, and not the Protestant. Even Sir Richard Musgrave affords evidence of this as late as the day, on which the rebels evacuated Wexford, from a certificate, which he says was given on that day by Father Broe.

" I hereby certify, that A. of B. in the parish of C. has done his duty, and proved himself a Roman Catholic, and has made a voluntary oath that he never was an *Orangeman*, nor took the *Orange oath*.

" Dated Wexford, June 21, 1798.

F. JOHN BROE."

fire did great execution. The insurgents deeming it impracticable to effect their design, without cannon, of which they had not a single piece, retreated from the place, after an action of nine hours, in which they lost great numbers, carrying off their wounded, and driving before them all the cattle from about the town; they encamped that night at Blessington. During the engagement, it is said, that a considerable force of our cavalry and infantry stood on a hill at a small distance, in view of the scene of action, but did not venture to join in the battle.

Disappointed by the repulse at Hacketstown, the remaining Wexford insurgents, in conjunction with their Wicklow associates, directed their march towards Carnew, which they were resolved, if possible, to carry; but General Needham having been informed of their approach, detached a strong body of infantry, and about two hundred cavalry, from his camp at Gorey, to intercept them. The cavalry alone, however, as the infantry were recalled, came up with the insurgents on the road to Carnew. These feigning a retreat, having timely notice of their approach, suffered the cavalry to pass, until they brought them into an ambuscade, where their gunsmen were placed on both sides of the way behind the ditches, to receive them. At the first discharge they were utterly confounded, and attempted to retreat in great haste toward Carnew. But the insurgents rightly conjecturing, that, when foiled, they would attempt getting off in that direction, had blocked up the road with cars, and other incumbrances; they were for some time exposed to the fire of the insurgents, and lost about eighty of their number, among whom were two officers, the Marquis de Giffard, a young Norman emigrant of the Ancient British, and Adjutant Parsons, of the Ballaghkeen cavalry; the rest effected their retreat to Arklow. The insurgents lost not a single man in this action; but they were foiled in their design upon Carnew, the garrison of which, being alarmed by the fugitive cavalry, had just time to secure themselves in a malt-house, before the approach of the insurgents, who, after an ineffectual attack, marched off to Killcavan hill.

On the 2d of July, as the insurgents began to move towards Kilelah, they were pursued by a body of yeoman cavalry and infantry, before whom they retired to an eminence, called Ballyrakeen-hill. Here they took post; but as the yeomen moved up the hill, the insurgents poured upon them with such impetuosity, that they were in an instant utterly discomfited, with the loss of seventy privates and two officers; all the cavalry saved themselves by flight.

It

It had been lamented by many, that the Marquis Cornwallis, a viceroy of military talent, of benevolence, and humanity, and, above all, of political firmness to resist and keep down the fatal influence of those, who had extorted the bloody system from his predecessor, should not have been sent sooner to that distracted kingdom. But the affected zeal for the constitution, the artful misrepresentation of facts, and the undaunted fierceness of those terrorists, had too long usurped the power of the viceroy, and abused the confidence of the British cabinet. It was, however, some atonement to poor suffering Ireland, that an appointment was at last made of a nobleman, supereminently fitted to heal her wounds, by a system of measures diametrically contrary to those which had inflicted and inflamed them. Within very few days after his lordship's arrival in Dublin, a proclamation* was issued, authorising his majesty's generals

* The following is the form of it. It was published in the Dublin Gazette only on the 3d of July: but as it bears date the 29th day of June, 1798, it was probably communicated to General Lake before publication, as that general left Wexford on the 28th.

“ A PROCLAMATION.

“ WHEREAS, it is in the power of his majesty's generals, and of the forces under their command, entirely to destroy all those who have risen in rebellion, against their sovereign and his laws: yet it is nevertheless the wish of government, that those persons who, by traiterous machinations, have been seduced, or by acts of intimidation, have been forced from their allegiance, should be received into his majesty's peace and pardon, commanding in the county of _____ specially authorized thereto, does hereby invite all persons, who may be now assembled, in any part of the said county against his majesty's peace, to surrender themselves and their arms, and to desert the leaders who have seduced them; and for the acceptance of such surrender and submission, the space of fourteen days from the date hereof, is allowed; and the towns of _____ are hereby specified, at each of which places one of his majesty's officers, and a justice of the peace, will attend; and upon entering their names, acknowledging their guilt, and promising good behaviour for the future, and taking the oath of allegiance, and at the same time abjuring all other engagements contrary thereto, they will receive a certificate, which will entitle them to protection so long as they demean themselves as becomes good subjects.

“ And, in order to render such acts of submission easy and secure, it is the general's pleasure that persons who are now with any portion of the rebels in arms, and willing to surrender themselves, do send to him, or to _____ any number from each body of rebels not exceeding ten, with whom the general, or _____ will settle the manner in which they may repair to the above towns, so that no alarm may be excited, and no injury to their persons be offered.

“ June 29, 1798.”

“ CER-

generals to give protection to such insurgents as, being simply guilty of rebellion, should surrender their arms, abjure all unlawful engagements, and take the oath of allegiance to the king. How necessary at that time such a step was, could be a question of no difficulty to those, who viewing dispassionately the state of affairs, considered what numbers had been seduced into the conspiracy by artifice, and forced into rebellion by unfortunate circumstances. To give the full sanction of law to that necessary measure, a message was delivered from his excellency to the House of Commons, on the 17th of July, signifying his majesty's pleasure to that effect; and an act of amnesty was accordingly passed in favor of all engaged in the rebellion, who had not been leaders; who had not committed manslaughter, except in the heat of battle, and who should comply with the conditions mentioned in the proclamation.

The Wexford insurgents had fixed their station near the White Heaps, at the foot of Croghan Mountain; from whence they moved, during the night of the 4th of July, toward Wicklow Gap; but on the morning of the 5th, the army under Sir James Duff from Carnew, under cover of a very thick fog, surrounded them in four powerful divisions, before they could perceive the approach of any enemy: finding themselves unable to withstand a battle, they broke through the pursuing cavalry, of whom they slew about eighty,

“ CERTIFICATE OF PROTECTION.

“ THIS is to certify, that the bearer hereof, of the parish of
 “ county of by occupation has surrendered himself, confessed his
 “ being engaged in the present rebellion, and has given up all his arms,
 “ and discovered of those which he knew to be concealed, has taken the oath of allegiance to his
 “ majesty, his heirs, and successors, and has abjured all other oaths and engagements, in any wise
 “ whatsoever contrary thereto; and has bound himself to behave for the future as a peaceable and
 “ loyal subject; in consequence whereof, this certificate is given to the said
 “ in order that his person or his property may not in any wise be molested; and all his majesty's
 “ officers, magistrates, and other his majesty's loving subjects, are hereby enjoined to pay due
 “ attention thereto, in pursuance of the proclamation issued General
 “ dated the day of 1798, : and this certificate to be in full force as long as the said
 “ continues to demean himself as a peaceable and loyal subject
 “ Dated at the day of 1798.”

“ OATH TO BE TAKEN.

“ I do solemnly promise and swear, that I will bear true allegiance to his
 “ majesty King George the Third, his heirs, and successors; and I do solemnly renounce and
 “ abjure all oaths and engagements of every kind whatsoever, which are in any degree contrary
 “ thereto, SO HELP ME GOD.”

and

and moved with great celerity in the direction of Carnew. Upon their arrival at a place called Cranford, by others Ballygullen, they resolved to make resistance and await the approach of the troops however numerous they might be, although their own force were then very considerably reduced. They resolutely maintained the contest for an hour and a half with the utmost intrepidity; having repulsed the cavalry, and driven the artillery men three times from their cannon, all performed by the gunsmen; for the pikemen, as on former occasions, never came into action: but fresh reinforcements of the army pouring in on all sides, they were obliged to give way, quitting the field of battle with little loss to themselves, and notwithstanding all their fatigue, retreating, with their usual agility and swiftness in different directions. They agreed among themselves to assemble again at Carrigrew, where upon considering the reduced state of their forces and the advantages gained by the army, they thought it adviseable to disperse, and thus put an end to the warfare in the county of Wexford.

The cessation of hostilities unfortunately did not close the miseries of that devoted district: a most rancorous, bloody, and ferocious spirit of revenge and hatred seized upon many of the gentlemen of that county, and was carried into effect with outrageous barbarity. Their former claims to respectability in life for a length of time gave credit to their falsehood, procured countenance to their fanaticism, and secured them the means of executing injustice. * General Lake, previous to his departure from Wexford, appointed a committee to superintend prosecutions, and to grant passes to leave the country, consisting of the principal gentlemen then resident there. The appropriate duty of this body was to enquire specially into the cases of such prisoners as they should hand over to be tried by court-martial, to procure the evidence for prosecution, and to commit different persons to gaol. It was not, however, deemed necessary to send a committal to the gaoler, as the word of any of them was considered sufficient for the detention of any of those given in custody; and they were also to act as a kind of council to General Hunter, whose benevolent disposition they thwarted on several occasions. This was in fact so well known, that many, upon being put into confinement, were induced, by their apprehensions, to petition for transportation, rather than abide a trial under their direction. The tyrannical, unjust, and inhuman dis-

* Hay's History of the Insurrection of Wexford, p. 266.

position of this body is strongly exemplified in their unwarrantable treatment of many besides that gentleman, which he has detailed in his preliminary discourse.*

Different courts-martial were instituted in Ross, Enniscorthy, Gorey, and Newton-Barry; several persons were condemned and executed, and others sentenced to transportation. Among those who were condemned to be executed was the Rev. John Redmond, a Catholic priest, who, it seems, during the insurrection, had done all in his power to save the house of Lord Mountnorris from being plundered, which he, in some degree, effected, but not at all to the extent of his wishes. Lord Mountnorris, whose conduct towards the Catholics became from henceforth wholly altered (he had formerly favored them), sent for Mr. Redmond, upon finding that he was present at the plundering of his house, desiring that he would come to him directly. The reverend gentleman, conscious of his own integrity, and apprehensive of no danger, being involved in no guilt, obeyed the summons without hesitation; but his instantaneous hasty trial, condemnation, and execution, were the reward of his humane and generous exertions. His body, after death, underwent the most indecent mutilations.†

A party

* The quotation I have made from this author, as an eye-witness and a most aggrieved sufferer under this persecuting spirit of the Wexford Orangemen, seems to baffle all possibility of refutation. The unparalleled and almost incredible persecutions, which Mr. Hay details of his own sufferings from this inquisitorial court in the introduction to his history, freezes the blood of the reader: at the same time it rouses that indignation against the fomenters and supporters of it, that it becomes more candid to name such as the author has given to the public, than to permit the foul imputation to light upon the gentry of the county at large: “ (*Introd.* xxviii.) Six magistrates of the county “ afterwards formed themselves into an inquisitorial court, consisting of the Right Honorable “ George Ogle, James Boyd, Richard Newton King, Edward Percival, Ebenezer Jacob, M. D. and “ John Henry Lister, Esquires. They assembled at the house of James Boyd, and summoned hundreds before them, whom they swore to give such information as they could concerning the rebellion. About fifty persons have informed me, that they were principally questioned concerning me; so that I have strong reason to believe, that no means were left untried to criminate me. “ My conduct has certainly undergone stricter investigation than that of any other person in Ireland, and such, as I believe, that of the most unexceptionable of my persecutors would not pass through unblemished; while mine is irreproachable in the utmost degree, having passed with “ unimpeached honor the ordeal of the Wexford inquisition. We read of nothing that has gone “ such lengths in foreign countries. Even the inquisitors are, by duty and oath, to seek out all “ evidence as well for, as against their prisoners!”

† I find in a letter from Dr. Caulfield to Dr. Troy, of the 19th of October, 1799, the following avowal

A party of insurgents in the county of Kildare, under the command of Mr. William Aylmer, still held out in arms; and thither the remaining body
of

avowal about the Rev. John Redmond: "All I can say of the Rev. John Redmond is, that when Lord Mountnorris was preparing to prosecute him, his groom and another of his servants (Protestants as I am informed) told his lordship, that Redmond's conduct was innocent and praiseworthy, that he came unto the rebels, when they were plundering his lordship's house, and did all in his power to restrain and prevent them. But now to look for any favorable testimony from that quarter would be vain, where no priest dares appear or Catholic raise his head or his voice."

But the Rev. Mr. Gordon puts the case of that unfortunate man in its true light: "*(History of the Irish Rebellion, 2d edit. p. 225.)* Of the rebellious conduct of Redmond, coadjutor of Father Francis Kavenagh, in the parish of Clough, of which I was twenty-three years curate, I can find no other proof than the sentence of the court-martial, which consigned him to death. He was accused by the Earl of Mountnorris, of having appeared as chief among a party of rebels, who committed some depredations at his lordship's house; while he alleged, that his object in appearing on the occasion, was to endeavour to prevent the plundering of the house, in which he partly succeeded. Coming into Gorey on a message from the earl, seemingly unapprehensive of danger, and unconscious of guilt, he was treated as if manifestly guilty before trial, knocked down in the street, and rudely dragged by some yeomen. I mean not to arraign the justice of the noble lord, his prosecutor, nor the members of the court-martial. The former, who had rendered himself in no small degree responsible for the loyalty of the Wexfordian Romanists, had doubtless good reasons for his conduct; and the latter could have no personal animosity against the accused, nor other unfavorable bias than what naturally arose from the turbid state of affairs, when accusation, especially against a Romish priest, was considered as a strong presumption of guilt. But his Protestant neighbours, who had not been able to escape from the rebels, assured me, that while the latter were in possession of the country, he was constantly hiding in Protestant houses from the rebels, and that many Romanists expressed great resentment against him as a traitor to their cause. That he expected not the rebellion to be successful, appears from this, that when the wife of Nathaniel Stedman (one of my Protestant parishioners) applied to him to baptize her child, he told her, that he acceded to her request merely lest the child should die unbaptized, in the necessary absence of her minister, on condition that she should promise to make the proper apology for him to me on my return to the parish.

"As I understand that the noble earl has not considered my relation of this affair as complete or satisfactory, I here add a few more circumstances. Father Kavenagh, to whom Redmond was coadjutor, had lived many years in habits of the greatest apparent intimacy with the earl, mostly residing at his lordship's house, and sometimes entertaining him and Lady Mountnorris and family at his own. Redmond, being one of the company on these occasions, thought himself extremely honored, and in some degree idolized the earl, who was regarded by the Catholics as their most zealous friend. Transported with zeal for his noble patron, when he heard that a mob had gone to his lordship's house in quest of liquors, he ran to prevail on them to spare all except the small beer. Father Kavenagh told me, that on the suppression of the rebels, the earl called at his
VOL. II. 5 F house,

of the Wexford men, commanded by Mr. Fitzgerald, accompanied by Mr. Garret Byrne, and some Wicklow men, directed their course to form a junction, which they accordingly effected, but were stopped in their progress at Clonard by Lieutenant Tyrrel, a yeoman officer, who had occupied a fortified house in the town, until reinforcements from Kinnegad and Mullingar forced them to retreat.

After this repulse the few remaining Wexford men separated from their Wicklow associates, whom they deemed less warlike than themselves, and made different incursions into the counties of Kildare, Meath, Louth and Dublin, eluding, as well as they could, the pursuit of the army, with different parties of which they had several skirmishes. They were finally routed and intercepted by Captain Gordon of the Dumfries light dragoons, at the head of a strong party of horse and foot, at Ballyboghil, near Swords, and never more collected.

Some Wexford insurgents, however, remained with Mr. Fitzgerald, along with Mr. Aylmer, who, as outstanding chiefs, negotiated with General Dundas, to whom they surrendered on the 12th of July, on condition, that all the other leaders, who had adventured with them, should be at liberty to retire whither they pleased out of the British dominions. The same terms were afterwards secured by General Moore to Mr. Garret Byrne, who was sent into confinement in the castle of Dublin, together with Messrs. Fitzgerald and Aylmer, by which they fared much better than those, who laid down their arms in Wexford depending on the faithful fulfilment of the terms entered into with Lord Kingborough.

The plan of proposing terms for saving the lives of Mr. Oliver Bond and Mr. Byrne was proposed through Mr. Dobbs, a member of parliament. That gentleman with the sheriff went to the prison, in which Mr. A. O'Connor

“house, in a friendly manner, requesting that Redmond should go to him to Gorey for a protection. What protection he received has been already related. No act could be more popular among Protestants, at that time, than the hanging of a priest; yet many Protestants would have come to bear witness in his favor, if they had been allowed time, and an assurance of personal safety. The popularity, however, of his lordship with the common people of the Catholics is so indelibly impressed, that they cannot believe to this day, that he had any concern in this business; but endeavoured with all his power to save the priest. I knew Redmond many years, and always thought him a remarkably timid and innocent man.”

was

was confined, on the 24th of July with a paper,* signed by seventy state prisoners, purposing to give such information as was in their power, of arms, ammunition, their schemes of warfare, their internal regulations and foreign negotiations of the United Irishmen, provided the lives of Messrs. Bond and Byrne should be spared. In consequence of this agreement, some of the rebel chiefs, who were still in arms, among whom was Mr. Aylmer of Kildare, surrendered themselves.† Several principals of the Union, particularly Arthur

* The following was the agreement signed by seventy-three on the 29th of July, 1798. “That the undersigned state prisoners, in the three prisons of Newgate, Kilmainham, and Bridewell, engage to give every information in their power, of the whole of the internal transactions of the United Irishmen, and that each of the prisoners shall give detailed information of every transaction, that has passed between the United Irishmen and foreign states; but that the prisoners are not, by naming or describing, to implicate any person whatever, and that they are ready to emigrate to such country as shall be agreed on between them and government, and give security not to return to this country without the permission of government, and not to pass into an enemy's country, if on their so doing they are to be freed from prosecution, and also Mr. Oliver Bond be permitted to take the benefit of this proposal. The state prisoners also hope, that the benefit of this proposal may be extended to such persons in custody, or not in custody, as may choose to benefit by it.” Signed by seventy-three persons.

29th of July, 1798.

† In a pamphlet, styled A Letter from Arthur O'Connor to Lord Castlereagh, dated from prison, January the 4th, 1799, that minister is directly charged with a violation of the contract, and a misrepresentation to parliament of the transactions between him and the prisoners of state. Other charges are made, one of which is, that the information given by these prisoners to government, was garbled to serve the purposes of the ministry, and particularly, that of a hundred pages, delivered by O'Connor himself, only one had been published in the reports of the secret committees. Since to this pamphlet, in which his lordship is peremptorily challenged to disprove any of the charges therein made, no reply has appeared, we have only the honor and integrity of his lordship and others for a disproof of these accusations, which may be a vindication to persons acquainted with his lordship's character. The pamphlet was said to have been suppressed by government, at least was not otherwise than clandestinely sold and circulated. The author expressly clears the lord lieutenant of all blame in these transactions. The honor of the Marquis Cornwallis remains unimpeached even by the boldest of all the chiefs of the conspiracy.

Whether the negotiation between government and the principal conspirators had any connexion with, or influence on the bill of amnesty, ministers alone can answer, and the secrets of administration are not lightly to be divulged. The affirmative seems to be insinuated in the above mentioned pamphlet, and an opinion of that nature to have been, at the time of the bargain, propagated among people connected with the insurgents, who spoke of some agreement as of a treaty of peace. This letter of Mr. O'Connor's is very strong; and it is to be hoped, that the real reasons

Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmett, Dr. M'Nevin, and Samuel Neilson, gave details on oath in their examinations before the secret committees of the two houses of parliament, in whose reports published by authority of government is contained a mass of information concerning the conspiracy. Yet certain it is, that whatever were the original terms of the contract, and by whatever subsequent events the contractors were influenced or affected, the principal prisoners (15 in number) were not liberated, and a power was reserved or assumed by ministers to detain them in custody at least during the continuance of the war with France. Oliver Bond died in the mean time in prison of an apoplexy.

During the whole of this rebellion the internal peace of the metropolis was preserved by the vigilance of the large military force constantly kept up within it, which chiefly consisted of yeomanry. The grand and royal canals, which were fifty feet broad and twelve feet deep, were a security against a surprise; and the several bridges were strongly palliaded and guarded both by night and by day. The trials and executions of some of the principal leaders in the rebellion tended to keep others in awe, and prevented any further attempts of individuals in that desperate cause. Among others, a rebel officer, a Protestant, named Bacon, a reputable taylor, having been apprehended disguised in female apparel, was executed on the 2d of June, near Carlisle bridge. On the 14th was executed, on the same scaffolding, Lieutenant Esmond, whose case has been already related. On the 12th of July, Henry and John Sheares were brought to trial, condemned, and soon after put to death. The trial of John M'Cann, who had been secretary to the provincial committee of Leinster, followed on the 17th; that of Michael William Byrne,* delegate from the county committee of Wicklow, and that of
 Oliver

for not having answered it were prudential, viz. not to give consequence and notoriety to the contents of it. In it he asserts, that Lord Castlereagh in their first conference assured him, that Lord Cornwallis's honor was pledged to them for the religious performance of the agreement; and that Lord Clare made use of these remarkable expressions: (p. 9) "It comes to this, either you must trust the government, or the government must trust you: a government that could violate engagements thus solemnly made, neither could stand nor deserved to stand." He alleges five substantial and most severe deviations on the part of government from the terms of the original agreement, justified upon the allegation of a change of circumstances after it had been first acceded to.

* Of the execution of Byrne, Mr. O'Connor thus speaks in his letter to Lord Castlereagh. "On the 24th of July last, Mr. Dobbs and the sheriff entered my prison with a written paper, signed
 " by

Oliver Bond, on the 23d. The two former were executed, but the third was reprieved, as has been mentioned.

Assassinations would probably have ceased soon after the granting of protections, had not some of the more desperate rebels, reinforced by deserters from some regiments of Irish militia, remained in arms in the mountains of Wicklow, and the dwarf woods of Killaughram, near Enniscorthy. These desperate banditti so terrified the whole vicinity of their lurking places, that those peaceable loyalists, who had remained in the country even in the heat of the rebellion, now found themselves necessitated to take refuge in towns. But, after a little time, the woods of Killaughram, scoured by the army, were cleared of their predatory inhabitants, who had ludicrously styled themselves babes of the woods, and tranquillity was restored to that part of the country.

The party in the Wicklow mountains, whose range was much more extensive, and haunts much more difficult of access, continued under two chiefs of the names of Holt and Hacket, to annoy the country for a longer time, and in a more formidable degree; issuing suddenly from their fastnesses to perpetrate burnings and massacres, and retiring before troops could arrive to intercept them.

As these massacres were always intended to fall upon Orangemen, and they were all Protestants, it was represented, that they sprang entirely from

“ by seventy state prisoners, purposing ‘ to give such information as was in their power of arms, ‘ ammunition, and schemes of warfare, (of which it is now manifest they knew little or nothing) ‘ and to consent to leave Ireland, provided the lives of Bond and Byrne (both under sentence of ‘ death) should be spared.’ I refused to sign it, not only from a detestation of entering into any ‘ conditions with those, who composed the councils of Lord Cornwallis’s administration, but be- ‘ cause in the massacre of my unarmed countrymen still raging, I did not think that any object, ‘ which was not general, could warrant me, in whom such confidence was placed by so many ‘ millions of my countrymen, to enter into any such compact, and because the possibility of its ‘ being attributed to a desire to save my own life, in the peculiar situation I stood in, was in my ‘ mind an insuperable objection, if there had been no other. Besides, it seemed to me, that to ‘ save the lives of Bond and Byrne, enough had signed their self-sacrifice to induce the ministers, ‘ already sated with blood, (as you and Lord Clare appeared to be when we met) to acquiesce ; ‘ but in this I was deceived, a council sat on the fate of Byrne ; he was executed. In this barter ‘ of blood, although you had lessened your quantum by half, yet you raised your demands for ‘ the price of the other, and proposed to those who had signed the paper, that they should deliver ‘ up names.”

a spirit

a spirit of religious hatred, and as the real perpetrators could not be brought to justice, avowed retaliation was resorted to. Where any Protestants were murdered by these banditti or their confederates, a greater number of Catholics were put to death in the same neighbourhood by the yeomen. Thus at Castletown, four miles from Gorey, where four Protestants were massacred in the night by Hacket, seven Catholics were slain in revenge; at Aughrim twenty-seven of that communion were killed in consequence of murders committed on Protestants. Harassed incessantly by the pursuits of yeomen and soldiery, the numbers of the banditti gradually diminished: Hacket was killed near Arklow; Holt surrendered for transportation to the Earl of Powerscourt; and these bands of robbers at length totally disappeared.

Notwithstanding the disastrous state of the country, the parliament ceased not to sit from time to time as the exigencies of circumstances required. On the 17th of July, Lord Castlereagh presented to the House of Commons the following message from his excellency.

“ CORNWALLIS.

“ I HAVE the king's commands to acquaint the House of Commons, that his majesty, notwithstanding his just abhorrence of the unnatural and unprovoked rebellion, which has broken out in this kingdom, yet being ever disposed to exert as far as possible his royal prerogative of mercy, and to receive again under his royal protection, those who by the arts of wicked and designing men have been seduced from their allegiance, has signified his gracious intention of granting his general and free pardon for all offences committed on or before a certain day, upon such conditions, and with such exceptions, as may be compatible with the public safety; for carrying which benevolent purpose into execution, his majesty has signified his gracious intention of sanctioning, in the usual form, by his royal signature, a bill for that purpose, previous to its being submitted for the concurrence of parliament.

“ His majesty has also directed me to lay before you several important papers, which may assist you in unfolding the nature and extent of the conspiracy, which has long prevailed in this kingdom; not doubting, that whilst your endeavours are directed to give effect to the gracious intentions of his majesty, you will feel it your indispensable duty to consider of and adopt such measures of salutary precaution, as may tend to secure the state hereafter, against the machinations of the disaffected.

“ In

“ In your deliberations, the sufferings of his majesty’s loyal subjects will naturally receive your attention, and recommend to you the framing of effectual measures for ascertaining their losses, and bringing their claims under the consideration of parliament.

“ The numerous and continued advantages of his majesty’s forces over the rebels, afford me just ground to believe, that as their hopes of success must have failed, so the obstinacy of their resistance will speedily cease. The generals under my command have received, and shall continue to receive, the most positive orders to proceed against them with unceasing activity and vigor; and I shall not suffer their exertions to relax, so long as any body of them whatever shall remain in arms against his majesty’s peace.”

This message was ordered to be entered on the Journals, and to be referred to a secret committee, which was to consist of thirteen members, inclusive of the speaker and the law officers of the crown in that house, to be chosen on the morrow by ballot in the usual form; and that the papers mentioned in the message, and which his lordship presented to the house sealed up in a box, be referred to the committee.

On the next day (18th of July) after the ballot for the committee, Lord Castlereagh, according to the order of the day for taking into consideration his excellency’s message, moved, that an address be presented to the lord lieutenant, requesting his excellency would lay before his majesty the sincere acknowledgments of his faithful commons for the gracious communication made to that house; the motion was seconded by the chancellor of the exchequer, and passed unanimously without debate, though Lord Castlereagh ushered it in with a very long speech upon the general topic of the rebellion; extolling the liberality of his majesty in granting an amnesty and recommending a provision for the indemnification of the suffering loyalists. The attorney general on the 27th of the month brought forward a bill for the attainder of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Cornelius Grogan, and Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, deceased: for which purpose several witnesses were examined at the bar. Similar proceedings were also had in the House of Lords. This measure was considered by some persons rather as an act of imprudent severity, or sort of supplementary vengeance upon the unoffending widow and orphan, rather as the base posthumous issue of the late, than the genuine offspring of the present administration. To compensate, however, for this solitary instance of severity, a bill of general amnesty was passed in the course
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of the session, with the exception only of Mr. Napper Tandy, and about thirty others, chiefly fugitives in France. A bill was also passed for granting compensation to such of his majesty's loyal subjects as had sustained losses in their property, in consequence of the late rebellion, and commissioners were named for carrying the same into effect.

The system of moderation and mercy pursued by Lord Cornwallis appeared peculiarly seasonable at this crisis, and was apparently attended with the happiest effects. The system of military law and military execution was relaxed throughout most parts of the kingdom where the flames of rebellion appeared to be extinguished. In one instance, indeed, his lordship gave some offence to the more violent partizans of the ancient regime.

In the county of Wexford the introduction of the system of conciliation and mildness met with more resistance than in any part of the kingdom, and in none was it so supereminently requisite. *General Hunter was indefatigable in his exertions to appease the minds of the people, and to restore confidence and tranquillity to that distracted country. In this he was very materially assisted by the address and exertions of Captain Fitzgerald, who by the special appointment of the British government, was attached as a proper person to attend the general as brigade major on the service in Ireland; and to this station, besides his acknowledged military talents, a recent display of courage, independent of his knowledge of the country, certainly recommended him. He was even invested with the extraordinary privilege of recommending such as he thought deserving of the protection and mercy of government.

Some principal gentlemen of the county, and others besides, attempted to interpose their authority to supersede the tenour of the general pardon held out by proclamation, pursuing the same line of arbitrary conduct, which they had practised previous to the insurrection. They even proceeded to the length of presuming to tear some of the protections, which the country people had obtained; but this coming to the general's knowledge, he soon quieted them by threatening to have them tied to a cart's tail and whipped. Others had been rash enough to levy arbitrary contributions for the losses they had sustained during the insurrection, but were glad upon discovery, and refunding what they had received, to escape punishment. A curate was

* Hay.

induced to wait on the general with an account of the intended massacre of the Protestants, which he detailed with the appearance of the utmost alarm, and was patiently heard out by the general; who then addressed him with this marked appellation and strong language:—" *Mr. Massacre*, if you do not prove to me the circumstances you have related, I shall get you punished in the most exemplary manner, for raising false alarms, which have already proved so destructive to this unfortunate country." The curate's alarm instantly changed its direction and became personal; and on allowing that his fears had been excited by vague report to make this representation, his piteous supplication, and apparent contrition, procured him forgiveness.

The various outrages that were committed in the country, prevented numbers from coming into the quarters of the several commanding officers to obtain protections, as many of the yeomen and their supplementaries continued the system of conflagration and shooting such of the peasantry as they met; and this necessarily deterred many from exposing themselves to their view, and prevented of course, the humane and benevolent intentions of the present government from having their due effect. The melancholy consequence of such a system of terror, persecution, and alarm, had very nearly brought on the extermination of an extensive and populous tract of the county of Wexford, called the Macomores; the horrid perpetration of the plan was providentially prevented by the timely and happy intervention of Brigade Major Fitzgerald, under the direction and orders of General Hunter. Incessant applications and remonstrances had been made, by different magistrates in Gorey and its vicinity, to government, complaining that this range of country was infested with constant meetings of rebels, who committed every species of outrage, and these reports were confirmed by affidavits; they were credited by government, to whom they were handed in, under the specious, imposing, and solemn appearances of facts, by a magistracy presumed to be deliberate, grave, and respectable; the viceroy was rendered justly indignant at these reiterated complaints of the abuse of his clemency; and orders were sent to the different generals and other commanding officers, contiguous to the devoted tract, to form a line along its extent on the western border, and at both ends, north and south, on the land side, so as to leave no resource to the wretched inhabitants, who were to be slaughtered by the soldiery, or to be driven into the sea, as it is bounded by the Channel on the eastward. Even women and children were to be included in this horrid plan of terrific ex-

ample. The execution of this severe and exemplary measure was entrusted to the discretion of General Hunter, who, through the honest exertions and bold scrutiny of Major Fitzgerald, fortunately discovered, in time, the inhuman tendency of the misrepresentation, that had produced those terrific orders. The devoted victims found an opportunity to implore protection from the incursions of the black mob (they thus denominated the supplementaries to the different corps of yeomanry), who wreaked their vengeance even upon those who had received protection from General Needham at Gorey; as different parties of the soldiery and yeomanry waited their return in ambush, and slaughtered every one they could overtake.

This prevented many from coming in for protections. Afterwards these sanguinary banditti made incursions into the country, fired into the houses, thus killing and wounding many unoffending peasants. Several houses after being plundered, were burned, and the booty was brought into Gorey. By the frequency of these horrible excesses and depredations, such houses as remained unburned were of course crowded with several families; and this multiplied the number of victims at each succeeding incursion. At last most of the inhabitants from necessity took refuge on the hills, and armed themselves with every offensive weapon they could procure. This harassed peasantry received protection from the General against the military depredators and murderers, and no subjects could be more loyal and subordinate.

The false alarmists were not depressed or intimidated at these discomfitures; for although General Hunter reported the country to be in a perfect state of tranquillity, they again returned to the charge and renewed their misrepresentations. Mr. Hawtrey White, captain of the Ballaghkeen cavalry, and a justice of the peace for the county, sent several informations to government of the alarming state of the country; and the commanding officer at Gorey was far so persuaded of the intention of a general rising, that he quitted the town and encamped on the hill above it. These representations, made under the semblance of loyalty, and by a person bearing the appearance and authority of a gentleman, had not, however, the wished-for weight with the government. General Hunter was ordered to enquire into the information of Mr. Hawtrey White, and Major Fitzgerald was again sent out, and the result of his discriminating enquiry was, that the information was unfounded. Upon this the General ordered Mr. Hawtrey White to be brought to Wexford, and he was accordingly conducted thither and put under arrest; and on his still
perfidious

persisting in his false representations, he was conducted to the island, where he asserted the rebels were encamped, and, lo ! no island appeared above the water. Mr. Hawtrey White was conducted back to Wexford, and General Hunter determined to bring him to a court-martial. Many gentlemen and ladies, however, interfered in the most earnest manner, to prevent this investigation, representing that Mr. White's great age might have subjected him to the imposition of fabricated information ; and the firmness of the general relaxed at the instance of so many respectable persons ! ! It is to be regretted that Ireland should have suffered so much by the tales of adventurers in these infernal practices.

A court-martial, of which Lord Ancram was president, was instituted at Wexford for the trial of persons accused of treason ; and, contrary to the expectation and wishes of the committee for procuring evidence, many were acquitted. Lord Ancram, however soon left the town, to the regret of the people ; but his lieutenant-colonel, Sir James Fowles, succeeded him as president of the court-martial, in which situation he acquitted himself with honor and integrity, which inspired so much confidence throughout the country, as to induce many who were conscious of their integrity, to submit to trial, which they would not otherwise have dared to do, from a well-founded opinion of the rancour of their accusers, who in too many instances elsewhere prevailed by the grossest perjuries against truth and justice. One notorious instance, will, it is hoped, supersede the painful necessity of supporting the assertion by a longer enumeration.*

Mr.

* Hay's Hist. 281.—In quoting the authority of Mr. Hay, it has been to me, as I presume it has been to others, a great satisfaction to read the following testimony of his History from Major Fitzgerald, who had such ample means of knowing the truth, and exerted them with so much honor and credit to himself, to his employers, and to his country :

“ SIR,

Dublin, 14 December, 1802.

“ I RETURN, with my thanks for your polite attention, the manuscripts you were so kind as to leave for my perusal. Am exceedingly glad to find, through the whole of your compilation, so strict an observance of facts, which chiefly came under my cognizance as brigade-major. It is with pleasure I observe also, your adherence to truth and impartiality, free from the rancorous spirit of party-fabrication, which is the true criterion that exalts the historian above the class of party scribblers, who dissipate as rapidly as unerring truth unveils itself, strongly exemplified in the past and present times. I give you much credit in not retorting as you might for your unremitted sufferings, by exposing the crimes of some respectable persons ;

Mr. Walter Devereux, having obtained protections from several officers, had gone to Cork to embark for Portugal: he was there taken up, tried, condemned and executed. Mr. Gibson, a yeoman and wealthy Protestant shop-keeper, and Mr. William Kearney, an extensive brewer, were summoned and attended at his trial, and proved that he was in Wexford, and even in gaol, at the very time some foldiers of the Wexford militia were shot thirty miles from that town; and the principal charge against him was, that he gave orders and was present at their execution, which some men of that regiment were hardened enough to swear!!! Mr. Hay the historian saw him in Wexford on the alleged day. He was also accused of aiding and abetting the abomination at Scullabogue, and this charge was similarly supported by the testimony of some foldiers wives! and yet it is a notable fact, that he was all that day engaged at the battle of Rofs, where he displayed the most heroical bravery and courage, qualities inconsistent with the odious crime it was falsely sworn he had perpetrated!!! But what puts the falsehood of the facts alleged against him beyond all question is, that after his execution another Mr. Devereux was taken up on the discriminating sagacity of the same witnesses, who prosecuted the former to death; but who now (as they said) had discovered the right Devereux. The trial of the latter has been published, and is recommended to the perusal of such as wish for further proof of the miserable and lamentable condition of existing in the county of Wexford during that unfortunate insurrection.

It was happy for Great Britain and Ireland at this alarming crisis, that the French government was in the hands of feeble politicians, who, though well acquainted with the state of Ireland, had unaccountably neglected to embrace the opportunity, and pursue the plan which had been laid out for them by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and others of the malecontents in Ireland; this was, to risk some frigates and light vessels with a proper supply of officers, arms and ammunition, with some few troops to keep the insurgents in spirits; Ireland might then have been lost for ever, and ultimately Great Britain itself,

“ for, indeed, if they are not very forgetful and very insensible, the compunctions of their consciences must be sufficiently tormenting. There is little doubt of your labours meeting their due reward from an unprejudiced public, which is the wish of

“ Your obedient humble servant,

“ To Edward Hay, Esq.

“ B. E. FITZGERALD.”

since,

since, in the present state of Europe, both islands must stand or fall together. They are naturally united, and the interests of neither will bear a separation. And hence the expediency or rather necessity of an incorporate union. With that lazy afterthought that marks the folly of a bad statesman, the French in the latter end of August, detached a small force to the North of Ireland, under the command of General Humbert who on the 22d of August landed at Killala.

The French entered the bay under English colours, and the feint succeeded so well * that two sons of the Bishop of Killala, threw themselves into a fishing boat, with the port surveyor, Mr. James Rutledge, and were presently surprized to find themselves prisoners. Some alarm had been given in the morning of the 22d to the people of Killala by the unusual appearance of ships of that size in their bay; in so much, that the only magistrate of the town, Mr. Kirkwood, who commanded the yeomanry, had kept his corps under arms the whole day at the sea house, called the castle, as did also Lieutenant Sells of the Prince of Wales's fencibles, with twenty militia men. Yeomen and fencibles together formed a corps of fifty men all Protestants.

The indentings of the bay of Killala, and the chain of hills between that town and the spot where the enemy landed, will in part account for the secrecy with which the debarkation was conducted. It is not without reason, however, suspected, that the peasantry had no intention to prevent the surprise that took place. Even among the bishop's servants, for some days before this event, a whisper had gone about, that the French were coming to Killala, and that something very terrible would shortly happen: a protestant servant maid, lately married to a Catholic inhabitant of the place, had circulated the report in the castle. Between seven and eight on that evening a terrified messenger suddenly announced to the bishop, that the French were landed, and that near three hundred of them were within a mile of the town. The cavalry officers rode off directly, in full speed, with the intelligence to Ballina. The yeomanry and fencibles drew up before the Castle gate and resolutely advanced into the main street to meet the French advance guard.

Borne down by numbers and seeing two of their corps fall they were seized with a panic, and fled. Kirkwood and nineteen yeomen were taken and ordered into close custody at the castle. All opposition being now at an end, the

* See the Bishop of Killala's interesting and authentic narrative of this transaction throughout.

French General marched into the castle yard at the head of his officers, and demanded to see the bishop, who fortunately was conversant with the French language. Humbert desired him to be under no apprehension for himself or his people; they should be treated with respectful attention, and nothing should be taken by the French troops, but what was absolutely necessary for their support; a promise which, as long as those troops continued in Killala, was most religiously observed.

Mr. Kirkwood was examined, as to the supplies that could be drawn from the town and neighbourhood to assist the progress of the invaders. The queries were interpreted by some Irish officers, who came with the French, to which he answered with such an appearance of frankness and candour, that he gained the esteem of the French general, who told him he was on his parole, and should have full permission to return to his family and attend to his private affairs. The conjugal affection of this gentleman on the next day made him forget his parole and go to attend his sick wife, who from the dread of the enemy had secreted herself in the mountains. Enraged at this breach of parole, the French took every thing they wanted out of his stores, oats and salt and iron to a considerable amount; nor had they been careful to prevent depredations by the rebels in his dwelling house, as they would have done if he had not fled; so that when he returned he found it a wreck.

The bishop's castle was made the head quarters of the French general. But such excellent discipline was constantly maintained by these invaders while they remained in Killala, that with every temptation to plunder, which the time and the number of valuable articles within their reach presented to them from a sideboard of plate and glasses, a hall filled with hats, whips, and great coats, as well of the guests as of the family, not one single article of private property was carried away.

On the morning after his arrival, Humbert began his military operations by pushing forward to Ballina a detachment of a hundred men, forty of whom he had mounted on the best horses he could seize. A green flag was mounted over the castle gate, with the inscription *Erin go Bragh*, importing to invite the country people to join the French. Their cause was to be forwarded by the immediate delivery of arms, ammunition, and clothing to the new levies of the country. Property was to be inviolable. Ready money was to come over in the ships expected every day from France. In the mean time, whatever was bought was paid for in drafts on the future directory.

Though

Though cash were wanting, the promise of clothing and arms to the recruits was made good to a considerable extent. The first that offered their service received complete clothing to the amount of about a thousand. The next comers, at least as many, received arms and clothing but no shoes or stockings. To the last, arms only were given. And of arms, Colonel Charost assured the bishop, 5500 stand were delivered.

Humbert left Killala with a quantity of ammunition in the possession of 200 men and 6 officers, and on the 25th, about seven o'clock in the evening took possession of Ballina, from whence the garrison fled on his approach. Here he left behind him an officer named Truc, with a very small part of the French and several of the Irish recruits. Humbert was sensible of the advantage of pushing forward with vigor, and that a rapid progress into the interior could alone bring the natives to his standard. At Ballina many hundred peasants repaired to the French standard, and with eagerness received arms and uniforms. The French commander determined to attack the forces at Castlebar, and began his march on the morning of the 26th, with eight hundred of his own men, and less than fifteen hundred Irish. He advanced through mountains, by ways generally deemed impassable to an army, with two small curriple guns, the repairing of the carriage of one of which, broken by the ruggedness of the roads, caused fortunately for our army, some hours delay in their march. The French were at seven o'clock within two miles of the town before which our army had taken their position on a rising ground to receive them.

Our artillery at first made such execution among the French, that they instantly fell back some paces. They then filed off in small parties to the right and left, and assailed our troops in flank, who had scarcely fired a second round, when the royal army seized with a panic, broke on all sides, and fled in extreme confusion through the town on the road to Tuam. Some have asserted, that General Lake gave an order for retreating. The force that general commanded at Castlebar fell very little short of 6000 men.*

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* This most disgraceful conduct of our troops in the face of so small a force of the enemy has been differently spoken of by the several persons who have written on the subject. Sir Richard Musgrave has selected half a dozen officers to whom exclusively (perhaps invidiously) he attributes the credit of attempting to rally their men. (p. 594.) "In justice to the Earls of Ormond and Longford, I think it proper to observe, that they did their utmost to rally their regiments. The
" Earl

So strong was the panic of our troops on this fatal occasion, that they never halted, till they reached the town of Tuam, nearly forty English miles from the scene of action. On the night of the same day they renewed their march, after a short refreshment, and retired still farther towards Athlone, where an officer of carabineers, with sixty of his men, arrived at one o'clock on Tuesday the 29th, having performed a march of above seventy English miles (the distance of Athlone from Castlebar) in twenty-seven hours. The artillery, lost by our army in this defeat, consisted of fourteen pieces, of which four were curriele guns. Beside that of the carabineers, of which no return has

“ Earl of Granard, Major Tompson, Captains Chambers and Armstrong rallied some soldiers of the
 “ Longford, and some stragglers of other corps, and covered the retreat of our troops by main-
 “ taining, as they retired, a well-directed fire, from behind hedges and walls, on the enemy as they
 “ advanced.”

The Bishop of Killala thus avoids direct censure. (Narrative p. 45.) “ The writer of this nar-
 “ rative professes only to describe what he saw and felt. It is not his business therefore, if he were
 “ competent to the task, to trace the events of an invasion, the first successes of which caused so
 “ much astonishment, or to shew by what means a handful of men continued so long to brave the
 “ force of a whole kingdom; men, who, from the time they missed their reinforcements from
 “ home, confessed their belief that they were no more than a forlorn hope sent to annoy the ene-
 “ mies of their country, and, that duty done, expected every hour to be forced to surrender them-
 “ selves prisoners of war.”

The Rev. Mr. Gordon says, (p. 285,) “ I am informed by good authority, that the French officers,
 “ at the first view of the number, and excellent arrangements of our troops, expected no other for-
 “ tune than to be obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war, till observing the irregular fire
 “ of our mucketeers, many of whom fired without orders, they conceived some hope, and advanced
 “ under cover of the smoke; but that they must have probably laid down their arms, if General
 “ Lake had not commanded a retreat, which was the real cause of the rout; and, that if General
 “ Hutchinson had been chief commander on this occasion, the career of the invaders would have
 “ ended at Castlebar.”

There is no question, but that a very serious difference happened previous to the disgraceful action at Castlebar between General (now Lord) Hutchinson and General Lake: and that the army in general was strongly affected by the former's having been superseded in his command by the latter; General Hutchinson was acquainted with every inch of the country, and had prepared an able and efficient plan for stopping the progress of the enemy; he commanded alike the confidence of the army and the affections of the natives. As cruelty and cowardice are ever inseparable, it was unlikely that troops, which had debased themselves by massacring the fugitive, surrendered or unoffending, by burning their houses and destroying their property, by torturing, strangling, and flogging the suspected to extort confessions, should when left to themselves or under the command of the promoter of that savage warfare, bravely face an enemy, upon whom they dared not exercise their wonted atrocities.

been

been published; our loss of men has never been stated accurately, nor the loss of the French ever known to us.

The Marquis Cornwallis, from the first intelligence of the invasion, had, notwithstanding the smallness of the invading army, been so sensible of the danger of rekindling the smothered flame of rebellion as to have determined to march in person against the enemy. His Excellency saw that the utmost caution was expedient, as well as vigour in the movements of his forces. The motions of the main army, immediately under his own command, were calculated to cover the country, to intimidate the abettors of rebellion, and to afford an opportunity of rallying to any smaller bodies of troops which might be defeated; while these bodies were ordered to harass the enemy as much as possible without running risks, or engaging in battle without certainty of success. The marquis proceeded on the 30th of August in the road to Castlebar, and arrived on the 4th of September at Hollymount, fourteen miles distant from Castlebar; in the evening of that day he received intelligence, that the enemy had abandoned their post and marched to Foxford.

After their victory at Castlebar, the French received great accessions of Irish peasantry to their standard, who increased indeed the numbers of the enemy, but proved to be of no effectual aid to them; the French had been taught to expect far more powerful assistance from the Irish.

The advanced guard of the French having arrived at Coloony, was opposed on the 5th by Colonel Verreker of the City of Limerick Militia, who had marched from Sligo for the purpose, with about two hundred infantry, thirty of the 24th regiment of light dragoons, and two curricule guns. The colonel found the enemy arranged for his reception between him and the town of Coloony. After a smart action of about an hour's continuance, he was obliged to retreat, with the loss of his artillery, to Sligo, whence he withdrew his little army to Ballyshannon. Colonel Verreker proved himself a man of ability, spirit, and courage, in this affair; he was actually engaged with the whole French force, though he conceived himself to be engaged with the vanguard only.

This opposition, though attended with defeat to the opposers, is supposed to have caused the French general to relinquish his design on Sligo. He directed his march by Drummahair toward Manorhamilton in the County of Leitrim, leaving on the road, for the sake of expedition, three six pounders dismounted, and throwing five pieces more of artillery over the bridge at Drummahair, into the river. In approaching Manorhamilton he suddenly wheeled to the

right, taking his way by Drumkerim, perhaps with design of attempting, if possible, to reach Granard in the County of Longford, where an alarming insurrection had taken place. Crawford's troops lunged so close on the rear guard of the French, as to come to action with it on the 7th, between Drumshanbo and Ballynamore, in which action they were repulsed with some loss, and admonished to observe more caution in the pursuit. The French on their side are said to have mistaken the Colonel's army for the van guard of the British army, and to have been thereby prevented from attempting to surround it.*

The French army passing the Shannon at Ballintra, and halting some hours in the night at Claone, arrived at Ballinamuck on the 8th of September, so closely followed by the troops of Colonel Crawford and General Lake, that its rear guard was unable to break the bridge at Ballintra, to impede the pursuit; while Lord Cornwallis, with the grand army, crossed the same river at Carrick-on-Shannon, marched by Mohill to Saint-Johnstown, in the county of Longford, in order to intercept the enemy in front, in his way to Granard; or should he proceed, to surround him with an army of thirty thousand men. In this desperate situation, Humbert arranged his forces, with no other object, as it must be presumed, than to maintain the honor of the French arms. The rear-guard having been attacked by Colonel Crawford, about two hundred of the French infantry surrendered. The rest continued to defend themselves for above half an hour, when, on the appearance of the main body of General Lake's army, they also surrendered, after they had made Lord Roden, with a body of dragoons, a prisoner. His lordship had precipitately advanced into the French lines to obtain their surrender. The rebel auxiliaries, who had accompanied the French to this fatal field, being excluded from quarter, fled in all directions, and were pursued with the slaughter of about five hundred men, which seems much less to exceed the truth, than the returns of slain in the south-eastern parts of the island. Notwithstanding the diminution by desertions on the march, about one thousand five hundred rebels were with the French army at Ballinamuck, at the time of the surrender of Humbert. The loss of our troops was officially stated at three privates killed, twelve wounded, three missing, and one officer wounded. The troops of General Humbert were found, when prisoners, to consist of

* Humbert is reported to have said, that Colonel Verreker was the only British officer he had faced that was fit to command fifty men.

seven hundred and forty-six privates, and ninety-six officers, having sustained a loss of about two hundred men since their landing at Killala on the 22d of August.

It must ever remain an humiliating reflection upon the lustre and power of the British arms, that so pitiful a detachment as that of eleven hundred French infantry, should, in a kingdom, in which there was an armed force of above 150,000 men, have not only put to rout a select army of six thousand men, prepared to receive the invaders, but also provided themselves with ordnance and ammunition from our stores, taken several of our towns, marched* 122 Irish (above 150 English) miles through the country, and kept arms in their victorious hands for seventeen days in the heart of an armed kingdom. But it was this British army, which the untemperish and gallant Abercrombie had, on the 26th of February, *found in such a state of licentiousness, that must render it formidable to every one but the enemy.*

The prudence of Lord Cornwallis in the plan of his movements, in a line between the French and the interior country, is evinced, from the failure of an insurrection in the neighbourhood of Granard, which had taken place while the French were marching from Castlebar, and had been designed as a power-

* *The following was the Route of the French.*

	m.	f.
From Killala to Ballina	7	0
Back from Killala	7	0
To Castlebar	21	3
Round the west end of Lough Bar, and over the Barnagee mountains to Foxford	11	0
Cross the river May to Swineford	9	4
To Ballaghy	5	5
To Tubbercorry	5	6
To Colooney	11	4
To Ballintogher	4	4
To Drumahaire	3	2
To Manor Hamilton	4	6
Back to Drumkerin	3	1
To Ballintra	7	1
Cross to Drumfnave	9	1
To Ballinamuck	6	1
	122	1

ful diversion in their favor, and even to afford them a commanding post, whence they might more conveniently direct their operations against the metropolis. The plan was, first to seize the town of Granard, and then to attack the town of Cavan, where considerable stores of arms and ammunition were deposited. Granard was nearly surprized by a body of some thousand rebels, chiefly from Westmeath and Longford, on the 5th of September; but it was most ably defended by Captain Cottingham, of the Cavan and Ballyhaife yeoman infantry, whose whole force consisted of a hundred and fifty-seven infantry, and forty-nine cavalry. Between two and three in the afternoon the rebels fled, and were pursued with great slaughter. Notwithstanding the speedy suppression of the rebels in the neighbourhood of Granard, and the surrender of the French army two days after at Ballynamuck, yet, in the county of Mayo, where they had first risen to assist the invaders, they still persevered in a state of insurrection. Humbert's surrender was not known in these parts for some days after. Castlebar, which on its evacuation by the French, had been occupied by the king's troops, was attacked in the morning of the 12th of September, by a body of rebels, reported to be two thousand in number. The garrison, consisting of fifty-seven of Frazer's fencibles, thirty-four volunteers, and one troop of yeoman cavalry, was so judiciously posted by Captain Urquhart, of the Frazer's, as to completely rout the assailants, whose object probably was to plunder the town. All the places which had fallen into the hands of the rebels were now recovered, except Ballina and Killala, which remained some time longer in their possession. On his march from Castlebar on the 4th of September, Humbert had left no part of his army at Killala or Ballina, except three officers at the former, and one at the latter, to command the rebels who formed the garrisons of those towns. No force was detached from the army to re-occupy Ballina, till the 22d of September, about three o'clock in the afternoon, when, upon their approach, the rebel garrison, with its French commander, Truc, fled towards Killala.

On the 22d of September, thirty-two days after the landing of the French army, and fifteen after its capture at Ballinamuck, a large body of troops arrived at Killala, under the command of Major General Trench, who would have been still some days later in his arrival, had he not been hastened by a message from the bishop, to announce the fearful apprehensions his lordship's family, and the other loyalists were under, from the ferocity of the rebels.

On the 23d of September, the arrival of General Trench, with a part of the
army

army at Killala, and some other transactions of the French whilst that part of the country was in the inglorious subjection to their rule, are thus faithfully narrated by the right reverend eye witnesses of them.*

“ A troop of fugitives in full race from Ballina, women and children, tumbling over one another to get into the castle, or into any house in the town where they might hope for a momentary shelter, continued for a painful length of time to give notice of the approach of an army.

The rebels quitted their camp to occupy the rising ground close by the town, on the road to Ballina, and posted themselves under the low stone walls on each side, in such a manner as enabled them with great advantage to take aim at the king's troops. They had a strong guard also on the other side of the town towards Foxford, having probably received intelligence, which was true, that General Trench had divided his forces at Crofmalina, and sent one part of them by a *detour* of three miles to intercept the fugitives, that might take that course in their flight. This last detachment consisted chiefly of the Kerry militia, under the orders of Lieutenant Colonel Crosbie and Maurice Fitzgerald the knight of Kerry, their colonel, the Earl of Glandore attending the general. It is a circumstance, which ought never to be forgotten by the loyalists of Killala, that the Kerry militia were so wrought upon by the exhortations of those two spirited officers, to lose no time in coming to the relief of their perishing friends, that they appeared on the south side of the town at the same instant with their fellows on the opposite side, though they had a league more of road to perform.

The two divisions of the royal army were supposed to make up about twelve hundred men, and they had five pieces of cannon. The number of the rebels could not be ascertained. Many ran away before the engagement, while a very considerable number flocked into the town in the very heat of it, passing under the castle windows in view of the French officers on horseback, and running upon death, with as little appearance of reflection or concern, as if they were hastening to a shew. About four hundred of these misguided men fell in the battle, and immediately after it. Whence it may be conjectured, that their entire number scarcely exceeded eight or nine hundred.

The whole scene passed in sight of the castle, and so near it, that the family could distinctly hear the balls whistling by their ears.

* Narr. p. 145.

We kept our eyes on the rebels, who seemed to be posted with so much advantage behind the stone walls that lined the road. They levelled their pieces, fired very deliberately from each side on the advancing enemy, yet (strange to tell!) were able only to kill one man, a corporal, and wound one common foldier. Their shot, in general, went over the heads of their opponents. A regiment of highlanders (Frazer's fencibles) filed off to right and left, to flank the fusileers behind the hedges and walls; they had a marshy ground on the left to surmount before they could come upon their object, which occasioned some delay, but at length they reached them, and made sad havock among them. Then followed the Queen's County militia and the Downshire, which last regiment had a great share in the honour of the day.

After a resistance of about twenty minutes, the rebels began to fly in all directions, and were pursued by the Roxburgh cavalry into the town in full cry. This was not agreeable to military practice, according to which it is usual to commit the assault of a town to the infantry; but here the general wisely reversed the mode, in order to prevent the rebels, by a rapid pursuit, from taking shelter in the houses of the townsfolk, a circumstance which was likely to provoke indiscriminate slaughter and pillage. The measure was attended with the desired success. A considerable number was cut down in the streets, and of the remainder, but a few were able to escape into the houses, being either pushed through the town till they fell in with the Kerry from Crosmalina, or obliged to take the shore, where it winds round a promontory, forming one of the horns of the bay of Killala. And here too the fugitives were swept away by scores, a cannon being placed on the opposite side of the bay, which did great execution.

Some of the defeated rebels, however, did force their way into houses, and by consequence brought mischief upon the innocent inhabitants, without benefit to themselves."

The town of Killala, thus recovered by his majesty's forces, had been thirty-two days in the possession of the French and rebels. Of the transactions, which occurred there during that period, the bishop's candid narrative is a most valuable and authentic historical document, extremely honorable to the writer, since it evinces a genuine goodness of heart, and a mind so cultivated, so candid, so elevated above vulgar prejudices, and the servile fear of party, as to discern and publicly acknowledge the virtues of an enemy.

The unbiassed writer thus describes the little army of invaders:—intelligence,

gence, activity, temperance, patience, to a surprising degree, appeared to be combined in the soldiery that came over with Humbert, together with the exactest obedience to discipline: yet, if you except the grenadiers, they had nothing to catch the eye. Their stature, for the most part, was low, their complexion pale and fallow, their clothes much the worse for the wear: to a superficial observer, they would have appeared incapable of enduring almost any hardship. These were the men, however, of whom it was presently observed that they could be well content to live on bread or potatoes, to drink water, to make the stones of the street their bed, and to sleep in their clothes, with no cover but the canopy of heaven. One half of their number had served in Italy under Buonaparte; the rest were of the army of the Rhine, where they had suffered distresses, that well accounted for their persons and wan looks.

The rebels, who had joined the French, were with great difficulty restrained by the French from plundering and abusing the loyalists.* “Indeed,” says the right reverend narrator, “the contrast with regard to religious sentiments, between the French and their Irish allies, was extremely curious. The atheist despised and affronted the bigot; but the wonder was, how the zealous papist should come to any terms of agreement with a set of men, who boasted openly in our hearing, ‘that they had just driven Mr. Pope out of Italy, and did not expect to find him again so suddenly in Ireland.’ It astonished the French officers to hear the recruits, when they offered their services, declare, that they were come to take arms for France and the Blessed Virgin.” The conduct of the several priests, who engaged in the same treasonable enterprise, was yet more surprising than that of their people. No set of men could be treated with more apparent marks of dislike, and even contempt, than these were by the French, though against the plainest suggestions of policy, which recommended attention to them, both as having an influence over their flocks, and as useful interpreters, most of them (from their foreign education) being able to speak a little French. Yet the commandant would not trust to their interpretation: if he wanted to know the truth, he waited till he could see the bishop.

It was at one time strongly agitated, whether arms should not be put into the hands of all the Protestant inhabitants of Killala, in order to enable them to defend themselves against depredation and insult: and several had actually

* Narr. p. 96.

obtained them. However, * “after an hour’s struggle several of the Protestants, intimidated by the menaces of the others, returned the arms they had received, and said they would trust themselves to the protection of the patrol, which put an end for that time to the disturbance.

“It was renewed, however, the two following days with unabating violence, till at length the Protestants, harraßed by domiciliary visits of armed rebels in search of concealed weapons, agreed in a petition to the commandant, that he would call in by proclamation what he had given out, and forbid in future any person’s appearing in arms, except recruits for the French service. The terror of being thus stripped of the means of defence was exaggerated by the alarming accounts of depredations on every side of Killala to the distance of several miles. Not a night passed but some house was rifled; scarce an hour in the day elapsed, in which the bishop was not importuned to lay some lamentation before the commandant, or to send out some guard for protection.

“But if it were doubtful, whether arms might safely be committed to every inhabitant of Killala, it admitted no dispute at all, that the town could not exist without some form of civil government. Depredators crouded in hourly from the country, to the equal annoyance and terror of every body that had property, whether Catholic or Protestant. The French, it was said, had divided the town and neighbourhood of Castlebar into districts, appointing over each a municipal officer with a guard at his command, properly armed for the public defence; and the scheme there had the desired success. A proclamation was therefore issued for establishing a similar form through the canton, over which Charost presided. The country was thrown into departments; a magistrate, to be elected by his neighbours, was to take charge of each, with the help of a guard of sixteen or twenty men; arms and ammunition were to be distributed to these, under an express stipulation, that neither officers nor men should be marched out of their respective departments, nor employed against their sovereign, nor in any service except that of keeping the peace. The town of Killala was committed to the protection of one hundred and fifty men, in three bodies, all to be observant of the orders of Mr. James Devitt, the civil magistrate, unanimously chosen by the people, because he was a substantial tradesman, a Roman Catholic, and a man of sense

* Narrative, p. 52.

and moderation. He had under him two assistants, of his own religion. The benefits of this regulation were felt immediately in the establishment of tolerable order and quiet, at least in and about the town; and without doubt they would have been felt to a greater extent, if the French power had been firmer.

“ The example of Killala was presently copied in the other departments. Magistrates were elected, always Roman Catholics, but commonly of the better sort among them; persons who had no desire to take arms against the British government. Some of these applied to the bishop for his opinion, whether they should incur the penalties of treason by acting under a foreign power, merely for the common safety, and under the conditions stated above. His answer was, that he was no lawyer; but always having found the law of England to be consonant to reason, he would take upon him to say, there could be no law forbidding to do under these circumstances what was absolutely enjoined by the great law of self-preservation. It is reported, that when the rebellion was over, several persons muttered against this doctrine: it might be conceded, they said, to the existing terror, but it was not found, because it might be employed as an excuse for a tame and prompt submission to any invaders. To such tranquil declaimers on the merit of casting away life and property, in preference to bowing the head to a storm, it is obvious to reply, that had they changed situations with those, who actually felt the distress, it is more than probable they would have seen good reason to adopt the very conduct, which in the fulness of security they took upon them to condemn. To submit to a king, *de facto*, and even to act by a commission from such a one, to preserve the peace of the community, provided by so doing you do not preclude yourself from returning under the government of a king *de jure*, is a practice sanctioned by the authority of our most equitable law.”

The court-martial began the day after the battle, and sat in the house of Mr. Morrifon. Their proceedings at first appeared extremely slow, considering the multitudes they had to try, not less than seventy-five prisoners at Killala, and a hundred and ten at Ballina, besides those, who might be brought in daily. The two first persons tried at this tribunal were General Bellew and Mr. Richard Bourke. The trial of these two criminals was short. They were found guilty on Monday evening, and hanged the next morning in the

park behind the castle. Contemptible for drunkenness and vulgar manners, they fell without exciting a sentiment of compassion.

Roger Macguire was found guilty but remanded to prison, and after a long confinement, he was transmitted to Castlebar, where at last he received sentence to be transported to Botany Bay. His father, the brewer, was hanged; some others were executed.

Thus ended the rebellion, or, more properly speaking, the various insurrections in Ireland in the year 1798. Little reliance is to be placed on the official accounts of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the several engagements and rencountres. According to the most probable accounts to be had from the War-Office, the number of the army lost in this rebellion amounts in the whole to 19,700 men; and according to the general government accounts of the total loss of the rebels, it exceeded 50,000.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN WITH IRELAND.

OUR remaining task is to trace the consequences and effects of this unfortunate rebellion, and mark the progress to that great political event, the incorporate Union of the two kingdoms, which so closely followed it. Whatever differences of opinion upon this subject may have existed in either kingdom, previous to the completion of that work, there can now but be one disposition and one sentiment of every loyal subject upon it: an ardent desire, coupled with efficient exertion, to render it preventative of future evils, and accumulative of future blessings, improvements, and permanent prosperity to Ireland and the whole British empire, now politically consolidated for those desirable ends.

Pierce as was the contest during this unfortunate warfare, and widely as the mild and firm controul of the law was deviated from, yet did the whole transaction form a singular exception to the adage, *inter arma silent leges*. The parliament continued to sit and legislate during the whole time of the rebellion. In the months of August and September the examination of the chiefs of the rebels went forward before the secret committees of both houses, and their reports, which have been so often referred to, were then published. It appears, that government were anxious, that the reports of these committees should gain universal credit with the nation; and the more so, as an advertisement had appeared in some of the more popular prints cautioning the public against giving them credit.* On the 6th, therefore, of September,

1798,

* Mr. Arthur O'Connor in his letter to Lord Castlereagh gives the following account of this misunderstanding about the publication of their evidence given before the secret committees. (P. 11.)

“ Pursuant to this agreement, at the instance of government, Emmett, M'Nevin, and I drew up
 “ a memoir containing thirty-six pages, giving an account of the origin, principles, conduct, and
 “ views of the union, which we signed and delivered to you on the 4th of August last. On the 6th,
 “ Mr. Cook came to our prison, and after acknowledging, that the memoir was a perfect perform-
 “ ance of our agreement, he told us that Lord Cornwallis had read it, but, as it was a vindication
 “ of the union, and a condemnation of the ministers, the government, and legislature of Ireland,

1798, the chancellor made the following further report from the committee of secrecy.

“ MY LORDS,

“ THE lords committees appointed to examine the matters of the sealed up papers received from the commons on the twenty-third of July last, and to report the same as they shall appear to them to this house; having seen an advertisement in the public prints, signed Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, and William James M'Neven, in the following words: [‘ Having read in the different news papers publications pretending to be abstracts of the reports of the secret committee of the House of Commons, and of our depositions before the committees of the lords and commons; we feel ourselves called upon to assure the public, that they are gross and to us astonishing misrepresentations, not only unsupported by, but in many instances directly contradictory to the facts we really stated on those occasions. We further assure our friends, that in no instance did the name of any individual escape from us; on the contrary, we always refused answering such questions as might tend to implicate any person whatever, conformably to the agreement entered into by the state prisoners with government.

‘ ARTHUR O CONNOR,

‘ THOMAS ADDIS EMMET,

‘ WILLIAM JAMES M'NEVEN. ’]

“ have thought it their duty to examine the said Arthur O'Connor, Thomas

“ he could not receive it, and therefore he wished we would alter it; we declared we would not change one letter, it was all true, and it was the truth we stood pledged to deliver. He then asked us if government should publish such parts only as might suit them, whether we would refrain from publishing the memoir entire; we answered, that having stipulated for the liberty of publication, we would use that right when, and as we should feel ourselves called on; to which he added, that if we published, he would have to hire persons to answer us, that then he supposed we would reply, by which a paper war would be carried on without end between us and the government. Finding that we would not suffer the memoir to be garbled, and that the literary contest between us and these hirelings was not likely to turn out to your credit, it was determined to examine us before the secret committees, whereby a more compleat selection might be made out of the memoir, and all the objectionable truths, with which it was observed it abounded, might be suppressed. For the present I shall only remark that of one hundred pages, to which the whole of the information I gave to the government and to the secret committees amounts, only one page has been published.”

“ Addis

“ Addis Emmet, and William James M’Neven, with respect to such advertisement, to the end that it might be ascertained whether they or any of them intended to contradict or retract any thing, which they had heretofore deposed before your committee. And your committee subjoin the several examinations on oath of the said Arthur O’Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, and William James M’Neven, this day made and signed by them respectively upon that subject.”*

Lord

* 8 Lords Journal, p. 171. “ Arthur O’Connor sworn—Admits that the advertisement which appeared in the Hibernian Journal, and Saunders’s News Letter of Monday the twenty-seventh of August last, under the signatures of Arthur O’Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet and William James M’Neven, was published by their authority. Says he does not mean to contradict or retract any thing stated by him before this committee or the secret committee of the House of Commons. Says he has now read the evidence given by him before the secret committee of the House of Lords as printed in the appendix to their report, which he admits to be accurate, but wishes to explain himself upon two points contained in said evidence. First, that General Valence was not in the most distant manner connected or concerned in any negotiation carried on between the Directory of the Irish Union and the French Directory. Secondly, that it did not appear to him, that there was any connection between the Irish Executive Directory and any society in Great Britain; on the contrary, that it was proposed to the person who adjusted the terms of the alliance between the Irish Union and the French Directory in one thousand seven hundred and ninety six, that an invasion of England should take place at the same time that Ireland was to be invaded, to dissuade them from which, the Irish agent used such arguments as he believes were conclusive.

Arthur O’Connor.

“ Thomas Addis Emmet, Esquire, sworn—Admits that the advertisement which appeared in the Hibernian Journal and Saunders’s News Letter of Monday the twenty-seventh of August last, under the signatures of Arthur O’Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, and William James M’Neven, was published by their authority. Says he did not by said advertisement, nor does he in any manner mean to contradict or retract any thing stated by him before this committee or the secret committee of the House of Commons, but is willing to authenticate the whole of the evidence which he gave on those occasions in any manner that may be thought fit. Declares that the said advertisement alluded solely to misrepresentation in the news papers. Says, that he has read the evidence stated in the Appendix to the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, as having been given by him before that committee, and admits that the evidence so stated expressed nothing but the truth, but omits many reasons which he gave in justification of his own conduct and of that of the members of the Union at large. Says, he does not mean to contradict any thing which has been so reported with respect to the military organization of the United Irishmen in this kingdom, or the nature or object of it, which was after they had despaired of obtaining a reform in parliament by peaceable means, to effect a revolution by subverting the monarchy, separating this country from Great Britain, and erecting such government in Ireland as

“ might

Lord Cornwallis, whose magnanimity and liberality put the extortioners of the old system of rigor and coercion to the blush and defiance, took every opportunity to convince the nation, that a real change of system was adopted by the government; and fortunately for Ireland, the affections of numbers were reclaimed by a system of moderation and firmness, which had been estranged by that of uncontrouled severity and coercion. As early as on the 11th of September his Excellency Lord Cornwallis, wishing to prevent the delusion and consequent destruction of the multitude, published a proclamation* to induce them to submit. Although it did not at the moment answer fully

“ might be chosen by the people. Says, he does not mean to contradict the details given in the
 “ said reports, of the correspondence and connection of the Irish Union with the government of
 “ France, as far as he has any knowledge thereof, and which details he so far admits to be accurate.

“ Thomas Addis Emmet.

“ Doctor William James M’Neven, sworn—Admits that the advertisement which appeared in
 “ the Hibernian Journal and Saunders’s News Letter of Monday the twenty-seventh of August
 “ last, under the signatures of Arthur O’Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, and William James
 “ M’Neven, was published by their authority. Says, he does not mean to contradict or retract
 “ any thing stated by him before this committee or the secret committee of the House of Commons.
 “ The advertisement alluded solely to the misrepresentations of the news papers which are not
 “ supported by the report of either house of parliament. Says, he does not mean to contradict any
 “ thing which has been so reported with respect to the military organization of the United Irish-
 “ men in this kingdom, or the nature or object of it, which was to effect a revolution by subvert-
 “ ing the monarchy, separating this country from Great Britain, and erecting a republican govern-
 “ ment in Ireland. Says, he does not mean to contradict the details given in the said reports of
 “ the correspondence and connection of the Irish Revolutionary Union with the government of
 “ France, which details he admits to be accurate. William James M’Neven.”

* A PROCLAMATION.

CORNWALLIS.

“ WHEREAS, it appears that during the late invasion, many of the inhabitants of
 “ the county of Mayo, and counties adjacent, did join the French forces, and did receive from them
 “ arms and ammunition; and whereas it may be expedient to admit such persons to mercy who
 “ may have been instigated thereto by designing men, we do hereby promise his majesty’s pardon
 “ to any person who has joined the enemy provided he surrenders himself to any of his majesty’s
 “ justices of the peace, or any of his majesty’s officers, and delivers up a French firelock and bayo-
 “ net, and all the ammunition in his possession; and provided he has not served in any higher ca-
 “ pacity than that of private :

“ This proclamation to be in force for thirty days from the date hereof.

“ Given at his majesty’s castle of Dublin, this 11th day of September, 1798. By the lord lieu-
 “ tenant’s command.

“ CASTLEREAGH.”

On

fully the desired effect, yet was it not followed up by harshness or cruelty to inflame the existing or to provoke a new insurgency.

On

On the debate on the attainder bill on the 20th of August, Mr. Ogle alarmed at the system of humanity so little congenial with his own feelings, which the policy, wisdom, and philanthropy of the chief governor had then began, thus spoke. “ Great a traitor as he acknowledged Lord Edward Fitzgerald to have been, there were others, not only equalling, but exceeding him in criminality, as having gone to the extent of acting upon what he had only planned. What, he would ask, was to be done with these? Were they to be suffered to contemplate in security and without punishment the evils which they had brought on the country? Were they to have liberty of transporting themselves and property to other and happier countries, blessed in their escape from a land which they had made miserable? And were they to have to boast, amidst the enjoyments of another clime, and undiminished fortune, the horrors under which they had reduced their country. What was the situation of that once flourishing county, that of Wexford? What in it was the situation of the brave yeomanry, whose loyalty and courage were exerted in defence of their king and country, and who in the contest had lost every particle of their property, what was their condition? They were actually afraid to return to their homes amidst protected rebels, who, by a letter received since he came into the house he learned to be still committing murders on the loyal inhabitants.”

Of this patricide clamor for spilling Irish blood by those, who had once fatally succeeded in extorting that ferocious and mischievous system, now checked and reprobated by English benevolence and wisdom, Mr. Grattan expressed his sentiments in a letter he wrote from Twickenham on the 9th of November, 1798, to the guild of merchants, corporation of Dublin, and fellows of Trinity college, concerning their attacks upon his character and conduct. Having addressed each rank separately, he thus concluded to the doctors. “ I assure them, I am not their enemy, though they may be mine. But,” continues he, “ that is not the case with another description of men, with whom I should be ashamed to discourse in the same tone of temper and moderation; I mean that Irish faction, which is the secret mover of all this calumny and all this injustice; they stand at the head of a bloody combination; I look on them as the cause of the evil that has of late fallen on their country. I protest I do not know a faction which, considering the very small measure of their credit and ability, has done so much mischief to their king and country. They opposed the restoration of the constitution of Ireland; they afterwards endeavoured to betray and undermine it; they introduced a system of corruption unknown in the annals of parliament: they then proclaimed that corruption so loudly, so scandalously, and so broadly, that one of them was obliged to deny in one house the notorious expressions he had used in another. They accompanied these offences by abominable petulance of invective uttered from time to time against the great body of the people, and having by such proceedings and such discourse lost their affection, they resorted to a system of coercion to support a system of torture attendant on a conspiracy of which their crimes was the cause. And now their country displays a most extraordinary contest, where an Englishman at the head of its government struggles to spare the Irish people, and an Irish faction presses to shed their blood. I repeat it, I do not know a faction more dangerous, more malignant, or more sanguinary.

“ I am

On the 6th of October the parliament was prorogued in the usual form, and his excellency delivered a very interesting speech from the throne.* About the

“ I am ready to enter into detail of all this: enough at present to say, that I have been forced to write thus much, because I have no opportunity of vindication but the press, and no press but that of England. [This letter appeared in the Courier.]

“ I shall conclude by assuring that faction, that I am apprised of their enmity, and shall go out to meet their hostility; hoping, however, that they may not be judges, or their blood-hounds my jury. At all events, if such a faction be permitted to dominate in Ireland, I had rather suffer by its injustice than live under its oppression.”

* “ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ I HAVE the satisfaction of acquainting you that I have received the king’s commands to release you from your long and fatiguing attendance in parliament, and am ordered to thank you in his majesty’s name, for the unshaken firmness and magnanimity with which you have met the most trying difficulties, and with which the measures have been planned which you have adopted for the preservation of the country.

“ I offer you my most sincere congratulations on the glorious victory which has been obtained by his majesty’s squadron under the command of Sir Horatio Nelson over the French fleet in the Mediterranean, which not only reflects the highest honor on the officers and seamen, by whom it has been achieved, but affords a prospect of the most beneficial consequences to the future interests of the British empire.”

“ GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

“ I AM commanded to convey to you his majesty’s particular thanks for the supplies, which you have so liberally granted, and by which you have manifested both the extent of the resources which this kingdom possesses, and the spirit with which they are employed by the commons of Ireland for the advantage of the state.

“ His majesty laments the necessity, which calls for the imposition of fresh burdens on his majesty’s subjects, but he trusts that they will see how much their present safety and their future happiness depend on their exertions in the arduous contest in which they are engaged; and he assures his faithful commons that the aids which they have afforded shall be carefully applied to the great object of maintaining the honor and promoting the interests of their country.”

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ THE circumstances which have taken place since its commencement must render this session ever memorable.

“ The foulest and darkest conspiracy was formed and long carried on by the implacable enemy of these realms for the total extinction of the constitution, and for the separation of his majesty’s kingdom of Ireland from Great Britain. By the intermitting vigilance of my predecessor in this government the treason has been detected; the apprehension of the principal conspirators, and the salutary measures wisely adopted, checked its progress, and through your sagacious diligence it has been developed in all its parts, and traced to all its sources.

“ A dangerous and wicked rebellion, the consequence of that conspiracy, has been in a great measure

the same time a circumstance occurred of singular notoriety and importance to the welfare of Ireland. The Earl of Enniskillen, who ranked as a colonel in the army, had ever been prominently zealous for the system of coercion and

“ measure subdued, and the attempt of our inveterate enemy to rekindle the flame of civil discord, by sending a force into this country, has terminated in defeat.

“ Religion, that greatest comfort and support of mankind, has been most wickedly perverted to the purpose of inflaming the worst of passions, and the vilest arts have been used to persuade the ignorant and unwary, that in a reign, which has been marked by a series of indulgencies to all sects of Christians, it is the intention of his majesty’s government to oppress, and even to extirpate that description of his majesty’s subjects who have received repeated and recent marks of his favor and protection.

“ The Catholics of Ireland cannot but have observed what has been the conduct of those, who affect to be their friends, towards the rights and the characters which they venerate, and under whose auspices the persecuted pastors of their church have found an asylum.

“ Among a number of offenders some most active characters have necessarily been selected as objects of public justice, but in every period of this dangerous conspiracy the lenity of government and of parliament has been conspicuous, and a general act of pardon recently issued from the royal mercy for the purpose of affording security to the repentant, and encouraging the deluded to return to their duty.

“ The vigor and power of his majesty’s arms, the loyalty, spirit and activity of his regular, militia and yeomanry forces, together with the prompt and cordial assistance of the militia and fencibles of Great Britain, have abundantly proved how vain every attempt must be, either by treachery within or by force from abroad, to undermine or to overturn our civil and religious establishments.

“ From the dangers which have surrounded you, and which you have overcome, you must be sensible that your security can only be preserved by persevering vigilance and increasing energy. You will not suffer your efforts to relax, and you may be assured of my zealous endeavours to second your exertions. Our hopes and our objects are the same, that the deluded may see their error, and the disaffected be reclaimed; but if an endeavour shall be made to abuse the royal mercy, and to form fresh conspiracies in the prospect of impunity, offended justice will then be compelled to extend to the obdurate criminal the full measure of his punishment.

“ Amidst your measures, either of power, of justice, or of clemency, you have not forgotten to afford consolation and encouragement to the loyal. The means which were adopted for their temporary relief, and the plan which has been adopted for the further remuneration of their losses, are highly honorable to your feelings, and must, in every loyal breast, excite emotions of love and gratitude to his country.

“ Since my arrival in this kingdom, I have received the most flattering assurances of your regard and approbation, which command my warmest acknowledgements; and whilst I feel myself thus encouraged and supported, and reflect on the loyalty which is so generally displayed, and on the force entrusted to my direction, I cannot allow myself to doubt of the success of our united endeavours for the welfare of this country.”

severity. It is to be hoped that few of his colleagues, associates, and co-operators in those measures supported them by the same infamous injustice and profligacy he notoriously did. It is however to be feared, from the common cause, which most Orangemen made with this nobleman's disgrace and punishment, that the sympathy of that association with the noble lord's disposition and conduct was lamentably too general. Disliked at first, the benevolent, magnanimous and just Cornwallis became henceforward execrated by the Orangemen: and they attempted to vilify that illustrious character by the opprobrious appellation of *Croppy Corny*. On the 13th of October a court martial,* of which the Earl of Enniskillen was the president, proceeded to the trial of Hugh Wollaghan, of Middlewood, in the county of Wicklow, yeoman, charged with having, on the 1st of October, instant, come to the house of Thomas Dogherty, and then and there shooting and killing the said Thomas Dogherty, to which he was encouraged by Charles Fox and James Fox, of the aforesaid county, yeomen: and the said James Fox was likewise charged with having discharged a loaded gun at Margaret Barry of Delgany, on the 1st October, instant.

The prisoner being duly arraigned, pleaded not guilty. It appeared in evidence from the testimony of Mary Dogherty, of Delgany, in the county of Wicklow, that the prisoner came into her house at Delgany, and demanded if there were any bloody rebels there—that on deponent's answering there was not; only a sick boy; the prisoner Wollaghan asked the boy if he were Dogherty's eldest son; upon which the boy stood up and told him he was; Wollaghan then said, well, you dog, if you are, you are to die here; that the boy replied, I hope not: if you have any thing against me, bring me to Mr. Latouche, and give me a fair trial, and if you get any thing against me, give me the severity of the law; that Wollaghan replied, no dog, I don't care for Latouche, you are to die here; upon which deponent said to Wollaghan, (he then having the gun cocked in his hand) for the love of God, spare my child's life and take mine; that Wollaghan replied, no, you bloody whore, if I had your husband here, I would give him the same death. He then snapped the gun, but it did not go off; he snapped a second time, but it

* This court martial was holden in the barracks, at Dublin, by order of Lieutenant General Craig. Beside the president it consisted of

Major Brown, R. I. D.

Captain Onge, ditto

Captain Leslie, Fermanagh.

Captain Irwin, Fermanagh.

Captain Carter, R. I. D.

Lieutenant Summers, 68th.

did not go off; upon which a man of the name of Charles Fox, but not either of the two prisoners at the bar, came in and said, damn your gun, there is no good in it; and that the said Fox said, at the same time to Wollaghan, that the man (pointing to deponent's son,) must be shot; that deponent then got hold of Wollaghan's gun, and endeavoured to turn it from her son, upon which the gun went off, grazed her son's body, and shot him in the arm—the boy staggered, leaned on a form—turned up his eyes, and said, mother, pray for me! That on Wollaghan's firing the gun, he went out at the door, and in a short time returned in again, and said, is not the dog dead yet? that deponent replied, oh! yes, Sir, he is dead enough! upon which Wollaghan replied (firing at him again) for fear he be not let him take this; deponent was at that instant holding up her son's head, when he fell, and died!

No attempt was made to contradict any part of this evidence, but a justification of the horrid murder was set up, as having been done under the order of the commanding officer, and this was sworn to by George Kennedy, Corporal of the Mount Kennedy Yeomen, who deposed that Captain Armstrong of the King's County Militia, who commanded at Mount Kennedy before and after Dogherty was shot, in consequence of the enormities and murders committed in that neighbourhood by day and by night, gave general orders, that any body of yeomanry going out, (he would wish them not less than nine or ten for their own safety,) and, if they should meet with any rebels, whom they knew or suspected to be such, that they need not be at the trouble of bringing them in, but to shoot them on the spot; that he, the witness, communicated this to the corps, and is very certain in the hearing of the prisoner Wollaghan, who was a sober, faithful, and loyal yeoman, and not degrading the rest of the corps, one of the best in it. That it was the practice of the corps to go out upon scouring parties,* without orders, to protect their own property, and that of their neighbours: and that he always looked upon it as an order, and practice of the corps, particularly after what Captain Armstrong had mentioned, and, that the witness would himself from his character and the

* These scouring parties under orders were so much matters of course, that it appears from the testimony of these officers, they were considered as acts of military duty: nay, so brutalized were many of these corps, that they spoke of them as a diversion, which they called partridge shooting and grouzing: they hunted, not unfrequently, the brakes, hedges, ditches, and woods with dogs to spring any unfortunate peasant, that might have concealed himself from the fury of these blood hunters, whom they instantly shot upon his appearance.

orders he had received have thought himself justified in shooting the deceased.

This evidence in justification was confirmed by one private, one serjeant, and two lieutenants of yeomanry. Captain Archer of the Newtown Mount Kennedy Yeomen, swore, that he had always found him a sober and diligent man; and since his being a yeoman, ready to obey his officers, and looked upon him to be an acquisition to his corps. Captain Gore deposed, that he had known the prisoner about four months, and that he was one of the best attendants on his duty as a yeoman, and that he knew him to be a loyal and brave soldier, and never knew him to be guilty of any act of inhumanity: that it was the practice of the corps to scour the country with an officer, and verily believed they understood it was their duty to shoot any rebel they met with, or suspected to be such; and deponent had heard, that other corps had similar directions in other districts. Here the defence closed, and the court after some deliberation acquitted the prisoner. When the minutes of this court martial in the usual way were laid before the lord lieutenant, his excellency was pleased to disapprove of the sentence, and conveyed his sentiments in the following letter to General Craig.

“ SIR,

“ *Dublin Castle, 18th October, 1798.*

“ HAVING laid before the lord lieutenant the proceedings of a general court martial, held by your orders in Dublin Barracks, on Saturday the 13th instant, of which Colonel the Earl of Enniskillen is president, I am directed to acquaint you, that his excellency entirely disapproves of the sentence of the above court martial, acquitting Hugh Wollaghan of a cruel and deliberate murder, of which, by the clearest evidence, he appears to have been guilty.

“ Lord Cornwallis orders the court martial to be immediately dissolved,—and directs, that Hugh Wollaghan shall be dismissed from the corps of yeomanry in which he served, and that he shall not be received into any other corps of yeomanry in this kingdom.

“ His excellency further desires, that the above may be read to the president and the members of the court martial in open court.

“ I have the honor to be,

“ Sir,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

“ *Lieut. Gen. Craig, &c. &c.*

“ H. TAYLOR, Sec.

“ P. S.

“ P. S. I am also directed, that a new court martial may be immediately
 “ convened for the trial of such prisoners as may be brought before them,
 “ and that none of the officers who sat upon Hugh Wollaghan be admitted
 “ as members.”

As Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone may be properly called the founder of the Irish Union, which ended in the late bloody rebellion, it will be proper to shew the lamentable victim he himself became to his own treasonable projects. He was more than any other of the traitors in that cause, intimately convinced, that the separation of Ireland from all connection with Great Britain was essential to the prosperity and welfare of his country. After he had fled from the arm of justice in the year 1795, he was of all the Irish fugitives the most favored and attended to by the government of the French Republic. He obtained a commission in their army, was taken prisoner in the autumn of 1798, and was brought up to trial by a court martial on Saturday the 10th of November. He appeared in court in his French uniform, and pleaded guilty to the crime of which he stood charged; alleging, that what he had once done, he should be ashamed to deny. He had, though unsuccessfully, attempted to do for his country, what Washington had succeeded in, what Kosciuszko had failed in, and unlike them both he had forfeited his life: but a man engaged in such pursuits, should ever be ready to make that sacrifice. He in vain pleaded his French commission. With much difficulty he obtained leave of the court to read a paper, which in some passages was of such a tendency, that the court could not listen to it. These objectionable passages he consented to cancel, and gave in the rest.* He then delivered in

* This paper concludes in these words. “ I conceive that I stand here in the same light with our
 “ emigres, and if the indulgence lay within the power of the court, I would only request what
 “ French magnanimity allowed to Charette and to the Count de Sombreuil; the death of a soldier,
 “ and to be shot by files of grenadiers. This is the only favor I have to ask, and I trust, that men
 “ susceptible of the nice feelings of a soldier’s honor, will not refuse the request. It is not from
 “ any personal feeling that I make this request, but from a respect to the uniform which I wear,
 “ and to the brave army in which I have fought. From papers which I yesterday delivered to the
 “ brigade major, it will be seen, that I am as regularly breveted an officer in the French service,
 “ as any here is in the British army, and it will be seen, that I have not my commission as a pro-
 “ tection.

“ *Judge Advocate.* I wish you to be aware, that your acceptance of a commission in the French
 “ service amounts to positive proof of the charge advanced against you, but, from your admissions
 “ already, I suppose that by the production of those papers, you merely want to shew that you
 “ were an officer in the French army.

“ *Prisoner.* Nothing more.”

several

several documents, which proved his brevet for the rank of chef de brigade, and a letter of service, both having the signatures of the president of the French Directory and the minister of war. He repeated his desire to be indulged with death in the most honorable manner, and as he had no doubt of the decision of the court, he expressed a wish that a confirmation of it by the lord lieutenant might be had as soon as possible, and execution of the sentence immediately follow, within an hour, if it were practicable.

On Sunday evening he was informed, that his conviction and sentence were confirmed by his excellency ; but that his request, as to the mode of execution, could not be complied with ; that he must suffer the same as others, who were taken in war against their king and country ; and that the peculiar circumstances of his case rendered it necessary his execution should be in the most public manner ; that he must be executed in front of the New Prison. Unable to bear this agony, he took the resolution of anticipating the execution by his own hand, and when the sentinel went to rouse him on Monday morning, he found him exhausted, weltering in blood, with his throat cut across, and apparently expiring. A military surgeon was instantly called in, who pronounced the wound not mortal, though extremely dangerous, to whom Mr. Tone faintly answered, "*he was then but a bad anatomist.*" In the mean time a motion was made in his majesty's court of King's Bench, then sitting, to arrest execution, grounded on an affidavit sworn by the father of the prisoner, that he had been tried, convicted, and sentenced to death, on a charge of high treason, before a military court of seven members, sitting in the barrack of Dublin, though he did not belong to his majesty's army ; while his majesty's court of King's Bench was sitting, before which the prisoner might have been tried in the ordinary way ; Mr. Curran, who ably argued the point, moved, that an *Habeas Corpus* do issue forthwith to bring up the prisoner *instantly*.

The court immediately complied, and the officer who served the order on the provost marshal, returned with answer, that Brigade Major Sandys said he would comply with no orders but those of the commander in chief of the garrison ; the court immediately directed the sheriff to repair to the barrack, take Major Sandys into custody, and bring him before the court. The sheriff, on his return, reported, that Major Sandys was not to be found, that he had seen General Craig, at whose instance he accompanied the surgeon to Mr. Tone, and that the surgeon reported, the prisoner could not be removed into court without danger of instant death.

The

The surgeon attended, and made affidavit to the same effect, and the return of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* was postponed for four days, and the court ordered the sheriff in the mean time to take the body of Theobald Wolfe Tone into his protection. In this situation he continued until Monday the 19th of November, when he died, having suffered most excruciating pain for eight days. Thus ignominiously ended a man, whose qualities and talents, if rightly directed, would have graced the noblest cause.

After Ireland had suffered so much from the violence and cruelty of both parties in that lamentable contest, Providence could scarcely have reserved for her a more healing blessing, than the appointment of a viceroy, whose military talent kept the rebels in awe, whose firmness checked the sanguinary ferociousness of the terrorists, and whose benevolence secured the affections of the people. Through the confidence and influence, which these qualities commanded throughout the kingdom, was that great measure of incorporate union at last carried; yet in defiance of the humane, pacific, and conciliating exertions of that chief governor, in many parts of the kingdom, and particularly in the county of Wexford, the Orange associations were multiplied, and disunion, hatred, and religious acrimony increased upon the suppression of the rebellion.* It is unquestionable, that the continuance and extension of

* Having before renounced the function of nauseating the reader by a minute selection of instances of cruelty and injustice, yet is it necessary to support every general assertion by some one piece of illustrative evidence at least. In B. R. Mich. 1800. *Rex v. White & Goring*. In this term an application was made to the court of King's Bench for an information against Messrs. White and Goring, two magistrates of the county of Tipperary. The application was grounded on an affidavit of Mr. O. another magistrate of the same county, and captain of a corps of yeomanry. His affidavit stated the loyalty and activity of the said magistrate and his corps, and that they were obstructed in their endeavours to preserve the peace of the most turbulent part of the country, and to prevent a tendency to rebellion, by these two gentlemen.

Exculpatory affidavits were made by these two gentlemen, to which the court so far attended as to refuse the information. These affidavits were sworn on the 23d of January, 1801: they remain of record in the court of King's Bench, and contain among many others the following curious particulars.

That timber was cut and shaped into pike handles by the members of said corps of yeomanry and persons employed by them, which they afterwards pretended to discover in consequence of secret information, but really in order to keep up an appearance of disturbance in the country; these facts were brought to light in consequence of the repentance and voluntary confession of persons concerned in the conspiracy.

It

of Orangism must perpetuate religious difference, rivet disaffection, and sharpen rancor through the nation. The fatal experience, which Ireland had had

It was sworn by these gentlemen, that the corps of yeomanry, on whose behalf this application was made, consisted of the indigent tenantry of their captain, who paid a rack rent for lands holden of him, and had no other way of discharging their rent, but by their pay, which the captain usually received and retained in discharge of his rent due from these yeomen his tenants; and that they were kept on permanent duty for the purpose of procuring this permanent pay. That there was no appearance of tumult or insurrection in the country, but that these persons circulated false reports of the disturbed situation of the country, in order to answer their own purposes; that persons were taken up, detained in prison, and fined under the timber act for the concealment of these pike handles, which were afterwards discovered to have been hidden by the procurement of the persons, who found them. It was also asserted upon oath in the same affidavits, that the magistrate, who made the application, arrested persons and detained them in his own house, where he and another magistrate, after dinner taking a glass of wine, and pretending to hold a petty sessions under the insurrection act, sentenced the prisoners to transportation; that these sentences were passed, and the parties sent to New Geneva, in order to be sent out of the country, without any examination of the prisoners, or confronting them with their accusers. That when these prisoners were afterwards, upon a representation made to government, and in consequence of an order from Lord Cornwallis, remanded back for a more regular investigation of their case, this corps pretending to act as an escort, took the prisoners, out of the route prescribed, to a different place from that ordered by the lord lieutenant, where it was more difficult for them to undertake their justification. The affidavits sworn in this case are very voluminous, and contain various instances of the like nature, tending to illustrate the oppressive conduct of country magistrates, and the means, by which rash or interested men irritated the people, and provoked a disposition to disturbance, where it otherwise would not have existed.

The actual perpetration of particular facts of outrageous provocation was perhaps the least part of the evil. The impunity, connivance, or countenance from the magistrates, and the acquittals of the guilty by Orange Juries and Orange Courts Martial (as in the case of Wollaghan) in the few instances in which the offenders have been brought to trial, indicate the depth and malignancy of the wound, and loudly proclaim the necessity of a radical cure, ere the constitution can recover its native vigor and energy. In the spring assizes of 1801, at Clonmell, the case of *Doyle v. Fitzgerald* produced a degree of alarming provocation throughout that part of the country. The plaintiff in this cause was a respectable tradesman of Carrick upon Suir, named Francis Doyle. The defendant was Mr. Fitzgerald (commonly called the *flogging sheriff*) of Tipperary, against whom a verdict of 500*l.* had before been found for a similar act of brutality. The action was brought for damages for the tort and injury done to the plaintiff in the following manner. The plaintiff, who was a young man of excellent character and untainted loyalty, was seized in the street by the defendant in order to be flagellated. In vain did he protest his innocence, which was also supported by some of the most respectable inhabitants of the place. He begged to have Captain Jephson sent for, the commander of the yeomanry, of which he was a member: that was refused. He offered

to

had of the reluctance of its own government and parliament to forward the union of affection and interest amidst Irishmen of all denominations, the long continued conviction of the necessity of keeping up the English or Protestant ascendancy upon the Machiavelian principle of *division*, the assimilation of the contrary maxim to the spirit of the United Irishmen, which now gave plausibility to the renovation and extension to the old system of *divide & impera*, and the too successful efforts of the terrorists to couple or identify the terms *Papist*, *croppy*, and *rebel* on one hand, and *Protestant*, *loyalist*, and *Orangeman* on the other, superadded to all the vindictive consequences of a cruel conqueror, imperiously called upon the British cabinet to attempt that important measure of incorporate union, by means of which alone the Irish nation could be effectually, though perhaps not instantly, relieved from the tyranny of an Orange ascendancy. From henceforth, the great object of the Marquis Cornwallis was to support, strengthen, and perpetuate the necessary plan of conciliation, by bringing about that great political measure of union with Great Britain.

A more arduous undertaking was never attempted, than to bring this measure to bear. Never was there so strong an opposition of conviction to any proposal of government in that kingdom; never so transcendent a necessity for carrying it. The ferment of the public mind operated in different instances both for and against its adoption. In fact it was a question, which admitted so much sound reasoning upon both sides, that must at least deprive each of the advantage of charging their opponents with prostitution of their convictions to their interests. In some families of the highest respectability, the father and son voted on the opposite sides: and this political variance produced no domestic difference. It must however in truth be admitted, that the nerves of several of the members in both houses of parliament were from the shock of the late rebellion so much weakened, that they unconditionally surrendered the exercise of any discretion upon the subject:

to go to instant execution if the least trace of guilt appeared against him on enquiry: that was *affo* refused. Bail was offered to any amount for his appearance: No, says the sheriff; I know by his face that he is a traitor—a Carmelite scoundrel. The plaintiff was tied to the whipping post: he received one hundred lashes till his ribs appeared: he then had his breeches let down, and received fifty more lashes on his posteriors. The young man's innocence was afterwards fully established. He applied to a court of law for redress: the action was tried at Clonmell assizes: these facts fully proved: an Orange jury acquitted the defendant.

many of them too readily gave up the prepossessions and convictions of their whole lives to the momentary lure of advantages holden out to the supporters of the measure; and some, it cannot be denied, basely sold what they sincerely thought to be the interest of their country for their private gain. It must also be remarked, that for the last twenty years no political character on either side had ever touched upon the question of union but in terms of marked reprobation and horror. Were it feasible, it would still be invidious and not useful to the welfare of the *United* kingdom, to hand down to posterity the particular motives and grounds of the votes on the opposite sides. Those of the leading characters may be traced from the foregoing pages, or their speeches in the debates upon the Union. The knowledge of silent votes given upon any unwarrantable or corrupt principle could but produce contempt or disgust for certain individuals, without any effect either useful or desirable to the nation at large.

Even before the fury of rebellion had subsided, had the British ministry recommended preparatory steps to enable the Irish government to introduce the proposal of a legislative union with plausibility and effect on the first favorable opening. In pursuance of this recommendation a pamphlet was written or procured to be written by Mr. Edward Cook, the under secretary of the civil department. It was published anonymously, but was well understood to speak the sentiments of the British administration, and the chief governor, and those of the Irish administration who went with his excellency upon the question of union. It was circulated with incredible industry and profusion throughout every part of the nation, and certainly was productive of many conversations to the question, under the then existing circumstances of that nation; the most prominent of which were, the still unallayed horrors of blood and carnage, the excessive cruelty and vindictive ferocity of the Irish yeomanry towards their countrymen, compared with the pacific, orderly, and humane conduct of the English militia, of which about eighteen regiments were then in that country, and above all, the confidence which the conciliatory conduct of their chief governor inspired. This *pamphlet was considered as a kind of official proclamation of the sentiments

* Mr. Cooke's pamphlet was entitled—" *Arguments for and against an Union between Great Britain and Ireland considered.*" It is written with correctness and moderation; and as the controversy

sentiments of government upon the question, and had no sooner appeared, than it produced a general warfare of the press, and threw the whole nation into a new division of parties.

No sooner was the intention of government unequivocally known, than

controversy commenced from the castle, it must be allowed to have been candid in government thus to have invited a public and unrestrained investigation. Before the end of December 1798, no fewer than thirty pamphlets were published in Ireland upon this momentous question, viz. "Arguments for and against an Union between Great Britain and Ireland considered." "Thoughts on an Union, by Joshua Spencer, Esq." "No Union; being an Appeal to Irishmen, by Matthew Weld, Esq." "A Letter to Joshua Spencer, Esq. occasioned by his Thoughts on an Union, by a Barrister." "An Union neither necessary nor expedient for Ireland; being an Answer to the Author of 'Arguments, &c.' by Charles Ball, Esq." "An Answer to 'Arguments, &c. &c.' in a Letter to Edward Cook, Esq. Secretary at War, by Pemberton Rudd, Esq." "Second Letter, by Pemberton Rudd, Esq." "An Address to the People of Ireland, against an Union, by a friend to Ireland." "The Probability, Causes, and Consequences of an Union, by Dennis Taffe." "Reasons against an Union, by an Irishman." "Observations on 'Arguments for and against an Union.'" "Strictures on 'Arguments for and against an Union.'" "First Letter to a noble Lord, on the Subject of the Union, by Giles S. Smith, Esq." "Cease your Funning, or the Rebel detected." "A Letter addressed to the Gentlemen of England and Ireland, on the Expediency of a federal Union between the two Kingdoms, by Sir John Jervis White Jervis, Bart." "A Reply to 'Arguments for and against an Union,' by Richard Jebb, Esq." "A Report of the Debate of the Irish Bar, on Sunday the 9th November, on the Subject of an Union of the Legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland, with the Speeches of Messrs. Saurin, Spencer, St. George Daly, Jameson, P. Burrows Barnes, T. Grandy, John Beresford Loyd, Driscoll, Goold, W. Bellew, Orr, Stokes, Geraghty, M'Clelland, Leader, Plunket, Lynch, F. Dobbs, and Webber." "Some Observations on the projected Union between Great Britain and Ireland, and the inexpediency of agitating the measure at this time, by J. H. C——, Esq. Barrister at Law." "A Memoire on some Questions respecting the projected Union of Great Britain and Ireland, by Theobald M'Kenna, Esq. Barrister at Law." "A Letter to his Excellency Marquis Cornwallis, on the proposed Union; in which his Excellency's political situation is candidly discussed, by an Irishman." "An Address to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, upon the Subject of an Union, by an Old Friend." "A Letter to Theo. M'Kenna, Esq. on the Subject of his Memoire, by John Hamilton, Esq." "Reply to Theo. M'Kenna, Esq. by Molyneux." "Vaticination, or Puer's Occurrences Redivivus." "The Rights of the Imperial Crown of Ireland defended, by George Barnes, Esq." "Reply to Arguments for and against an Union, by J. B. Bethel, Esq." "Keep up your Spirits, or Huzza for the Empire, being a fair argumentative Defence of an Union, by a Citizen of the Isle of Man." "An Address to the Electors of Ireland, on the present Situation of Affairs." "A Demonstration of the Inevitability of a Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, involving a Refutation of every Argument, which has been, or can be urged against that Measure, by a Philosopher." "A Review of the Question of Union, as it involves Constitution and Commerce."

most of the leading characters took their ranks according to their respective views and sentiments, the Earl of Clare at the head of the Unionists, and the Right Honorable Mr. Foster, his late sanguine colleague in the extorted system of coercion and terror, put himself at the head of the Anti-unionists. Amongst the first dismissals for opposing the Union were those of Sir John Parnell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Fitzgerald, the prime serjeant. The most interesting public meeting upon the subject of the Union was that of the gentlemen of the Irish bar. It has before been observed, that in Ireland the bar was the great road that led to preferment, and few were the families in the nation, which looked up to it, that did not furnish one gentleman or more to that calling. The bar consequently commanded a very powerful influence over the public mind, even independently of the weight of respectability attending the opinions of that learned body. In pursuance of a requisition signified by twenty-seven lawyers of the first respectability and character of the profession, a meeting of the Irish bar took place on the 9th of December at the Exhibition house in William Street, to deliberate on the question of a legislative union. The meeting was very numerous, and obliged to be adjourned from the courts to the above place.

Ambrose Smith, Esq. father of the bar, being called to the chair, Mr. Saurin opened the business, and after stating the question, as to the measure and period of proposing it, when the country was but just delivered from a rebellion, the most savage that had ever scourged a country, moved, "That
 " the measure of a legislative union of this kingdom and Great Britain is an
 " innovation, which it would be highly dangerous and improper to propose
 " at the present juncture to this country."

Mr. Spencer (a gentleman who had taken a lead in opposing that measure, and wrote a pamphlet on the subject) seconded the resolution, and supported it in a speech of some length.

Mr. St. George Daly moved, that the further consideration of that resolution should be adjourned for a month, and was seconded by Mr. Jameson.

On this a long, spirited, and most animated debate took place, which lasted for many hours, in which not only the propriety of the adjournment, but the merits of the question, was in many instances ably discussed. The supporters of the adjournment, and consequently those who opposed the resolution, moved by Mr. Saurin, were, principally, Mr. St. George Daly, Mr. Jameson, Mr. T. Grady, Mr. John Beresford (son to the Archbishop of Tuam),
 Mr.

Mr. J. W. Stokes, Mr. Geraghty, Mr. M'Clelland, and Mr. Webber. On the other side were Mr. Saurin, Mr. Spencer, Mr. Peter Burrowes, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Driscoll, Mr. Goold, Mr. W. Bellew, Mr. Orr, Mr. Leader, Mr. Plunket, Mr. Lynch, and Mr. Francis Dobbs.

At eight o'clock a division took place.

Ayes for the adjournment	-	32
Noes	-	166
		<hr/>
Majority		134

On which the following resolutions were put and carried.

At a most numerous meeting of the Irish bar, convened by public notice, on Sunday the 9th of December 1798, at the courts, and from thence adjourned to the Exhibition Room, William Street. Ambrose Smith, Esq. father, in the chair.

Resolved, "That the measure of a legislative union of this kingdom and Great Britain, is an innovation which it would be highly dangerous and improper to propose at the present juncture of the country."

It was then resolved, That the chairman do leave the chair, and that William Saurin, Esq. do take the same.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to our worthy father, Ambrose Smith, Esq. for his very proper conduct in the chair.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions be published.

Signed by order,

William Ridgeway, Secretary.

The city of Dublin, which it was natural to suppose would be more prejudiced by the Union than any other part of the kingdom, in as much as it would lose much of the advantages of a metropolis by the abolition of the parliament, was also prominently forward in its opposition to that measure. A post assembly of the lord mayor, sheriffs, commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin was convened on the 17th of December; who referring to a variety of rumours, that were then in circulation, of an intended Union of Ireland with Great Britain, came to the following resolutions: That by the spirited exertions of the people and parliament of Ireland, the trade and constitution thereof, were settled on principles so liberal, that the nation had risen ever since rapidly in wealth and consequence. And, that

that having boldly defended the constitution in king, lords and commons, against the open and secret abettors of rebellion; they were determined steadily to oppose any attempt that might be made to surrender the free legislation of that kingdom, by uniting it with the legislature of Great Britain.

And on the next day, at a very numerous and respectable meeting of the bankers and merchants of the city of Dublin,

Lord Mayor in the chair,

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

“ That since the renunciation of the power of Great Britain in the year of 1782, to legislate for Ireland, the commerce and prosperity of that kingdom had eminently increased. That they attributed these blessings under providence, and the gracious favor of their beloved sovereign, to the wisdom of the Irish parliament. That they looked with abhorrence on any attempt to deprive the people of Ireland of their parliament, and thereby of their constitutional right, and immediate power to legislate for themselves. That impressed with every sentiment of loyalty to their king, and affectionate attachment to British connexion, they conceived that, to agitate in parliament a question of the legislative Union between that kingdom and Great Britain, would be highly dangerous and impolitic.”

The public mind had not yet recovered from the agitation which had been occasioned by the rebellion, its predisposing causes and ever to be deplored effects.* The fever now took a turn and raged with equal fierceness upon the

* Many of the Orange party presuming upon the countenance and support of government, which in the late administration they had certainly received, continued, particularly about Wexford, to keep up the old system of terrorism with impunity. Some of the old conductors of the castle journals had in the true spirit of their old employers justified and commended the conduct of Mr. Hawtrey White on a certain occasion, which produced the following advertisement from Mr. Sparks. I refer to one instance by way of elucidation of many others.

“ *Case of George Sparks, Esq.*

“ ON Sunday the 13th January instant, I left my house in order to go to church, and at the church met Captain Hawtrey White, of the Ballagheen corps and his troop, and I was told by Lieutenant James White they intended searching my house for arms ; I told Mr. White my arms were there, and gave him a key of a tea-chest, where he would get General Grose’s permission for keeping arms, and also General Lake’s protection for my house and property. They proceeded to my house, and having plundered it of every thing portable, they burned my dwelling house, out-offices and haggard, and murdered my two servant boys, who were inoffensive spectators
“ during

the question of a legislative Union with Great Britain, as it had upon that of the treasonable association of United Irishmen. All means were devised and attempted by both parties to gain proselytes to their respective opinions, and without going the length of sanctioning the false maxim, *that the end justifies the means*, it must in candor be admitted, that no political question was ever agitated with more sincerity of conviction, as none admitted of so much fairness of argument on both sides. The private reasonings of individuals in their several publications form no part of history: many of them on both sides bespeak the brightest talents, the most extensive information, and elevated independent and constitutional sentiments of their authors, who were mostly Irish. Most of the substance of these productions will be found to have been introduced by different speakers into the parliamentary debates of both kingdoms. The news journals from henceforward teemed with essays, addresses, protestations, puffs, squibbs, censures, and encomiums upon this great political question, according to the different sides which they respectively adopted. Meetings were advertised of counties, baronies, parishes, and of every species of incorporation: religious discriminations indeed were not resorted to. Protestants, Dissenters, and Catholics in this instance, for the first time, fairly amalgamated into the general mass, and marshalled themselves into the ranks according to the civil convictions of their minds. Besides the meetings already mentioned of the gentlemen of the bar, and the

“ during the transaction. (I beg leave to remark, these boys were reared by my father from their infancy.) They carried off my horses.

“ On returning to my house, I met with several of my neighbours, flying with terror and dismay, and told me to fly with my life, for the cavalry declared they would murder me, and previous to that day I heard several threats.

“ It is necessary to state, that Major Fitzgerald had a recruiting party contiguous to my house; I was happy to have an opportunity of accommodating him with a room in my house where he kept his money and clothing, and where the recruits accounts were settled. I was glad to see his majesty's service promoted by draining the country of idle fellows.

“ A man of the name of Murphy came to my house and enquired for Major Fitzgerald, that he might enlist with him; he was desired to stop, for that Major Fitzgerald was expected home to dinner.

“ After they had plundered the house as above stated, some shots were heard above stairs, and Murphy and a yeoman killed.

“ I also declare there was no plunder nor concealed arms in my house.

“ *Wexford, January 17, 1799.*

“ GEORGE SPARKS.”

corpo-

corporation, and the bankers and merchants of Dublin, the fellows of Trinity College, and such of the students as enjoyed scholarships, had also a meeting, the result of which was, a request that the representatives of the University would oppose with firmness the projected Union. The gentry and freeholders of the county of Dublin met for the same purpose, and, having applauded the constitution of 1782, protested against an Union as hostile to the rights, liberties, and independence of Ireland. The freeholders of the county of Westmeath likewise declared against it as it appeared to them to be calculated to 'exhaust Ireland, and debase her from her consequence and prosperity, and to increase the influence of the court in a formidable degree.'

The resolutions of a meeting at Galway were particularly strong; reproaching the attempts of the unionists as unconstitutional and arbitrary; denying the power of the representatives of the people to vote away the independence of the realm; condemning the transfer of the right of legislation to any foreign country, without the general consent of the people, as equivalent to a dissolution of the existing government, and as a procedure which, from its tendency to anarchy, ought to be resisted; and stigmatising, as enemies to their country, all the supporters of such a measure. Mr. Foster completely inspired his constituents in the county of Louth, with his own decided repugnance to the measure, and the majority of the freeholders of that county threw their weight into the scale against it. It would be endless to recapitulate the different resolutions, which were entered into and published by different meetings against the proposed measure, even before the meeting of parliament. And so great indeed was the clamor excited by the idea of Union, that the general voice seemed to reject it with indignation; and language of the boldest kind, even bordering on defiance and sedition, was poured forth in most companies against it.

On the 22d of January, 1799, the parliament met according to the last prorogation, when his excellency in a very interesting speech* upon this important

* The following was the speech of the viceroy.

" MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

" I HAVE received his majesty's commands to meet you in parliament.

" I congratulate you on the happy effects which have followed the unparalleled achievements of the detachment of his majesty's fleet under the command of Rear Admiral Lord Nelson, on the total defeat of the French squadron off the coasts of this kingdom, by that under the command

" of

portant occasion, recommended to their peculiar consideration, the most effectual means of consolidating the strength, power, and resources of the two king-

“ of Sir J. B. Warren, and on the brilliant and important conquest of Minorca. Those events, while they afford to us in common with every other description of his majesty's subjects, matter of just pride and satisfaction, must at the same time give confidence to other powers, and shew to all Europe the beneficial effects of a system of vigour and exertion, directed with manly perseverance against the destructive projects of the common enemy.

“ I feel much concern in being obliged to acquaint you, that a spirit of disaffection still prevails in several parts of this kingdom, and that the secret agents of the enemy are active in raising an expectation of fresh assistance from France.

“ In this situation, and under the evident necessity of continuing the war with vigour, his majesty firmly relies upon that spirit and magnanimity which have hitherto marked all your exertions in support of the honor of his crown, of the interest of this kingdom, and of the general cause of the empire.

“ GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

“ I have ordered the public accounts and estimates to be laid before you, and as I am confident your wisdom will raise the supplies which may be necessary in the manner least burthenfome to the subject, so you may depend upon my attention to their prudent and economical application.

“ It is with great satisfaction I observe, that notwithstanding our internal calamities, this kingdom blended as its interests are in the general prosperity of the empire, has participated in the effects of the encreasing wealth and commerce of Great Britain, and that our revenues and trade have encreased.

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ It is my duty to recommend to your attention the various objects of internal regulation which have so long enjoyed the benefit of your protection and support. Your agriculture, your manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture, the Protestant charter schools, and other charitable institutions will require, and will, I am sure, continue to receive that aid and encouragement which they have uniformly experienced from the liberality of parliament. I am confident you will feel a particular anxiety to give further attention to the just and honorable claims of those who have suffered from their loyalty during the rebellion.

“ His majesty depends upon your persevering energy to repress, by every wise effort, the spirit of disaffection, which still requires the exercise of extraordinary powers to check its malignant effects. In recurring, where the occasion has required it, to acts of indispensable severity, I have not been inattentive to the suggestions of mercy, and have endeavoured to mitigate the effects of penal justice, and the necessary exertions of the powers of the state, with as much forbearance and lenity as could be consistent with the public safety.

“ In the general cause which engages the empire, our prospect is highly encouraging, but in proportion as a successful termination of the war becomes probable, our efforts should be redoubled in order to secure it.

kingdoms. This speech gave rise to debates in both houses of parliament. The debate in the lords was less interesting, than that in the commons. An address was moved for in the lords, which as usual was an echo of the speech. The 12th paragraph of the address was to the following effect.

*“ That we thank his majesty for pointing our attention to this alarming circumstance, and as his majesty has expressed his anxious hope, that this most serious subject, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire, we shall be ready to give the fullest attention to considerations of such momentous importance.”

Upon which it was proposed by Lord Powerscourt to amend the said motion, by inserting after the word importance, the following words: “ That it is our most earnest desire to strengthen the connexion between the two countries by every possible means, but the measure of a legislative Union we apprehend is not within the limits of our power, we beg leave also to represent to your majesty, that although this house were competent to adopt such a measure, we conceive that it would be highly impolitic so to do, as it would tend, in our opinion, more than any other cause, ultimately to a separation of this kingdom from that of Great Britain.”

“ The zeal of his majesty’s regular and militia forces, the gallantry of the yeomanry, the honorable co-operation of the British fencibles and militia, and the activity, skill and valour of his majesty’s fleets, will, I doubt not, defeat every future effort of the enemy. But the more I have reflected on the situation and circumstances of this kingdom, considering on the one hand the strength and stability of Great Britain, and on the other those divisions, which have shaken Ireland to its foundations, the more anxious I am for some permanent adjustment which may extend the advantages enjoyed by our sister kingdom to every part of this island.

“ The unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavouring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, must have engaged your particular attention; and his majesty commands me to express his anxious hope that this consideration, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion, essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire.”

8 Journ. Lords. p. 192.

A motion

A motion was then made for leave to withdraw the amendment. A debate arose thereupon, and the question being put, the house divided, and the Earl of Glandore reported, that the contents below the bar were 19, and the non-contents in the house were 46.

A motion was then made, that after the word "security" in the said paragraph, the following words be expunged, "and of consolidating as far as possible into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire," which also passed in the negative. Another motion was then made by the Earl of Bellamont, that after the said word "importance," the following words be inserted, "so far as may be consistent with the permanent enjoyment, exercise, and tutelary vigilance of our resident and independent parliament, as established, acknowledged, and recognized." This motion was also negatived by a division of 49 against 16. Fourteen of the lords in the minority protested.*

In the commons Lord Tyrone moved the address, which he said did not pledge him in any manner to support the measure of an Union; let that question of policy stand upon its own merits; let it be adopted or rejected as the interests of Ireland and the prosperity of the empire should dictate. If upon investigation it should be found conducive to the advantage and strengthening of both; no clamour, no violence should make him swerve from the honorable line of his duty.

Colonel Fitzgerald, (member for the county of Cork) seconded the address, expressing a zealous desire that any step likely to cement and strengthen the connexion between the two countries should be adopted.

Sir John Parnell said, that as the speech did not avow the measure of legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, nor recommend it directly to the consideration of the house, it would be unnecessary in that stage of the business to discuss the question, but the measure having been publicly avowed and introduced by a side wind into the speech, he should oppose it *in limine* as being a question simple in its nature, and on which no further information was necessary, than to shew that they were called on to put an end

* Viz. Leinster,
Granard,
Belvidere,
Arran,

Charlemont,
Bellamont,
Mountcashell,
Kilkenny,

Belmore,
Powercourt,
De Vesce,
Wm. Down and Connor,

Dunfany,
Lisimore.

to the existence of an Irish parliament, and to determine on the permanent and essential interests of their country for ever. They were called on to decide their constitution, their trade, their property, and on what was of still more consequence, the feelings of the public connected with a surrender of the constitution; an affrighted commerce, and a diminished property. This would lay a ground for growing discontent, not promoted by declamation or irritation, not to be treated as the momentary convulsion of popular feelings, but proved by facts, which aggravated by experience must acquire force the longer it was suppressed, and produce consequences greater than he wished to venture to state. He then adverted to the argument that a measure, which had been beneficial to Scotland would equally benefit Ireland. Ireland did not stand in the same relative position that day as England did in respect to that country at the time of the Union. The measure was then justified by necessity. This was so well understood, that according to Defoe, it was not unpopular in Scotland when first proposed; it became so by publications calculated to inflame the minds of the people. Scotland had by an act of its parliament, divested the family of the succession of the crown, on whom it had been entailed by the parliament of Great Britain.

The English parliament had in return declared the people of that country aliens and had interdicted their trade: there was no choice but submission or Union. But though a similar necessity did not exist in Ireland as did at that time in Scotland, it was asserted that there existed a necessity equally cogent to make the adoption of the measure unavoidable in that country, viz. the contest between the Catholic and Protestant, and foreign invasion. Could an act of parliament modify the constitution, or alter the minds of those who proposed to overturn it? Could it stop the progress of invading fleets, or the rash enterprise of a desperate army? Would the Catholic and Protestant mind be satisfied by each party ceasing to have a parliament within their reach? They had better know their interest by relinquishing jealousies, whereby they had been sufferers in the extreme, and avoid by the continuance of them injuring the interests of their country and posterity for ever.

It was alledged, that the Irish parliament was liable to influence, and not fit to be entrusted by the crown or the people: what a silly charge! Their conduct that night, at the same time that it would defeat an injurious measure, would confute the reasoning offered in support of it; by proving their independence, they would prove the falsehood of the calumny, which im-
peached

peached it. The evils complained of might be best remedied, in the case of the religious distinctions, by recollecting that they had a common interest with them; their affections were to be acquired by good treatment; and all to be preserved by the efforts of a steady and wise government. He had formerly voted against Catholic claims, not from dislike to any individual for his religion, but on a principle that it was unwise to change the existing government; notwithstanding he had lived happily among them, and was satisfied, that if their passions had not been worked on, the spirit of affection would have prevailed, from the justice and moderation of the Protestant resident landlords, which would have proved, that the discontents founded on religious prejudice, ought to have subsided in Ireland, as they had done in other countries.

The efforts of the enemy were better to be opposed by military force than by speculating on the constitution: by relying on those, whose loyalty they had experienced, than by risking the effects of alarming their feelings by innovating on the principles of the constitution. It was better to meet the evils which they knew, than risk others, the extent of which they could not measure, viz. the entire surrender of the whole of their interests, for they were included in their constitutional privileges. He solemnly declared, he acted under no influence but that of his judgment. He recommended to them to adopt a similarity of sentiment with England; and reply to the advisers of the measures, which had been proposed, what England formerly did to the court of Rome, *nolumus leges Hiberniæ mutari*.

Mr. Tighe expressed the pleasure he had in concurring in sentiment with the right honorable gentleman, though he would enter into no discussion of the question until it were brought directly before the house.

Lord Castlereagh felt himself called upon to say, that although there were not in the address any specific pledge to a measure of union, yet it was clearly implied in the wish to strengthen the resources of the empire: for he had no difficulty in saying, that he thought the only means of settling that unhappy country in permanent tranquillity and connexion with Britain, were to be found in a legislative union; and on that subject he did intend at an early day to submit a specific motion to the house.

Mr. G. Ponsonby entered on an able attack and exposure of the general principle of an union, by boldly avowing the principle, that neither the legislature, nor any power on earth, had a right or authority to annihilate the
Irish

Irish parliament, and deprive people for ever of their right to the benefits of the constitution, to civil liberty.

The minister had told them they ought to discuss this measure with coolness; but when the minister himself would not leave men to the free exercise of their understanding, but turned out of office the best and oldest servants of the crown, because they would not prostitute their conscience: when the terror of dismissal was thus holden out to deter men in office from a fair exercise of their private judgment, how could he talk of cool discussion? He concluded, by moving an amendment, which would give every gentleman, who did not wish to pledge himself to a surrender of the rights of the country, an opportunity of speaking his sense. The amendment was, that after the passage which declared the willingness of the house to enter on a consideration of what measures might best tend to confirm the common strength of the empire, should be inserted, "maintaining, however, the undoubted birth-right of the people of Ireland to have a resident and independent legislature, such as was recognized by the British legislature in 1782, and was finally settled at the adjustment of all differences between the two countries."

Sir L. Parsons seconded the amendment.

Mr. Conolly opposed it, for the same reason which he had urged against the constitution of 1782, namely, that that constitution could not work two independent legislatures in one empire, being as absurd and monstrous, as two heads on one pair of shoulders. He gave a short history of the country from 1782 to that time, and shewed, that many of the evils they had since experienced, had arisen from the independence of the legislature, and particularly dwelt upon the notorious fact, that there had been 116 placemen and pensioners at one time in the House of Commons ever since that period. What was such independence worth?

Mr. Frederick Falkiner agreed with Mr. G. Ponsonby: he did not think the lord lieutenant's conduct, since he had had the administration of that country, deserved his praise. To Lord Camden the country was indebted for their preservation, in the glorious yeomanry institution. The horrid and unnatural rebellion was put down before that nobleman left the country; and had he remained there a little longer, it had been completely extinguished, and the yeomanry upholden in that degree their services so highly merited.

Lord

Lord Clements supported the amendment, and hoped too it would be strenuously opposed by all the virtue of the British senate, as a measure only calculated enormously to increase the power of the crown, and influence of the minister, and therefore ruinous to the true prosperity of the empire.

Mr. Fitzgerald, late prime serjeant, said, that nothing could contribute to defeat the measure, or to awaken the honest indignation of the independent gentlemen of Ireland, so effectually, as an open and avowed war against the freedom and liberties of parliament, by the removal of the trusty servants of the public from their situations, which they held with honor to themselves, and advantage to their country. It being thought necessary to hold them out as examples to stop the growing mutiny and insurrection of honor and conscience against the influence of office. No man could hold a place under government, who did not vote for that measure. But the British minister, he pledged himself, was too wise and too magnanimous to wish for an union on such terms.

If the amendment, which his honorable and learned friend had proposed, and supported with such transcendent ability, should not be carried, that, he feared, would be the last time he should have the honor of addressing an Irish parliament: for though the pageantry and ceremony of its funeral might take up some time, and give opportunities for lamentations, yet, if the amendment were negatived, the character of parliament would be extinguished: and character was a phoenix, which died but once, and from its ashes there was no resurrection. Considering, that the question involved every thing that could be dear to a nation, he would trespass upon the house, and briefly state the principle of his vote. Contrary to the influence of every private affection, and differing from those, with whom he had long acted, and to whom he would yield his own opinion on any measure of temporary effect, he adopted the amendment, because his mind was impressed with this conviction, that the extinction of the legislature of Ireland would, sooner or later, produce a convulsion, in which the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland would be at stake, and would render that devoted country more than ever subject to the intrigues of France, emasculated of that vigor and energy with which it ever had, and he trusted, whilst it retained its independence, ever would stand by Great Britain. It was not, in his opinion, within the moral competence of parliament, to destroy and extinguish itself; and with it the rights and liberties of those who created it. The constituent

parts

parts of a state are obliged to hold their public faith with each other, and with all those, who derive any serious interest under their engagements; such a compact may, with respect to Great Britain, be an union; but with respect to Ireland, it will be a revolution, and a revolution of a most alarming nature. He referred to Dr. Johnson's remark to an Irishman on the subject of an union: "don't unite with us," said he, "we shall unite with you only to rob you; we should have robbed the Scots, if they had any thing to be robbed of." The British nation had been deceived, to think that the people of Ireland were tired of their parliament—that their parliament was unworthy. It would indeed prove its unworthiness by consenting to its own extinction. It was the misfortune of the day, that the opinions and motives of men were generally misrepresented.

Mr. Fitzgerald, (Knight of Kerry) opposed the amendment, because, the rebellion having shaken the country to its centre, made some arrangement necessary; because it was obvious, the country could not have been saved, and was now preserved but by force. That was a state in which things could not long remain, because principles had got among the people of the country, which induced them to give their confidence to parliament only so far as the parliament tended to sever the connexion; and finally, because if that principle were not checked, it must ultimately end in separation. He attributed much of the existing mischief, to the parliament being founded on too narrow a base, and to the unhappy difference of religion which existed in the country; both those circumstances gave a cast of prejudice and bigotry to the Irish parliament. The happiness of the country then demanded that they should resort to an higher and more enlightened legislature, who would be above those local prejudices. With regard to the civil rights of the people of Ireland being surrendered by an union, he knew of no rights, which they had not from the law of England, and by that law they would continue to be governed after an union, perhaps better than before.

Colonel Vereker said, that if he could be persuaded that a legislative union with Great Britain would insure internal tranquillity to his distracted country, that it would prevent foreign invasion, or add to the national wealth, he should cheerfully agree in the principle of it; but entertaining the opposite sentiments, not taken up hastily, but upon mature consideration, he should vote for the amendment.

Mr. O'Hara said, the Irish parliament had uniformly been making acquisitions

tions for the country from the time of the octennial bill to that day. He denied the right of parliament to alter the constitution, and supported the amendment.

Mr. Lee would willingly give up national pride, or any such passion, if the sacrifice would secure tranquillity, but he was convinced it could have no such effect. There was some radical error in the system of Irish government. It should be fought for and corrected; else here the seeds of discontent would fructify for ever. England was approaching her grand climacteric. Once she was democratic, and at that time the minister was obliged to look to the landed interest for support. Since the revolution, though there were not 116 placemen and pensioners in the British House of Commons, (there were only 80) yet the minister was become less dependent on the country gentlemen; they had since that period continued to become less important to the minister of the day; and dupes indeed would be the landed men of England, if they ever suffered one hundred Irish members to be introduced into the British Commons; for then, indeed, the minister would be independent of them and of the country. With his forty-six Scotchmen on one hand, his corps of sea-poys, (for even the Nabobs had representatives in that virtuous parliament to which they were called to give up their interests), on the other, and his one hundred hardy Hibernians as a corps of reserve, what might not he do, thus supported? Parliament was not competent to the change they were called on to make: but they might be made competent. Let the parliament be dissolved, and a new one summoned, with public notice, that they were assembled for the express purpose of considering the measure; and such a parliament would come commissioned with express authority for the purpose. He gave his decided approbation to the amendment.

Mr. Crookshank, in a very long speech, supported the amendment: and concluded, by conjuring the house to recollect its sacred trust, its solemn responsibility; to preserve and restore to their constituents inviolate, that constitution under which they had prospered beyond example, and the surrender of which, by a fordid unequal contract, could produce no benefit whatever, and must entail evils and misfortunes incalculable on the country.

Mr. St. George Daly thought nothing but such a radical arrangement could heal the distractions of their country. He allowed parliament was incompetent to take away the rights of the people; but he denied, that an union violated any right. He allowed praise to the framers of the constitu-

tion of 1782; but contended it was the separate and independent existence of the two legislatures then established, which made the measure now necessary.

Mr. M'Naghten confessed and declared it to be his firm opinion, that the only method of securing the connexion between the two kingdoms, and the existence of that country as a civilized state, was a legislative Union. His opinion was the result of long and serious reflection.

Sir Boyle Roche said he was for an Union, to put an end to uniting between Presbyterians, Protestants, and Catholics to overturn the constitution.

Honorable Mr. Skeffington reprobated in strong terms the idea of transferring or surrendering the legislative independence of Ireland to any power on earth, and warmly supported the amendment.

Mr. French said, that the able discussion of the question had fully convinced him, that parliament was not competent to decide on the question of an incorporating Union with Great Britain. He therefore supported the amendment.

Colonel B. Maxwell fully concurred with Mr. G. Ponsonby, that parliament was totally incompetent to entertain the measure; he therefore gave it his most unequivocal and decided opposition *in limine*. A parliament which could be base enough to betray the rights and liberties of their country, not only at present, but to all future generations, would deserve annihilation. He conjured the house, as they valued their own character, as they valued the liberties of themselves and their posterity, as they valued the British connexion, to convince the minister of Great Britain, that they were determined, at the risk of every thing that was dear to them, to support and hand down unimpaired to their posterity, the rights, liberties, and independence of their native land.

Colonel Archdall would oppose the Union in every shape.

Mr. Barrington (judge of the Admiralty) rose with great agitation. The existence of Ireland was in question, and he felt his feeble talents shrink before the colossal magnitude of the subject; he had heard of calm and dispassionate discussion; it was the language of a slave; he who could reflect on the annihilation of his country with apathy or indifference must be less than man, or more than mortal. Whatever capacity, whatever spirit, whatever energy God or nature had given him, he considered himself as holding but in trust for his country, to be expended for her use, whenever her oppressions or distresses drew for their assistance. He loved his king, he adored the constitution,

tion, and he now considered himself as defending both against the desperate system of an indefinitely ambitious minister. The Irish parliament had heretofore deliberated on revocable local regulations, or national arrangement, but now a mighty and imperial question opened itself for their discussion: a project, to subject irrevocably one independent country to the will of another, and both to the will of a minister already stronger than the crown, and more powerful than the people; and this great and important usurpation stolen into parliament through the fulsome paragraphs of an echoing congratulation, pledging the house to the discussion of a principle subversive of their liberties, and in the hour of convalescence calling on it to commit suicide. Ireland had not fair play; her parliament had not fair play; the foulest and most unconstitutional means, he believed, had been used to intimidate and to corrupt it, and either to force or to seduce a suffrage, when nothing but general, independent, uninfluenced opinion could warrant for a moment the most distant view of so ruinous a subject. He had good reason to believe, that corrupt and unconstitutional means had been used by the noble lord to individuals of the Irish parliament.* Some of those means were open and avowed: two of the oldest, most respectable, and most beloved officers of the crown had been displaced, because they presumed to hint an opinion adverse to the stripling's dictates, on a subject where their country was at stake; their removals crowned them with glory, and the minister with contempt. He asserted, that other gentlemen in office, whose opinions were decidedly adverse to the measure, but whose circumstances could not bear similar sacrifices, were dragged to the altar of pollution, and forced against their will to vote against their country: he had good reason to believe, that unconstitutional interference had been used by the executive power with the legislative body; one gentleman refused the instructions of his constituents, and had been promoted. Peerages (as was rumoured) were bartered for the rights of minors, and every effort used to destroy the free agency of parliament; if this were true, it encroached on the constitution, and if the executive power overstept its bounds, the people were warranted to do the same on their part, and between both it might be annihilated, and leave a wondering world in amaze-

* Here Mr. Barrington was called to order, and his words desired to be taken down; on which Mr. Plunket rose, and declared the same opinion, and his determination to use stronger language; and recommended the words to be taken down in order to bring the subject forward. This not being persisted in by the Treasury Bench, Mr. Barrington continued.

ment how the same people could have been wise enough to frame the best constitution upon earth, and foolish enough to destroy it. One king and two kingdoms was the cry of the people of Ireland: The British minister had too much wisdom to have pressed this measure on Ireland, had he known her temper and situation; but he had been greatly deceived by misrepresentation from that country: hot-headed injudicious spirits had been listened to, whilst the sage and honest representation of the wisest of Ireland's children had been disregarded. These were objections to any discussion of the subject; and much as he respected Great Britain, no idle parade of compliment should prevail upon him one moment to lose sight of Ireland. He then argued at length on the incompetence of the Irish commons to surrender the essence of their delegation.

The treacherous reasons assigned for the completion of this project, were their differences and misfortunes; differences which arose from the duplicity of that same minister, who now sought to subdue them, and misfortunes which were stimulated by him, to adapt them for his own conquest.

Why should they apply to 547 English and Scotchmen, to arrange their trade and modify their national establishments? It was absurd and insolent to demand, and it would be mean, vicious, and pusillanimous to submit to it.

Great Britain had nothing to give, which could compensate the loss of independence; they asked no favor from her, and would submit to no injury, they would unite with her as a friend and as a sister in the common cause; their lives and their properties should be united with her in support of their king and constitution; they would rise and fall with her; but they would not submit to be ruled by a British faction, and plundered by a British minister, to satisfy the avarice or the jealousy of those persons, to whose confidence and liberality that minister owed his gratitude, and which he could only repay by heaping burthens upon Ireland. It was clear as noon-day, that his system had been most treacherous; his government in Ireland excited the different sects to oppose each other; an indolent system was adopted, to permit some strength to the disaffected; then a vigorous system, to give energy to the loyalist. Then government acted on the defensive against treason; then the minister plunged into martial law; the Catholic and the Protestant were alternately encouraged and depressed; the loyalty of the yeomanry saved Ireland; both parties had bled and were weak; and what is called the lenient system was adopted; the rebel was pardoned, and sent back

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to rob, to murder, and burn; the yeoman and the loyalist were either insulted, oppressed, or degraded, in some instances executed; the loyal national spirit was purposely suppressed; and when all was ripe for a government revolution, the measure of an Union, equally oppressive and disgusting to every class and every sect, was brought forward, in expectation that the Irish were too worn, too weak, and too indifferent to resist or reject any thing which professed to be for their tranquillization. And to prove that this system was adopted for these purposes, it was only necessary to recollect the words of the noble lord who proposed it: "that it had been a measure long considered" and maturely weighed." If that were the case, it was obvious, that it might have been brought forward in a time of tranquillity; and equally obvious, that it had been purposely postponed, till that desperate system had sufficiently worked upon the nation, to adapt it to the minister's will and pleasure. But the parliament had yet virtue enough to resist an act of national degradation. The British minister had better be aware of this system of treachery and fraternization; it was by the very same means, and for the very same objects, that the French Republic had over-run all Europe; and with the very same system, and for the very same purposes, that she had assailed Ireland. A desperate example to the British empire, and an attempt unworthy of the generosity and character of the British nation!

The compact between Great Britain and Ireland was not all on one side. She took Irish linens; Ireland fed her fleets. She protected Irish trade; Ireland gave her foldiers. There was no nation on earth would not be proud of their connexion on the same terms. It never, therefore, should be said, that the dependence was solely on one side. England might ruin Ireland; but in doing so, she would destroy herself: and she is too wise and too cunning to suppose, that a wounded limb could give vigor to an enfeebled body. He said, that on the abstract question he was clear and decided; the discussion of detail admitted a principle, which he was determined to resist by every means and to every extremity. He declared his sentiments openly, boldly, and decisively, that no terms which Great Britain could grant, no favor she could bestow, could form any compensation for the loss of their independence and security; and though he had on most subjects freely and zealously given his support to the king's government, on that question no earthly consideration could ever console him for surrendering the honor, the security, and the liberties of his country.

Sir

Sir J. Blaquiére in strong terms resisted the charges of undue influence, and corruption, made by the honorable member against the administration; observing how completely that charge was refuted, by the conduct and speeches of so many gentlemen, the reputed friends of government. Was it, he asked, possible, that any tranquillity could be expected in the land, whilst so many causes of discontent and dissatisfaction among the people remained? Were not the Catholics looking for emancipation; the Presbyterians for reform; a great bulk of the people for a regulation of tithes? Did not all these discontents aggregated together, and abetted by the machinations of the united societies, make a formidable enemy in their bosom? There were not two ways of meeting it. The honorable member who proposed amendment, with a flow of such transcendent eloquence, as had seldom been heard in that house, had expressly stated, that the Roman Catholics must oppose the Union. He knew not the mind of Catholics upon the subject; but he should speak his own:—That the Roman Catholics, under the present order of things, could never be accommodated, as he feared, with what they asked, without imminent danger to the Protestant establishment, both in church and state; but if once an Union should be adopted, all those difficulties would vanish, and he should see none in granting them every thing they desired. What the sentiments of government upon that subject were, he knew not; he spoke his own.

Remove these difficulties, unite with England, and see the proud ground on which Ireland was placed. Ireland, geographically and physically considered, stood pre-eminently before all other nations, the fit mark or emporium of the known world. She embarked in the inviting commerce, aided by English capitals, without taxes, and without a debt, whilst all the other nations of Europe were sinking under their burthens. Peace among themselves, and security against the common enemy, was all he desired: and if any man would shew other means, by which those objects could be obtained, he would vote against the Union;—but gentlemen knew it was impossible.

Mr. Dobbs declared, that the system of governing Ireland by corruption, had filled them with disgust and indignation. The horrors of the late rebellion, and the dreadful animosities still existing, inclined them to listen to any thing likely to tranquillize the country. He had never for a moment considered a legislative Union but an evil; and he had only hesitated whether, by accepting it, he might not avoid a greater. With these feelings, he
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had given the subject a full and dispassionate investigation; the result was a decided opinion, that Great Britain could propose no terms that Ireland ought to accede to.

The noble lord had said, if it be the wish of the people and parliament, that the measure should be adopted, it ought to be acceded to. That he did not deny. But that sense should be fully ascertained, without compulsion, or undue influence of any kind. Now, as far as the voice of the people had been yet collected, it was decidedly against it; and nothing but force, actual or implied, with the aid of undue influence, could carry the measure against Irish independence. What signified declarations of consulting parliament and the people, when actions, the best of all testimonies, spoke coercion and undue influence? Two gentlemen, high in office, had been turned out, because they expressed a will of their own on this great question, *in terrorem* to all who held offices, from which they could be dismissed. He had a partiality for the present administration; but a conduct of that nature would turn that partiality into enmity. He told the noble lord, that if the measure were carried by such means, against the public sentiment, he was not uniting, but separating the two countries.

He openly avowed, that though he had hitherto been the warm friend of English connexion, he would meditate separation, from the moment that a legislative Union should be carried by force, whether that force were direct or implied.

Mr. Knox (member for Philipstown) lamented, that that accursed measure had long been the favorite object of that minister in England, whose wild ambition had already led to the destruction of empires; and which then sought to annihilate that nation. In order to forward that wicked scheme, great pains had been taken by those, who managed the affairs of government under his guidance, to promote and keep alive among the people every distinction of party and religion, all differences of opinion whether in politics or religion had been industriously fomented and encouraged, and every means taken to distract and divide the inhabitants of that land. If that fatal measure should ever be carried, henceforth that insulted, degraded, debased country would be made a barrack, a dépôt from whence to draw the means of enslaving Great Britain, and no resource left to save either country but a revolution.

Mr. Hans Hamilton declared that an Union was a measure he should ever firmly oppose within those walls with his vote, without them with his life; but
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he foresaw that the hour was at hand, that would prove this to be the most glorious day that Ireland had ever beheld, and that would enable the members to go forth to their constituents, and to assure them they were represented by an Irish parliament, that never would betray their independence.

Sir J. Freke also spoke in support of the amendment.

Lord Castlereagh felt, that in justice to himself and to his country he ought to state his reasons for favouring the measure of a legislative Union with great Britain. He had listened with patient attention to much heated declamation, but had heard very little sound reasoning. He had heard imputations cast against his side of the house, that might have been retorted, but for the interference of more refined manners.

His lordship trusted, that no man would decide on a measure of such importance as that in part before the house, on private or personal motives; for if a decision were thus to be influenced, it would be the most unfortunate that could ever affect the country. What was the object of this measure, but such as every loyal man, who really loved his country, must feel the strongest attachment to; by an incorporation of their legislature with that of Great Britain, it would not only consolidate the strength and glory of the empire, but it would change their internal and local government to a system of strength and calm security, instead of being a garrison in the island. That was but a part of many and numerous advantages, which the stage of the business did not then render necessary to be entered into, and which would come more suitably at a future period. As to the argument of the parliament's incompetency to entertain the question, he did not expect to hear such an argument from constitutional lawyers, or to hear advanced the position, that a legislature was not at all times competent to do that, for which it could only have been instituted; the adoption of the best means to promote the general happiness and prosperity. After the melancholy state, to which that country had been reduced, his majesty's ministers would feel that they abdicated their duty to the empire, if they did not seriously consider that state and adopt the best remedy for the evils which it comprised. It was the misfortune of that country to have in it no fixed principles, on which the human mind could rest: no one standard, to which the different prejudices of the country could be accommodated. What was the price of connection at present with Great Britain? A military establishment far beyond their natural means of support, and for which they were indebted to Great Britain, which was also obliged

obliged to guarantee their public loans. It was not by flattery, that the country could be saved. Truth, however disagreeable must be told; and if Ireland did not boldly look her situation in the face and accept that Union which would strengthen and secure her, she would perhaps have no alternative, but to sink into the embrace of French fraternity. You talk, said his lordship, of national pride and independence, but where is the solidity of this boast? You have not the British constitution, nor can you have it consistently with your present species of connexion with Great Britain. That constitution does not recognize two separate and independent legislatures under one crown. The greater country must lead; the less naturally follow, and must be practically subordinate in imperial concerns: but this necessary and beneficial operation of the general will must be preceded by establishing one common interest.

As the pride of Ireland advanced with her wealth, it might happen, that she would not join Great Britain in her wars. It was only a common policy, that would make that certain. Incorporate with Great Britain, and you have a common interest and common means. If Great Britain call for your subjection, resist it: but if she wish to unite with you on terms of equality, it is madness not to accept the offer. Gentlemen had distinguished the case of Scotland from that of Ireland; but they were directly the same. All questions had arguments on both sides: the least evil was to be chosen. One objection to the measure was, that the legislature would not be local. For that reason the measure should be adopted. With a local legislature, and the present division of the people, Ireland could not go on. Other objections arose: but they all terminated in local prejudice or pride, and all of them that had been started, discussed and refuted in the case of Scotland. Absentees formed another objection. They would be somewhat increased, no doubt, by an Union: but the evil would be compensated by other advantages, and among them by the growth of an intermediate class of men between the landlord and the peasant: a class of men, whose loss was felt in Ireland, to train the mind of the lower class. These an Union would bring over from England. They would also have capital from thence. And as to emigration, the difficulty and expence would counteract that evil. At all events, these inconveniencies would be but a grain of sand compared with the advantages, which would be derived from internal security and their growing together in habits of amity and affection.

He concluded by professing himself attached to the measure only by the love of his country, and his conviction that the interests of that country would be promoted permanently and effectually by an incorporation of the two legislatures.

Colonel Gilbert King felt it to be the duty he owed his constituents, his country and himself to vote for the amendment and against the Union whenever it should be brought forward.

Mr. Plunket spoke with great warmth. He congratulated them on the candid avowal of the noble lord who just sat down; he had exposed the project in its naked hideousness and deformity; he had told them that the necessity of sacrificing their independence, flowed from the nature of their connexion; it was now avowed that the measure did not flow from any temporary cause; that it was not produced in consequence of any late rebellion, or accidental disturbance in the country; that its necessity did not arise from the danger of modern political innovations, or from recent attempts of wicked men to separate their country from Great Britain; no, they were now informed by the noble lord, that the condition of their slavery was engrafted on the principles of their connexion, and that by the decrees of fate Ireland had been doomed a dependant colony from her cradle. After that barefaced avowal, there could be little difference of opinion: He trusted that every honest man, who regarded the freedom of Ireland or who regarded the connexion with England, would by his vote on that night refute the unfounded and seditious doctrine. He had borne arms to crush the wretches who propagated the false and wicked creed, "that British connexion was hostile to Irish freedom;" and he was now called on to combat it, coming from the lips of the noble lord at the head of administration?

The freedom of discussion, which had taken place had given great offence to gentlemen on the treasury bench; they were men of nice and punctilious honor, and they would not endure that any thing should be said which implied a reflection on their untainted and virgin integrity. They threatened, said he, to take down the words of an honorable gentleman who had spoken before him, because they conveyed an insinuation: and he promised them on that occasion, that if the fancy for taking down words continued, he would indulge them in it to the top of their bent. He was determined to keep his word with them: he would not insinuate, but directly assert, that base and wicked as was the object proposed, the means used to effect it had been more flagitious

flagitious and abominable! Did they choofe to take down his words? Did they dare him to the proof? He had been induced to think that they had at the head of the executive government in that country, a plain honeft foldier, unaccuftomed to and difdaining the intrigues of politics, and who, as an additional evidence of the direânefs and purity of his views, had choſen for his ſecretary a ſimple and modeſt youth (*Puer ingenui vultûs ingenuique pudoris*) whoſe inexperience was the voucher of his innocence: yet was he bold to ſay, that during the vice-royalty of that unſpotted veteran, and during the adminiſtration of that unaffuming ſtripling, within the laſt fix weeks, a ſyſtem of black corruption had been carried on within the walls of the caſtle, which would diſgrace the annals of the worſt period of the hiſtory of either country. Did they choofe to take down his words? He needed to call no witneſſes to their bar to prove them. He ſaw two right honorable gentlemen ſitting within thoſe walls, who had long and faithfully ſerved the crown, and who had been diſmiſſed, becauſe they dared to expreſs a ſentiment in favor of the freedom of their country. He ſaw another honorable gentleman, who had been forced to reſign his place as commiſſioner of the revenue, becauſe he reſuſed to co-operate in that dirty job of a dirty adminiſtration: did they dare to deny this? “ I ſay that at this moment the threat of diſmiſſal from
“ office is ſuſpended over the heads of the members, who now fit around me,
“ in order to influence their votes on the queſtion of this night, involving
“ every thing that can be ſacred or dear to man: do you deſire to take down
“ my words? Utter the deſire, and I will prove the truth of them at your
“ bar. Sir, I would warn you againſt the conſequences of carrying this mea-
“ ſure by ſuch means as this, but that I ſee the neceſſary defeat of it in the
“ honeſt and univerſal indignation which the adoption of ſuch means excites:
“ I ſee the proteâion againſt the wickedneſs of the plan, in the imbecility
“ of its execution, and I congratulate my country, that when a deſign was
“ formed againſt their liberties, the proſecution of it was entrusted to ſuch
“ hands as it is now placed in.” He then entered into a very wide range of the ſubject, which he moſt violently reprobated, and bitterly inveighed againſt the Britiſh miniſter for having acted infidiouſly towards his friend and ally in the hour of her calamity and diſtreſs. At a moment when Ireland was filled with Britiſh troops, where the loyal men were fatigued and exhausted by their efforts to ſubdue rebellion; efforts, in which they had ſucceeded before thoſe troops arrived, whiſt their *Habeas Corpus* act was ſuſpended, whiſt trials by

court martial were carrying on in many parts of the kingdom, whilst the people were taught to think, that they had no right to meet or to deliberate, and whilst the great body of them were so palsied by their fears, and worn down by their exertions, that even the vital question was scarcely able to rouse them from their lethargy: at a moment, when they were distracted by domestic dissensions: dissensions artfully kept alive as the pretext for their present subjugation, and the instrument of their future thralldom. He thanked administration for the measure. They were without intending it, putting an end to their dissensions. Through that black cloud, which they had collected over them, he saw the light breaking in upon their unfortunate country; they had composed dissensions, not by fomenting the embers of a lingering and subdued rebellion, not by hallooing the Protestant against the Catholic and the Catholic against the Protestant, not by committing the north against the south, not by inconsistent appeals to local or party prejudices: no, but by the avowal of that atrocious conspiracy against the liberties of Ireland, they had subdued every petty feeling and subordinate distinction. They had united every rank and description of men by the pressure of that grand and momentous subject; and he told them, that they would see every honest and independent man in Ireland rally round her constitution, and merge every other consideration in his opposition to that ungenerous and odious measure; for his own part, he would resist it to the last gasp of his existence and with the last drop of his blood, and when he felt the hour of his dissolution approaching, he would, like the father of Hannibal, take his children to the altar and swear them to eternal hostility against the invaders of their country's freedom.

Mr. C. Osborne supported the Union, on the firmest conviction of its propriety and necessity to preserve the connexion between both countries and secure the tranquillity of Ireland.

The Right Honorable George Ogle execrated the principle of the Union, and would oppose it in every stage.

Mr. Hardy spoke largely for the amendment. Admitting the right of the people to call for an Union, who (he put the question), except the corporation of Cork, had asked for it? Had parliament, or either house of parliament, or any body of men whatever? Just the reverse: the most respectable public bodies, with the city of Dublin, and the law at their head, had remonstrated most strongly against it. They never had any plan or system for the
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government of Ireland, but consulted merely the exigence of the moment, and no more. In 1792 they supported the Protestants; at the latter end of that year, Dumourier's arms prevailed, and in the beginning of 1793, they favoured the Catholics. In 1795 they again abandoned them; and thus having gone through a variety of schemes, they came at last to the extreme bound of their policy, and proposed an Union. This, they thought, was to close all differences. Suppose it did not, and he was certain it would not, what would they propose next? A dissolution of the Union, or dragooning, or what?

Mr. Corry observed, that gentlemen were bound in common decency to consider the speech from the throne. His Majesty, from the unfortunate complexion of affairs in that country, recommended it to his parliament of Ireland to take measures for consolidating the connexion between both countries, while it was in danger of being dissolved by the attempts of an invading army, and the machinations of domestic traitors.

The measure of an Union was proposed for discussion only; and though he considered it as the only means that could afford safety to Ireland, and security to the empire, yet if it should meet the disapprobation of the house, and of the people without doors, he had no hesitation in saying, that it ought to be rejected. However, surely gentlemen would give it the discussion it deserved; for a rejection *in limine* would be treating the speech from the throne with disrespect. Mr. Corry concluded with an earnest entreaty to gentlemen to consider that they were not pledged to the measure by voting the address.

Mr. Coote expressed, that warm as was the language of some gentlemen, he would not agree to record in the journals an interdict to the discussion and consideration of any union whatever with Great Britain; on the other hand, he was ready to pledge himself never to support any union which did not meet the decided approbation of parliament, and of the people. He would say nothing of the detail of the measure; but the conduct of Great Britain in the Scotch Union, assured him, that the detail would be favourable to Ireland, and that revenue would not be the object of Great Britain: it was not so in the union with Scotland, for forty years Great Britain never gained any thing from the exchequer of Scotland. The Scottish union was brought about by the Whigs of both kingdoms; and he trusted that every man who, wished well to whiggism, would consent to the discussion of that important question; which

which, in his judgment, would strengthen their connexion with Great Britain, and essentially consolidate the permanent interests of Ireland.

Mr. D. B. Daly said, his constituents had given in their opinion boldly, like Irishmen, determined to hazard their lives and properties in defence of the independence of the legislature of their country; and he would venture his life and property in defence of the same, in opposition to an Union.

Colonel O'Donnel (in a maiden speech) observed, had he not been determined to oppose so infamous a measure, previous to his coming down to that house, the able and spirited arguments used that night by the opposers of a Legislative Union, would make him anxious to have his name enrolled with such a glorious band of patriots. On one side he saw opposing the measure, the landed interest, the talents, and the integrity of the nation: on the other side, he beheld it supported by placemen and pensioners; few only indeed excepted. Should the legislative independence of Ireland be voted away by a parliament, which was not competent thereto, he should hold himself discharged from his allegiance; the constitution would be violated, and he would join the people in preserving their rights: he would oppose the rebels in rich clothes with as much energy, as he ever had the rebels in rags.

Mr. Mahon said he was no placeman or pensioner, but by mature consideration was convinced of the advantages, both to Ireland and Great Britain, of a Legislative Union between the two countries.

Mr. J. C. Beresford attended to the instructions of his constituents on this occasion, because they coincided with his own. He had the highest personal regard for the Noble Lord, who in his official capacity as secretary had brought forward the question, so destructive and detested by the Irish nation. He was sorry that he had been made the instrument to bring forward such a proposition. For the minister of England he entertained the highest respect. He had been ever in the habits of supporting his administration, from an approbation of his conduct, and an admiration of his abilities; but no motives of personal regard, not even to his dearest and nearest connexions, could induce him to give a vote in parliament, whereby he should conceive himself accessory to the annihilation of the legislative independence of his country.

Mr. Edgeworth, in a short speech, delivered his sentiments against the measure, and concluded with approving of the amendment.

Mr. Egan went very fully into the question.

Mr. H. Osborne said a few words in support of the amendment.

Dr. A.

Dr. A. Brown, in a very pointed manner declared himself an irreconcilable enemy to the measure of an Union.

Mr. Ball felt confident that this unconstitutional and profligate measure would never again be propounded to the Irish parliament. Were he disposed to do so, he should find little difficulty in proving, that the evils arising from it were certain, inevitable and immediate; such as must end, at no very remote period, in a total separation from England, or what was worse, in a regular plan of government, uniformly and systematically enforced against the will of the people by military coercion. The advantages holden out as likely to accrue from it, were not only remote and precarious, but false, imaginary, and delusive: and that even if the measure were in itself a good one, the attempt to precipitate it at a time of general commotion and public alarm, must suggest a suspicion to the nation of unfair dealing, and lay the foundation of incurable jealousies for ever.

Mr. Martin said, he perfectly agreed to every part of the address, and dissented from the amendment. An Union upon fair and equitable terms to the country he believed was the only mean between an oppressive aristocracy, and the late democratic licentiousness of the people. He was sorry he could not agree with any description of gentlemen who opposed the address. Some he could not agree with, for they did not agree with themselves; others he had uniformly differed from; but he differed most from them, when they opposed those measures of mercy, which were the first and propitious acts of his Excellency's government; acts to which they owed their present existence as a nation, and which if they could add nothing to the full measure of his glory, did more to subdue the rebellion, than all their sanguinary laws, and all the permitted excesses of them, which had deluged their land in blood. The measure had the approbation of his head and heart.

Mr. Holmes also supported the original address.

Lord Corry felt it his duty to deliver his decided disapprobation of the measure as disgraceful to the country, as well as pregnant with every possible mischief to its constitution, commerce and manufactures; he would therefore oppose it in every stage.

Lord Cole followed, and in a very warm manner condemned the measure, and pledged himself to oppose it in every shape.

Mr. J. M. O'Donnell never would consent to a measure, which he termed, infamous, wicked; and degrading. He denied that the constitution was an
article

article to be bartered for ; he denied the power of parliament to barter or dispose of it, on any terms ; and he publicly asserted, that should they ever be base enough to do so, the people would have a right to oppose it ; for his part he would oppose it there and every where ; if his opposition to it in that house should not be successful, he would oppose it in the field : it was no common question ; it was one that went to the very existence of his country. He had made up his mind on what his conduct should be ; he should either live free, or fall by the cut of some Hessian sabre, or other foreign mercenary. While he had existence he would oppose it.

Hon. Major Acheson said he would oppose the measure of a Legislative Union as derogatory from the dignity of Ireland, and would support the amendment.

Sir H. Cavendish opposed the amendment.

Mr. Massé supported the original address, and opposed the amendment.

Mr. W. G. Newcomen not having been instructed by his constituents to oppose the measure of an Union, considered himself at liberty to vote for its discussion, not pledging himself however to any future support of the question.

Hon. James Butler opposed the amendment.

Mr. Attorney General went into remote history to shew, that Ireland had formerly sent members to the English parliament ; that a resident parliament was inefficient to obtain for that kingdom real legislative freedom ; and that circumstanced as they were, in danger from foreign and internal foes, an incorporated Union with England was absolutely necessary for their own security and that of the empire.

Colonel Bagwell declared his sentiments to be against an Union.

Mr. Richard Dawson gave his decided disapprobation of the measure, and supported the amendment.

Mr. Saunderson, as an independent Irish country gentleman, would oppose the Union in every shape.

Mr. Trench observed that, scarcely allowed time to breathe after having suppressed a cruel and unnatural rebellion, they were called upon to decide on a question of unparalleled magnitude ; and any decision on that great point would be, in his mind, premature, till the wishes of the great body of the people were fully and sufficiently known ; without their consent either expressed or implied by their acquiescence, the legislature ought not, they had no right to make a radical change in the constitution. The people had not yet

yet had time to make their sentiments known ; some few counties had indeed instructed their representatives ; the northern counties were silent ; the south and west were silent. The Presbyterians in the north, and the Roman Catholics in the South and west, a numerous and respectable part of the community, had not yet declared their sentiments ; they seemed to hold back with a respectful deference, till they should understand the subject better.

Under these circumstances, he could not approve of either the original address or the amendment ; the one tended to approve of the principle of Union, and the other to preclude any discussion of the subject ; he ultimately voted for the original address.

Sir Edward O'Brien declared he would oppose the measure of an Union whenever proposed, and voted for the amendment.

Mr. S. Moore supported the original address, and opposed the amendment.

Mr. R. Archdall was against the amendment, and intreated the house not to refuse their consideration of the question, and said, that for his own part, when the day for calling the house, announced by the noble lord near him, (Tyrone) should arrive, he would not be afraid to meet the proposition, and to consider it, and dispose of it, as it might deserve.

Mr. W. B. Ponsonby had no hesitation in declaring the very proposal of Union an attack on the constitution of Ireland, that argued unpardonable temerity ; he would therefore oppose it in every form and stage.

Mr. Arthur Moor would not, by giving a silent vote on that important morning, (then ten o'clock) appear temporising or lukewarm in a cause, in which he was as willing to perish as to speak ; he was very personally severe on Mr. Coote, the member for Queen's County, who was supposed to have received promotion to a colonelcy on the preceding day, for voting against the instructions of his constituents. Sir John Parnell was his colleague for Queen's County, which drew more attention to the colonel's vote. He thus spoke. " But the honorable gentleman (I beg pardon of the honorable co-
" lonel) is not only determined to vote, but has ventured to speak in favor
" of this ruinous project, and of his own principles of action ; and the ho-
" norable gentleman (I beg pardon again of the honorable colonel) asks
" with a voice of triumph, inspired I presume by the authority of his new
" command, how will gentlemen quiet the country ? How will they put an end
" to the dissensions by which it is torn, but by the measure recommended
" from the throne ? I will tell the honorable gentleman (I again beg pardon

“ of the honorable colonel) I run into those mistakes from want of use, as I
 “ understand the honorable colonel’s commission is no older than yesterday.
 “ I will tell the honorable colonel how the country may be quieted, and how
 “ it is possible to put an end to her dissensions, and that too by the most
 “ constitutional means ; by independent men such as the honorable colonel,
 “ not presuming, when the constitution is at stake, to disobey the instructions
 “ of their constituents ; by such men as the honorable colonel, holding them-
 “ selves above the allurements of office or promotion, when honest and vir-
 “ tuous men are removed for daring to advise and to act for the public good,
 “ and when it may be disgraceful and degrading both in point of the time
 “ and the conditions, to accept of any favor from those in power. If the
 “ representatives of the people of Ireland will act that part, the honorable co-
 “ lonel will then see, that he is grossly in error, when he calls the independence
 “ of Ireland a phantom.” He concluded a long and animated speech by re-
 peating his opinion, that parliament, unless authorized by the explicit une-
 quivocal sense of the people, had no right to consent to the measure of a le-
 gislative union with Great Britain, and that if it should adopt such a measure
 against the consent of the people, there was no inherent moral right in the le-
 gislature so to do, by which the nation would be bound to adopt the pro-
 ceeding.

Mr. Odell opposed the amendment.

Mr. William Smith at so late an hour (then about noon) would, with a
 view to brevity, substitute assertion in the place of argument. As every
 lawyer who had risen to oppose the measure, had thought proper, at the same
 time, to protest against the authority of parliament to achieve it, he rose
 as a lawyer, to record his dissent from what he conceived to be so unfounded,
 and so mischievous a doctrine. He rose explicitly to declare his decided
 opinion, that parliament was as competent to conclude an union, as it was
 to enact a turnpike bill. He meant not to detract from the importance of
 the former great imperial arrangement, or to insinuate, that the sense of the
 community upon it was not deserving of their most serious attention : he
 meant only to assert the theoretic, constitutional competence of the Irish
 legislature.

Mr. Stewart, of Killymoon, declared himself in favor of Mr. Ponsonby’s
 amendment.

Colonel Uniacke opposed the amendment, as did Mr. Staples.

Mr.

Mr. Serjeant Stanley supported the address to the king in its original form.

Mr. Thomas Townshend replied to Mr. Serjeant Stanley and to Mr. William Smith. He would oppose the Union projected by every possible means: it was fatal to the liberties of Ireland. As a constitutional question it was utterly untenable, as a matter of policy it was ruinous to the peace, honor, freedom, and real interests of that kingdom as well as Great Britain.

Sir L. Parsons said, that at that late hour he did not rise to speak to the question at large. The sentiment of the nation was now so decidedly evinced, by the sense of the independent gentlemen in the house against an union, that he hoped the minister would never give him an opportunity of speaking to the subject again, but would abandon it. If however he should further persevere, Sir Lawrence would take the earliest opportunity of speaking his sentiments fully, and should now content himself with declaring his decided disapprobation of the measure.

Mr. L. Morres opposed the amendment; as did also Mr. H. D. Grady.

The honorable G. Knox said, that he should reserve himself for a full discussion of the important question in agitation, until it came more directly before the house. At present he merely rose to state, that nothing which he had heard that night, had produced the slightest alteration in the sentiments which he, in common with his constituents (the college), was known to entertain upon the subject.

Mr. G. Ponsonby replied to the principal arguments advanced from the other side of the house, and closed the longest and most interesting debate ever heard within those walls, by conjuring gentlemen not to be calculating on the probable effect of their vote, but for every man to act as if engaged in a battle, where the victory depended on his single arm; ever holding in remembrance, that conquest does not always depend on numbers; a small and virtuous band of Spartans having saved the liberties of Greece, and a gallant officer (Verreker, member for Limerick,) stopped the progress of an invader in their own country, with his small, but brave band of 200 men. He concluded by declaring, that never in the course of his life did he feel such delightful sentiments, as that moment, when he contemplated the virtue and spirit, the proud integrity displayed by the gentlemen, with whom he then had the honor of acting, and, he trusted, of closing in honest victory an honest contest. He omended great and solid, and permanent advantages and blessings to the country, from the scene, which that day and the preceding

night had been displayed in the Irish House of Commons—not the “Permanent Arrangements” glanced at in the speech from the throne, but such as would, in securing the honor and independence of Ireland, contribute most effectually to the strength and glory of the empire.

The house divided,

Ayes	-	-	-	-	105
Noes	-	-	-	-	106
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Majority					1

This first debate on the Union,* which afforded to the minister the unsatisfactory victory of a majority of one voice, lasted twenty-two hours: the house adjourned to ten o'clock of the morning of the 24th. During the whole of this first debate the avenues to the house were crowded with persons awaiting the result of the debate, which though the question were lost, was considered as a victory by the Anti-Unionists, and proclaimed as such by various demonstrations of joy through the metropolis. Some outrages and insults were offered to members supposed to be Unionists as they went into or came out of the house. When on the 24th of the month the address was reported, on the reading that †part of it, which related to an Union, Sir L. Parsons objected to the paragraph, as pledging the house under a metaphorical expression to admit the principle of a Legislative Union. Before 1782, when Ireland was struggling for her independency, and the English government contending against it, the consequence was, that all the principal per-

* I have been more minute in the report of this first debate, than it may be necessary in future, in order to shew the disposition, temper, and opinions of those, who opposed and who supported the measure of Union; and also faithfully to put the reader in possession of the weight of argument on each side. It must be impartially allowed, that in this first contest, talent, energy, and independence preponderated on the side of the minority.

† This paragraph relating to the Union was as follows. “The unremitting activity, with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavouring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, must constantly engage our most earnest attention; and as your majesty has condescended to express an anxious hope, that this circumstance, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the parliament in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion essential to their common security, and of consolidating as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire, we shall not fail to give the fullest consideration to a communication of such momentous importance.”

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sons in official situations at that time, by voting continually with the minister against their national claims, became so odious and were so blackened in the eyes of the people, that even after they had obtained their independence, the people could place no confidence in government composed of those men, who had so long resisted it. Sixteen years had removed many of these men, and nearly obliterated the recollection of these old conflicts: and just at the time that it might be hoped, that a government well conducted might possess the public confidence, this unfortunate measure of an Union was now brought forward, reviving political controversies, kindling anew political jealousies between the two kingdoms, and debasing and blackening all the official men in high situations here, in the opinion of the people; for never, never could the people of Ireland place confidence in an administration, composed of men, who on this occasion had shewn their promptitude to betray the dearest rights and privileges of their country. No! they were blackened and blackened for ever in the eyes of the people of Ireland! Yet the independent gentlemen of Ireland, in despite of all the direct and indirect means, which had been employed to pervert them on this occasion, have proved to the nation, that their present independent parliamentary constitution was dearer to them, than their lives, and that it is but with their lives that they would ever surrender it: there was not in the world a more open, warm-hearted, grateful, and unsuspecting people, than the people of Ireland. This unfortunate and ill-advised attempt, however, must destroy in them all future confidence towards the government, as long as it was constituted of those men, who on that occasion had been so forward to sacrifice the rights of their country, even though that day should put a complete termination to the fatal project; for they might rest assured, it was necessary that they should put it down decisively, otherwise that country would continue in a state of ferment and agitation, every day more and more prejudicial to the connexion between the two kingdoms. The noble lord had admitted, that Ireland must lose somewhat by the increase of absentees, but said, that loss would be countervailed by the number of English merchants and manufacturers that would come and settle there. He represented them immediately covering the face of the whole island, and producing every where a new and valuable middle order of men. The same had been said in the American war, when they obtained a free trade, but no Englishman came to settle there in consequence. He then replied to some other arguments raised in
favor

favor of the Union, particularly to that of the attorney general, who had said, that the parliament during the first three reigns after the establishment of the English there, sat in England, and that there was then a kind of union. If it were so, that would be of little import at the present day; the consideration being not what the constitution was then, but what it now is. He held however in his hand a decisive document against that assertion of the attorney general. It was the answer of the Irish parliament to Edward, when summoned by him to England. He shewed what the constitution was, and also what the spirit was, which animated the Irish parliament at that day.

“ The nobles and commons unanimously and with one voice declared, that
 “ according to the rights, privileges, liberties, laws, and customs of the land
 “ of Ireland enjoyed from the time of the conquest of said land, they are not
 “ bound to send any persons from the land of Ireland to the parliament or
 “ council of our lord the king in England as the writ requires. Notwith-
 “ ing on account of their reverence, and the necessity and present distress of
 “ the said land, they have elected representatives to repair to the king, and
 “ to treat and consult with him and his council; reserving to themselves the
 “ power of yielding or agreeing to any subsidies. At the same time protest-
 “ ing, that their compliance is not hereafter to be taken in prejudice to the
 “ rights, privileges, laws, and customs, which the lords and commons from
 “ the time of the conquest of the land of Ireland have enjoyed.”

Thus at a time of great exigency, they consented for once to go; but knowing, that mingled with the parliament of England, they must be outnumbered; and so that great subsidies might be imposed on their own country against their consent, they previously declared, that they reserved to themselves alone the power of raising any contributions on the people; and they concluded, that their compliance on that occasion should never be brought as a precedent for any future day.

Were the Union ever so good a measure, why bring it forward at that time? Was it not evidently to take advantage of England's strength there, and their own internal weakness? It was always in times of division and disaster, that a nation availed itself of the infirmities of its neighbour, to obtain an unjust dominion. That Great Britain should desire to do so, he did not much wonder; for what nation did not desire to rule another? Nor was he surpris'd, that there should be some among them base enough to conspire with

with her in doing so ; for no country could expect to be so fortunate as not to have betrayers and patricides among its citizens. But if that assembly, the chosen protectors of the people's rights, should agree thus to betray them, that indeed would be matter of such surprize and indignation, that he wanted mind to conceive, or language to express it. So natural was it for a nation to incroach upon the rights of another, at the time that it was weakened and distressed, and so clearly was the design of England manifested by their history, English usurpations continually treading upon the heels of Irish infirmity. In the American war, however, Ireland burst the chain of those usurpations—how ? by her parliament. It was her own parliament then, aided and urged by a high-spirited people, whose hearts throbbed with liberty, and whose hands were strong with voluntary arms. It was there, within those walls, that this assembly, the organ of the popular will, put forth its voice, and demanded the freedom of their constitution, and the uncontrolled, legislative, and supreme authority of the land. It was here before the breath of the parliament of Ireland, that the usurping domination of England bowed its head and dropped the sceptre of its power, and therefore it was, that her parliament was to be utterly destroyed, root and branch, not a fibre of it left in the land, lest it should grow again and shoot, spread and flourish, and lest Ireland at some hallowed moment should once more through the medium of that assembly recover its freedom. Annihilate the parliament of Ireland ; that is the cry that came across the water. Now is the time—Ireland is weak—Ireland is divided—Ireland is appalled by civil war—Ireland is covered with troops, martial law brandishes its sword throughout the land—now is the time to put down Ireland for ever—now strike the blow—who ?—is it you ? Will you obey that voice ? Will you betray your country ?

Lord Castlereagh disclaimed any desire to re-argue the question so extensively debated on Tuesday ; the object of the honorable baronet was to expunge this paragraph from the address, and to that only he would speak. What did the paragraph imply to any man, who took the pains of reading it ? Nothing more than the readiness of the house to enter into the consideration of such measures as should be most likely to consolidate the strength of the empire ? Could any man deny, that that was a desirable object ? or could any man expect, that such a metaphorical expression would be laid hold of to imply, that by it that house was specifically pledged to the measure of

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an Union? It was urged, that the person representing government in that house had not declared positively to the house, that he would not again bring forward the question that session. Could that be a motive for refusing assent to the paragraph? What was the declaration made by that person? that he would look to the sense of parliament and of the nation, and give it its fair weight, in the prudential consideration of re-agitating the question. But convinced, as he was, that the measure was one of great and important advantage, he would never lose sight of it; and if he felt that conviction, he should desert; basely desert his duty, were he influenced by clamor to abandon it. He had not pledged himself to renounce it for the session; but he was pledged by a stronger tie; his attention to the opinion of parliament and the country; had it been necessary to bind him by such a promise, had he been such a person as nothing but an extorted consent could bind, how easy would it be for the minister to elude such a promise; how easily, if the sense of the country should change, would he be able, by a prorogation, to put an end to that session, and propose the measure in a new one? Was the parliament so distrustful of itself as to find such a promise necessary? Was it so afraid of the change of sentiment in the country, as to wish to tie up its own hands against the measure? If it were so, might not such a parliament be sent back to its constituents, if it were frantic enough to bind itself by a resolution, which might render it necessarily regardless of the voice and interest of the country? Parliament had at all times the power of dismissing from immediate discussion any measure proposed, but it could not exclude future discussion; it was the duty of the minister to offer whatever he thought for the national advantage; by the constitution, he could not be precluded from proposing such measures; it was his imperative duty, which he must discharge. Had such been the opinion, or such the rule of parliament, they would not have the British constitution. Were party cabal or party trick to influence his exercise of duty, they would not enjoy that constitution: for by the British constitution the origination of great national measures was placed in the crown. Had it been heretofore in the power of party cabal to resist even the investigation of such measures, would that constitution have been what it is? Were a British minister to be influenced by *Round Robins* and cabals, by combinations, to withhold from men, on account of their political conduct, the bread due to their professional labours, the British empire would not be in the glorious situation, in which it then stood.

flood. If this country, said his lordship, be to be governed by combination, it was brought to absolute ruin. Government had been charged with dismissing its servants for political opinions. It was the right and privilege of government to do so. If the minister must retain those persons, who are hostile to his measures, because such is the will of a faction, the constitutional power of the crown, and with it the constitution itself were at an end. What kind of an opposition had been arranged against the measure? Some of the very men, who, by attempting to degrade and vilify parliament, had given a pretext to traitors and rebels. What were the last words of the person now most forward, upon his seceding from the house? "That the parliament was so lost to every constitutional principle, that he was ashamed to continue to sit in it, and therefore abandoned his duty:" this was his last expression. What was the last effort of his public life? To assimilate the parliament of Ireland to the government of France, to carve out the country into French departments, and by a system of representation which had destroyed France, to introduce anarchy and massacre into that country. After failing in this project from the spirit and good sense of parliament, did he not shrink from the contest excited by his own principles and his own example? Had the loyal gentlemen, who now strangely voted with him and his party, so forgotten all these circumstances; had they so lost the recollection of those calamities, that they could look to him and his friends with confidence for the future government of that country? It was impossible. The phrenzy of a moment might have seduced them into such strange company; their returning good sense would permit them to look upon it as it deserved. Another description of the opponents of that measure was of a very opposite kind indeed to that person and his friends. They were the men, who, in the time of danger, stood forward like men to rescue their country from the consequences produced by those who were their allies. But those men never could so far forget the common object—the connexion with Great Britain (for which both sides were labouring, though with different opinions as to means), so far to disgrace themselves by acting with those, who wished to debase parliament and destroy their constitution. Let those loyal gentlemen assure themselves that they could never raise those persons to their own proud rank, though they might unhappily degrade themselves to their level. Let them not be so hurried away by their feelings, as to entertain for a moment an idea, that because they happened to agree

in that one point, a common co-operation with their enemies was necessary. Let them not be imposed upon by the artifice of these insinuations, that the measure was to be carried by a military force; it was a fraud practised upon their honesty; it would be a wretched government indeed, which would destroy the attached adherents of monarchy by employing force or corruption to carry any measure, however advantageous in prospect. Resolved as he was never to be deterred by cabal, from offering any measure to the discussion of parliament, he never could embark in so absurd a scheme as to conceive it possible to intimidate or corrupt the country into any measure whatever. There had been in the course of debate insinuations of a general nature; that ministry had employed illicit means to secure support: he passed them by as they deserved with contempt; but he had also heard particular circumstances mentioned, as facts, of so base and false a tenor, that he would trace them to the individual, be he who he might, from whom they originated, and force him to make a public disavowal. He deprecated that species of equivocal language which was neither personal, nor altogether parliamentary. If gentlemen conceived that any man on that side of the house had done them personal injury, let them come forward and seek redress like men. If they wished to enter into personal contest, let them avow their wish and come forward like men; but let them not resort to that kind of language, which was just so far short of personal offence, as to shelter them from personal chastisement; let them not disgrace parliament by introducing that which had proved so fatal to the country—angry invective and illiberal personality.

Mr. G. Ponsonby in a spirited reply defended the Anti-unionists against the violent attack of the minister, and asserted the uprightness of their conduct. Did he imagine the country gentlemen of Ireland tame enough to bear the imputation of being fools—instruments that were used by a few factious men for the worst of purposes? Would they submit to such a declaration from a young man, who had nothing to shield him from their contempt, but the office which he abused? Of what men was the body, which opposed the minister on this subject, constituted? Certainly men of different political principles were to be found among them. But was the constitution of Ireland to be surrendered, because there was a difference of opinion on some questions between those who were unanimous on that?*

* He then made a moving apostrophe to the speaker. “ You, Mr. Speaker, are of that number
“ —and

The noble lord said, he would not now push the measure; but he declared at the same time, that he would never lose sight of it. No thanks to the noble lord for not pushing it now, for he could not carry it. Thanks to the cabal; thanks to the virtue and spirit, which had appeared both in and out of parliament. But let the spirit of the house or of the country slumber, and then he knew from experience what use the noble lord would make of the favor of the crown to force the measure on the country. Even then, he believed, the attempt would be unsuccessful; but he would not leave it in the power of the noble lord to practise again in support of the measure those unconstitutional arts which he knew he had practised.

Hon. D. Browne and Counsellor J. Beresford supported the address: the latter particularly deprecated that kind of imputation coming from gentlemen, who opposed ministers on the last night's debate, charging on gentlemen that supported them on the principle of Union, the influence of private interest or corrupt motives. He spurned such language with indignation; there was at least as much honor, as much patriotism and independent principle amongst those who supported, as amongst those who opposed the principle of an Union.

Mr. Martin spoke at large to the subject, and also in support of the address. He observed, amongst many pointed remarks, that many of the great borough proprietors were against this measure; and had they no interest in opposing it? Was it nothing to weigh in golden scales the fate of every administration coming into that country? Was it no power to be able to abuse power, to expel two lord lieutenants for endeavouring to rescue the constitution, and turn to flight one commander in chief, Sir. R. Abercrombie,

“—and, no doubt, it is the weakness of your mind which thus renders you the tool of party—or
 “it is its factious disposition which has placed you at the head of that party. Where are the
 “cabals and round robins, of which the noble lord speaks? Is it in that profession, which is truly
 “called the first profession in the country; and in which are to be found men, to whom compared
 “the noble lord, in every point of view, is but a puny child? That profession have this day
 “declared unanimously, that they will not accept of the office from which a right honorable gen-
 “tleman near him was dismissed, because he would not submit his understanding and his conscience
 “to the will of the noble lord. Was that the result of interested faction? Had they been hunting
 “for places, from which the intemperate folly of the noble lord had displaced the old and faithful
 “servants of the crown, his charge would have been founded; but acting as they have done,
 “what honest man but must feel indignation at the aspersions which are wantonly thrown on them.”

who never fled in battle, because he differed from them; because he said the discipline in the army was relaxed? He disapproved of burning houses and of free quarters; and the borough proprietors chose to have both. Were these matters of fact? If so, they would recur frequently, and the nation could no longer exist. But it was said Union was unpopular; that was no argument, unless after due consideration it should continue to be so. The best measures were at first unpopular. The Octennial bill was in that house unpopular. The administration of the country once offered to support a tax upon absentees; that measure was opposed and lost; and some of those very gentlemen, who but a session ago opposed a measure, that would bring home our absentees, now principally clamoured against the Union on the ground that it would occasion some absentees. Another measure was greatly unpopular in the nation, which originated in the Duke of Portland's administration; fencible regiments for protection of the country.

Mr. Dobbs, after having vindicated the Irish bar from the attack of the right honorable secretary, and disclaimed all personalities, congratulated the house upon the return of some patriotic spirit and energy, and remarked, that if there were three men upon earth, to whom Ireland was peculiarly indebted they were Mr. Pitt, the noble lord who was first minister there, and the author of that pamphlet which issued from, and was acknowledged by the castle. Sir, till then, it was only suspicion, that a plan had been formed, to reduce Ireland into the situation of a province. But from the declarations of the three he had alluded to, suspicion terminated in certainty; for the noble lord had in his place declared, that it was a measure that would never be lost sight of, till it was carried. Then they had full notice of British intention and British determination. It had been holden out in the pamphlet alluded to, that a Union should be accompanied with certain benefits to the Catholics, to the Dissenters, and to the people at large. Why should they allow England to purchase their people by favors, which they had equally the power to bestow? It was their duty to shew to the people, that they had been vilified and abused by the author of the castle pamphlet; and that they were the true and legitimate guardians of Irish happiness, Irish prosperity, and Irish liberty.

The present attempt would never have been made, were the people of this country united in affection to each other, and at the same time satisfied with their government. What then was the path they were to pursue? Decidedly

cidedly this; to carefully examine the sources of discontent, and dissatisfaction, and do them away. He would not at that moment take upon him to say, what it was they ought to do; but he asserted without hesitation, that they should give to the people every thing, that was consistent with the preservation of their present constitution, and their present connexion with Great Britain. Those were the only boundaries that he drew between what the people could demand, and what the Irish legislature could bestow.

Mr. Holmes was in favor of the address.

Mr. J. M. O'Donnell opened a long speech with an invective against his colleague for the county of Mayo, Mr. Cuff (now Lord Tyrawley), whom he charged with having misrepresented the instructions of his constituents, and then read, from the debate on the Irish propositions, what that right honorable gentleman had said: "But, Sir, this arrangement has suggested an idea in another country, that I am afraid to mention in this house; I mean a Union. Good God, Sir, what Union could we have with Great Britain, but a Union of debt and taxation! A Union depriving us of liberty, and ruinous to our country." Those expressions reflected on him then immortal honor, but now eternal disgrace. He then addressed himself to the noble lord. He had endeavoured to oppose that measure without being personal, he respected his private character, he was an avowed friend to the administration, in which he held so ostensible and so honorable a situation. It was more than probable, that on every other question he would have his support. He belonged to no party, to no cabal, nor any intrigue, nor was a dupe. He intreated the noble lord, as he valued the peace and happiness of his country, every thing dear to him as a minister and a man, candidly and avowedly to come forward and declare he abandoned and wholly gave up a measure, so opposite to the wishes and interests of that kingdom; that he would not keep it suspended over their heads, to keep alive the fermentation of the public mind, which had it not been for that measure would have now been quieted. He invoked him not to keep that odious detested measure suspended over their heads by a single hair, to be cut at his will or that of any other minister.

Lord Castlereagh explained, and assured the right honorable member, nothing was farther from his wishes than to throw any aspersions on the profession. In the course of his speech he had used the word *petty-fogging*, but not in application to the bar; it was a vulgar phrase, and he was ashamed of it.

Mr.

Mr. Edgeworth also vindicated the profession, which he could not help saying, had not been well *treated by the noble lord. It was peculiarly proper in that noble lord to inculcate temper into the house, but it was improper in him to have forgotten his own precept, and set an example of heat and violence. He confessed, that when first the measure of an Union was mentioned, he was a friend to it; but when he found the sense of the nation against it, he changed his determination. He did not mean to catch at the word *cabal*, for the country gentlemen of Ireland ought not to follow the example of intemperance and indiscretion, which the noble lord had set them; if the minister were determined to press that measure against their sense and that of the country, he hoped these gentlemen would unite against him and form one body, and then they would be able effectually to frustrate any attempt of his, or of any cabal of pensioners and placemen.

A really wise administration would have seized that crisis to tranquillize the country. When the vessel of the state made no way, it would not answer to the helm; when it was in rapid motion, it would steer, and might by a skilful pilot be at length conducted to security. An able minister might, by a prudent use of that happy opportunity, reconcile the dissensions of the country, and make Irishmen shake hands with Irishmen.

Sir Boyle Roche considered faction as the source of past, and the seeds of present dissention in the country; nothing could effectually eradicate it but an Union, which had his most cordial concurrence.

Mr. St. George Daly warmly repented the insinuations thrown out against the motives of gentlemen on his side of the house; he despised them; one gentleman had said he just came from a meeting of the bar, who voted thanks, and resolved to give precedence to a right honorable gentleman, who had been dismissed from office; that might have been proper, but the honorable gentleman went farther, and said they were ready to declare any man a

* The expression which he repeated, in order to give the noble lord an opportunity to recal it (for he could not conceive, that with so many law officers near him he meant to insult the profession), was the phrase—*Round Robin*; which meant a mutinous demand made by men ashamed to avow themselves the promoters of it. Did the noble lord believe, that any of the gentlemen to whom he alluded, were ashamed to avow themselves? The meeting was conducted by a gentleman who was the father of the bar; was not he an ostensible patron of the measure, which they had adopted? Mr. Edgeworth proceeded to say many handsome things of the profession, to which he avowed himself to have been bred.

traitor to his country, who should accept the office. This produced some warm altercation between Mr. Daly and Mr. Ponsonby, which ended in an explanation from the latter.

Sir J. Blaquier had thought the question was at rest. This attempt to keep the subject alive could arise only from desperate faction, which wished to wear gentlemen out by debate. He did not foresee, he confessed, that so many country gentlemen would have opposed the measure.

Sir J. Parnell said, that from the refusal of the noble lord to declare that he would not again propose the measure, because if he did make such promise he could not bind the parliament, he inferred that he would again press it when an occasion offered; and when the noble lord talked of people deciding on what they did not understand, because they declared against an Union without knowing the terms, he used the language of a man himself ignorant of what was the true state of the question. No man could be so silly as not to know what the question really was.

Mr. Trench still wished to keep the question open for discussion, though he certainly had changed his mind as to the means of effecting the desired object.

The city of Dublin had declared its sentiments unequivocally; but though he highly respected that city, yet Dublin was not all Ireland, nor was Ireland the whole of the British empire; and in the fate of the British empire was involved that of the civilized world. As Irishmen, their first duty was to consult the welfare of Ireland. The Roman Catholics of that kingdom had not yet declared their sentiments; and notwithstanding the outrages that had lately disgraced some of that persuasion, the great body of them were loyal subjects; and their opinion ought to have weight with the legislature. If many of them had been concerned in the late rebellion, it was not because they were Roman Catholics, but because they were ignorant and uninformed, and therefore liable to be deluded by the misrepresentations of artful leaders. The reports of the secret committees of both houses had proved this fact; the great volume of events had proved it; that volume so lately unfolded to their view, and which every day, nay every hour, continued to develop. The late rebellion was not a war of one sect of Christianity against another. Whether British connection could be best secured by an incorporating Union, or by any other means, he only wished to have the question fully and fairly discussed.

Colonel Fitzgerald supported the paragraph, as did Mr. H. D. Grady. Mr. Fitzgerald

Fitzgerald called upon Lord Castlereagh for an apology for what he had said of the gentlemen of the bar.

Mr. William Smith declared against expunging the paragraph which recommended Union; and avowed his opinion, that legislative incorporation would not merely be beneficial, but had become necessary for Ireland, and the empire. This gentleman handled the subject with more ability and depth of knowledge and information, than any one on the Treasury Bench.

As the British islands constituted one empire, their imperial Union was not the mere result of a temporary and accidental union of their crowns on the same head. The crowns were constitutionally blended; his majesty's being king of Great Britain was the *sine qua non*, and efficient cause, of his being king of Ireland: he was their monarch *ipso facto* of his being the sovereign of the sister kingdom; and to deny (or at least to act on such denial) the truth of that position, would be treason against the principles of the Irish constitution.

So far then as a legislative Union allotted a single legislature to a single empire, it was a rational and wholesome measure; so far as it provided, that one empire should no longer be exposed to the risk of wavering, languidly and inertly, between the dissentient systems of two parliaments, Union was the corrective of a dangerous anomaly. A difference of opinion or system, between the two legislatures, must paralyze the general force of the empire; and that as well the more vaguely malcontent, as the direct enemies of the connection might (the former inadvertently, the latter by design) make that legislative distinctness, the means for bringing about a separation.

As far as the tendency of Union went to limit the British empire to one legislature, its operation would be to fortify that empire, and eradicate those seeds of separation which it contained: and this tendency would, on one hand, raise an enemy to the measure in every foe to British greatness, and British connexion; and, on the other, recommend Union to the favor of all those, who thought British connexion salutary, and wished it to be secured; and who, maintaining, as a maxim, that Ireland must stand and fall with England, felt themselves interested at all times to aggrandize the force of the empire, and felt themselves especially called upon to do so, when the state of opinions and of things throughout the world, and when the power, and success, and hostile dispositions of France, rendered it necessary that the British empire should concentrate all its strength, or surrender all its honours.

Some

Some might reply, that British influence would operate as an antidote to the mischiefs apprehended, and would prevent legislative dissensions from weakening and tearing asunder the energies of the empire, or Irish independence from checking the views or injuring the interests of Britain. But that supposition, he thought, insultingly derogated from the practical independence of the Irish parliament, which was thus allowed to be subordinate to that of Great Britain. Where an actual subjection thus existed, it might be rendered only the more mischievous and oppressive, by being concealed behind a mask of nominal independence; and the desired antidote would be more effectually found in an union than in a division of legislatures. To an objection, that the paucity of the representatives of Ireland in the imperial parliament would leave that country at the mercy of Britain, he replied, that the Irish representation would be commensurate to Irish power, resources, and contribution, and that an unity of interest would secure the rights and the welfare of every part of the empire, it would also be now preferable, after Ireland had long possessed a distinct parliament. By obtaining an Union upon just and equitable terms, she would exchange her separate legislature for such an efficient share in the imperial councils, as would ensure a full participation in the benefits of the British constitution; and she would thus gain all that she would originally have been entitled to demand.

“ But (said he) we sacrifice a portion of our national splendour: I admit it; and make the sacrifice with regret; I allow for, I almost rejoice and triumph at that repugnance with which this measure is at first received: I agree with those who consider national pride and honor as some security for national valour, liberty and virtue. But let us look to our country, torn with conflicts, and stained with blood; let us turn our eyes inwards to the traitors and separatists who swarm amongst us; let us contemplate the state of Europe, and of the world, and then enquire, whether it may not be expedient to sacrifice somewhat of our dignity, and exchange our situation for one, which will secure and strengthen our connexion with Great Britain, at a time when this connexion is at once peculiarly necessary and precarious, which will fortify that empire, of which we make a part; whose ruin is attempted, and whose destruction must be ours: a situation which will secure to us the British constitution, with all those benefits which that admirable system involves.”

In support of his opinion of the mischiefs of a double legislature, he in-

franced the case of the regency, when the lords and commons of Ireland having nominated a regent for that kingdom, intrusted to him a degree of authority different from, and superior to that, which the British regent would have possessed. This practical assertion of legislative independence tended, he said, to produce two independent executives for one empire: it risked intrusting the executive authority to different hands, and set different limits, in each island, to its power. Did not this act tend to dismember the empire? The king of England being, *ipso facto* and necessarily, king of Ireland, not only the regent of one realm ought to be regent of the other, but the prerogative of the executive magistrate ought to have precisely the same limits in both countries. The Irish houses of parliament, therefore violated at that time the spirit of a fundamental maxim of the constitution. It would not be sufficient to say, that the recurrence of that evil might be prevented by a particular statute relative to a state of regency. A mere remedy for a particular mischief would not be generally satisfactory. The source being copious enough to be the parent of many mischiefs, it was highly expedient that it should be completely dried up. The affair of the commercial propositions might be adduced as another example of the ill effect of legislative distinctness. In consideration of commercial advantages which were to be granted to the Irish, the legislature of Great Britain required that the parliament of the sister kingdom should adopt such laws as might be prescribed to it for the regulation of certain branches of trade and points of navigation. But the offer was rejected, chiefly on account of that demand; and thus legislative distinctness obstructed the prosperity of Ireland, by dissuading her from an acceptance of considerable benefits on the only terms, on which Britain could be expected to concede them. The idea of reform suggested another possible mischief. If one of the proposed plans of radical reform had been adopted by the Irish House of Commons, the legislature would have been differently constituted from that of Britain: the influence or prerogative of the sovereign would have been different from that, which he possessed in England, and the change would have tended to separate the two countries.

Of the competency of parliament to the enactment of such reform he had never heard any doubts expressed; and the arguments which, he thought, might be offered against the alleged right were inconclusive, yet perhaps as plausible as any that could be urged against the competency of the legislature to a decree of Union. That the authority of the parliament had this extent, he

he had not the slightest doubt. His opinion, he said, was founded on precedent, on the mischiefs which would result from a contrary doctrine, on the express authority of constitutional writers, and on the genuine principles of the constitution itself. By enacting an union, parliament would do no more than change (it would not surrender or subvert) the constitution. Ireland, after a legislative incorporation, would still be governed by three estates; and her inhabitants would enjoy all their privileges unimpaired. If the legislature could new model the succession to the crown, or change the established religion, it might certainly ordain those alterations which an union would involve. To controvert its right, would be to deny the validity of the act for the incorporation of Scotland with England and Wales. On the legitimacy of that act depended the title of his majesty to the united kingdom, to the crown of the united kingdom; for the 2d article of the agreement was the only act of settlement that limited to the House of Hanover in repugnance to the strict hereditary principle of the Scottish constitution, the succession to that united monarchy, which the first article had created. He instanced many mischiefs, which in that supposition would attend the impeachment of the Scottish union.

But should the future imperial parliament be supreme, might it not “abrogate” the treaty of union, and repeal all the benefits which its articles concede to Ireland?

Undoubtedly, that absolute power which the constitution of these kingdoms intrusted to parliament, would have that physical extent. A parliament may at any time abuse its sovereign authority; but it does so at the risk of entitling the subject to throw off that government, which has become an instrument of oppression, and recur to first principles, to resistance, and insurrection. Parliamentary authority has no limits known to the constitution: by the principles of that constitution it is boundless; but it is exercised at the peril of those, to whom it is intrusted; and they will be cautious how they commit that extreme abuse, which will constructively subvert the constitution, efface all artificial regulations, and letting in the paramount rights of human nature, overwhelm the powers of parliament in revolution. At this risk, the Imperial legislature might at any time disregard and repeal the articles of union: but in the danger of the attempt was the great security against its being made. The Imperial legislature might be competent to disfranchise Wales or Yorkshire, or to violate the terms, on which the sister countries be-

came united ; but there appeared no moral possibility of their applying their absolute authority to such purposes.

In treating of the principle of parliamentary competence, he affirmed, that in all governments an absolute despotic power must be inherent, as, without it, disorder and confusion would prevail. This power, according to the British system, was lodged in the king, the nobles, and the people acting by their representatives in parliament. In its own nature, it would authorize those who lawfully enjoyed it, not merely to frame new laws under the constitution, but to adapt the government to contingent events and occasional circumstances, and attend with suitable provisions the successive changes of powers and interests, manners and opinions. On this ground, the proposed union was within the reasonable compass of parliamentary authority.

If he conceived that the measure would be a surrender of national independence, he would by no means agree to it ; but it would merely be an incorporation of national distinctness : nor would he promote the scheme, if he thought that it would not ensure an identity or community of interests.

The constitution admits the principle of self-correction : steady to its objects, which are freedom and good order, it pursues the path which the period supplies, for their attainment ; and possesses, in the boundless competence of its legislature, the means, as it rolls its blessings through ages to posterity, of peaceably and imperceptibly adapting itself to circumstances as they arise ; of attending with suitable provisions, the successive changes of powers and interests, manners and opinions, and of keeping pace with time, by safe and gradual innovation. There would rest the great security under an imperial parliament.

Distinguishable as the cases were, some strong resemblances between that of Scotland and Ireland were to be traced. There, according to De Foe, a strange and motley coalition of discordant factions formed the anti-union band.

There, in aid of parliamentary exertions, they studied to raise a storm without doors, for “ the purpose of intimidation. Addresses against the “ union were sent round all the counties, in which those who opposed it had “ any interest. There came up many of these in the names of counties, “ boroughs, &c. This made some noise abroad ; but was very little considered “ there, when it was known by what arts and practices they were procured.” Tindal gives the common principle and motive, which consolidated these va-

rious

rious parties upon this occasion:—"All those who adhered inflexibly to the "Jacobite interest, opposed every step that was made towards an union, with "great vehemence:" Why? "because they saw that it struck at the root of "all their designs for a new revolution." He remarked how closely those circumstances followed the case of Ireland. The party, however, was discomfited in Scotland, by the exertions of a small band of unpopular, yet acknowledged patriots, who, supporting on principle the measure of a ministry, to which they were hostile, turned the balance, and carried an union, which was not now denied to have been advantageous to Scotland. The learned member next recurred to Adam Smith's position, that union may soften the rigors of religious prejudice and distinction, and blend the inhabitants of Ireland into one people.

It was impossible to advert to this consideration, without, at the same time, raising to our view the Roman Catholic body, their situation, their numbers, and their demands.

The claims of that great body of the Irish people were undoubtedly supportable on sound constitutional principles. For instance: it was the spirit of the constitution, that the House of Commons should be the representative of the combined property and population of the kingdom, that a certain stake in the country should give to the holder the elective franchise; and that he should be at liberty to exercise it, by nominating what representative he pleased. On the case of the Catholics, that principle operated only in its first branch. Catholic freeholders might elect, but not whom they pleased: for they must not nominate Catholic representatives: they were prohibited from entrusting their interests to those, who might seem most likely zealously to protect them. But parliament was open to the Catholic, on the term of his taking certain oaths; that is to say, on condition that he abjured his religion.

It might, however, be said, that these incapacities were indispensable towards the protection of the established church—perhaps they were: it would then be irrelevant to discuss that question.

But if those disqualifications were thus necessary in their present state, Catholics need not be very averse from changing the situation, which gives birth to that necessity. The real friend to the Protestant religion would rest his opposition to Catholic claims, on the sole ground of their being inconsistent with the security of the established church: and therefore, so soon as these
claims

claims become compatible with that security, the opposition of such a man would cease. Thus union might stand recommended to Catholics, as tending to improve their prospects, and yet not be the more objectionable to Protestants on that account. For how would it improve the Catholic view, if at all, by removing that danger to Protestantism, which might at present seem to attend a compliance with their desires. The opponent of Catholic demands alledged that, considering their superiority in point of number to the Protestants, to give them a nominal equality, might be to bestow on them an actual superiority of political power.

But how would the case stand upon an union? The Catholics, would, undoubtedly, in Ireland, exceed the Protestants, exactly as they do at present. But in the one united kingdom, (of incorporated Britain and Ireland) the Protestants would, as they do at present, greatly exceed the Catholics. What would follow? That to make these latter nominally equal to the Protestants, would not give them an actually equal, much less a predominant weight in the empire.

Thus, on the one hand, every satisfied Catholic individual might be permitted to indulge the honest pride of feeling himself on a par with his Protestant brother; and possessing capacity for an equal share, not only in the benefits, but the honours of the constitution; whilst, on the other hand, the Protestant body, superior in number, and consequently possessed of the greater portion of those capacities which they were able to obtain complete security for their religion, without wounding, degrading, or alienating the Catholic subject. They would feel what in Ireland cannot be felt at present, that the popular religion was the religion of the state.

After the union, the great mass of the united legislature would be Protestant. How impotent then would be the anti-supremacy of a Catholic minority! Union, then, might improve the Catholics views, without alarming the Protestants, by rendering their importance quite compatible with the safety of the established church.

There must be something radically faulty in that state of things, which, founded on the even moderate depression of three-fourths of the population, the safety of the remaining fourth. It was the manly spirit of that British constitution, beneath which, after union, they would live, that the great body of the people would not only be secure and free, but respectable and proud. If the present distinctness of Ireland render Catholics the necessary victims

victims of an exception to that rule, it was to be reprobated. He then adverted to a letter, which the late Mr. Burke had written to him four years before, on the Catholic emancipation; the necessity for interesting as many classes of the people as possible in the conservation of the present political establishment, and thus administering an antidote to Jacobinical poison, formed the hinge, on which all the arguments of that great man, in support of the Catholic demands, turned. Would to God that those principles had been acted on!—if not in granting the Catholic requests, yet in doing graciously, what they felt compelled to do in tempering theoretic, and political depression, with practical cordiality and encouragement. Would to God that Catholics had not lost the memory of what had been granted, in the angry wish for what was withholden! nor polluted their pretensions, by the advocations of notorious separatists and traitors!—that Protestant ascendancy (which he trusted would ever be maintained) had never been abused, nor in any case degenerated into bigotry and faction!—that opposite parties had not vied with each other in civil rage, and supplied by their distractions so many arguments for union! Would to God that the late gloomy aspect of affairs did not furnish a verifying comment on the prediction of Adam Smith, that, without an union, the inhabitants of Ireland would never consider themselves as one people! But suppose the claims of the Catholics should fail of success, though submitted to the remote and unprejudiced tribunal of an imperial parliament, does it follow that union would injure the Catholics? Clearly not: it would but leave them where they were; unless they conceive that the same demands made at home, on less favourable grounds, and with more jealousies in array against them, would yet have a greater likelihood of success. Nay, farther, though their claims should be rejected by the united legislature, their situation would be better by an union. Union might practically improve the situation of the Catholics, though it should leave them, in point of theory, where they were. Protestant ascendancy standing, after the union, (as it must do) on an impregnable foundation, would not need to be propped by favors and distinctions, which now exalted the Protestant at the expence of the Catholic feeling. The same security would assuage the Protestant mind, would heal his jealousies and apprehensions, and make him more susceptible of cordiality to his Catholic brother. Terror and suspicion were the usual parents of oppression.

If Union promote the wealth and trade of Ireland, it must practically increase

crease the comfort and consequence of the Catholics, who composed the majority of Irish population. If Union practically exclude many Protestants from that political importance, which the existing state of things permits them to enjoy, (and doubtless Union would abridge the consequence of some, and greatly interfere with the ambitious views of many, as perhaps the opponents of the measure need not to be informed;) then Catholics might sit down the more contentedly under the exclusion, to which the theory of the establishment had condemned them. If to see their Protestant brethren enjoying, under their eye those honors of the constitution, from which they were excluded, were grating to the Catholic mind, that was a mortification, from which Union would relieve them.

The pre-eminence of the resident aristocracy, being founded on political distinctions, was one, in which the Catholic body could not share. After Union, the consequence of the aristocracy would be founded on those distinctions of birth and fortune, which were as attainable by those of one religion, as the other. He concluded his appeal, not to the authority, but to the good sense of his countrymen: an appeal to the people, not from the opinion of their parliament, which was conclusive, but from the dogmatic clamor of an interested multitude, which, whilst it bellowed against Union, miscalled itself the public: an appeal to the virtuous and orderly inhabitants of Ireland, to discountenance the insidious practices of those, who were themselves creating the national ferment, which they affected to attribute to the discussion of a measure, that they therefore deprecated; and were whetting popular resentment, as a weapon, which they might use in defending their private interest against the public weal. They were not destitute of spirits such as those which, in 1707, animated the rabble of Edinburgh against their legislature: *non desunt irarum indulgentes ministri, qui avidos, atque intemperantes plebiorum animos, ad sanguinem et cædes irritent.* It was the duty of all good men to combine to defeat such mischievous designs, and make particular ambition sink before the general prosperity of Ireland.

Let the honest and independent country gentlemen come forward. They formed a party, which had lately not holden the place it ought to have done in that kingdom: they were disinterested, or had no interests, which were distinct from those of Ireland. On them, on their virtue, good sense, and dispassionate enquiry, he looked upon the happiness of his country to depend. He did not call upon them to vote for Union. No; but to hear the

the question before they should decide. He called on them to stop short before they reached the brink of a precipice, to which they might at once be hurried by their own proud and ungenerous feelings, and be pushed by the insidious projects of the factious and the selfish.

The question was not, whether they should surrender the liberties of the country : what minister would dare propose such a question to parliament, or to the nation ? The question was, whether Union might not so modify their constitution, as to promote prosperity and peace, whilst it left their liberties, not only unimpaired, but better secured.

Whether Union would not fortify, not merely England, but that empire, of which Ireland made a part ; whose safety was menaced, and whose destruction she could not survive ?

Whether it would not silence internal jealousy and dissention ; establish their religion firmly ; conciliate their Catholic brethren, and consolidate their people ?

Whether it would not at once bestow upon them commercial advantages, and enable them to use them ? Whether it would not establish amongst them that respectable and industrious order of men, which was the boast of the sister country, and the want of Ireland ?

Whether, at the same time that it gave them an efficient weight in the imperial councils, it would not still more secure their welfare, by entangling their interests, so obviously and inextricably, with those of Britain, that all grudging policy, all narrow jealousy of Irish advancement, if it ever existed, must have an end ?

Whether, by disarming separatists of those instruments, which they then possessed, towards severing the kingdoms, it would not render it injurious to Britain to retard Irish aggrandizement, and make it folly for her to view the advancement of that country with apprehension ?

Whether the alternative of Union, or separation, be not offered to them, as explicitly as they need wish it to be ? and whether they ought to hesitate in their choice ?

Whether separation from England be not subjection to France ? If so, he called upon all good men to turn a reluctant eye on the horrors, which had disfigured that at once formidable and wretched country, and to shudder at the prospect, which that suggestion disclosed.

Whether many objections to Union, which were loudly urged were not

such as the terms might easily obviate, and which were then therefore premature?

Whether, if legislative incorporation tend to fortify the empire, Great Britain be not likely to purchase that imperial strength, by the most ample and liberal concessions, in point of terms?

Whether two legislatures in one empire did not tend to disunite? and whether experience have not alarmingly reduced that theory to practice?

Whether the testimony of all, who oppose an Union, be so disinterested as to deserve implicit credit?

Whether the example of Scotland have not proved, that faction, not patriotism, may vehemently oppose an Union? That integrity and public spirit might vote for whatever sacrifice the measure involved? And finally, that time may sanction such a step, by shewing legislative incorporation to be the base of national prosperity?

Whether their situation were not such, as to require some radical and tranquil change?

He declared himself to be deaf to clamor, obstinate to intimidation, but open to reason, ever preferring to retract than persist in error.

It was his deliberate opinion, that a legislative Union with Great Britain would save Ireland, if obtained on those fair terms, which he thought likely to be conceded.

Mr. Egan attempted to answer Mr. W. Smith. No legislature, he said, had a right to vote away its existence, and ridiculed the pretended advantages of an Union.

Dr. Arthur Browne warmly opposed the Union.

Mr. Corry having complimented Mr. Smith, and censured his two opponents, spoke of the settlement of 1782, and denied that the measure then proposed involved a dereliction of the points gained by Ireland at that time. He also argued, that any amendment or vote, by which the house should declare, that it would never enter into the consideration of a certain subject, would be an unconstitutional infringement of the rights of the two other branches of the legislature---of the crown, which had a right to suggest, and of the peers, who had a right of discussion.

Mr. Arthur Moore expatiated much at large on the impolicy of an Union, and strongly condemned it on various grounds; as did Colonel Vereker, Sir John Freke, and some others.

On

On a division the Anti-Unionists prevailed ; 111 voted for the rejection of the contested paragraph, and 106 for its continuance. Mr. Ponsonby then proposed an amendment similar to his former motion ; but, as it was deemed unnecessary, he consented to withdraw it.

The public exultation rose to a great height on this defeat of the ministry. The Unionists were insulted by the lower classes of the people, and the public prints joined in the clamor.

The popular journals were lavish in their panegyrics of the Anti-Unionists : printed lists of the voters were circulated about gratis amongst the people, in order, as the supercription imported, that they might know their glorious and virtuous defenders, that every honest man might engrave their names and their services on his heart, and hand them down to his children's children.*

So sanguine was the British minister in his expectation of success, in carrying the measure of Union, that he did not think it advisable to await the result of the deliberations of the Irish senate upon it ; but presuming on his strength in the Irish as much as in the British houses of parliament, he opened his plan of operations in both on the same day : accordingly on the 22d of January, 1799, a message from the sovereign was delivered to the British peers by Lord Grenville, recommending an Union in the following terms

“ His majesty is persuaded, that the unremitting industry, with which our
“ enemies persevere in their avowed design of effecting the separation of Ire-
“ land from this kingdom, cannot fail to engage the particular attention of
“ parliament ; and his majesty recommends it to this house to consider of
“ the most effectual means of counteracting and finally defeating this de-
“ sign ; and he trusts, that a review of all the circumstances which have re-
“ cently occurred (joined to the sentiments of mutual affection and common
“ interest) will dispose the parliaments of both kingdoms to provide, in the
“ manner, which they shall judge most expedient, for settling such a com-
“ plete and final adjustment as may best tend to improve and perpetuate a
“ connexion essential to their common security, and to augment and conso-
“ lidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire.”

This message having been read, Lord Grenville proposed, that it should be

* This list is to be seen in Appendix, No. CXVI.

taken into consideration on the ensuing day, and the lords summoned, to which the house agreed.

A similar message, on the same day, was presented to the commons by Mr. Dundas, who moved, that it should be considered on the morrow. Mr. Sheridan immediately rose, and while he declared his concurrence in the general sentiments which the message conveyed, he thought it but fair thus to give early notice, that he viewed the bringing forward of that question, at that time, as a measure replete with so much mischief, that he held it his duty to take the first opportunity to do every thing in his power to arrest the farther progress of it. He was convinced, that it was the common feeling in and out of that house, to adopt every measure that might tend to perpetuate and strengthen the connexion between the two countries; because all were convinced, that a separation would not only injure, but be fatal to the interests and the existence of both. What he pointed at particularly was, the time of bringing forward the question. He readily joined in returning his majesty thanks for his communication; but instead of engaging to proceed to an early consideration of the subject, he should endeavour to persuade the house not to proceed at all to such a consideration.

Mr. Pitt in reply said, he was at a loss to guess on what grounds the honorable gentleman would attempt to satisfy the house they ought not to proceed to the consideration of the important measure, which his majesty, from his paternal regard to the interests of the empire, had thought proper to recommend to their consideration; at the same time he informed the house, that his intention was only to propose an address to his majesty on the next day; and then, after a sufficient interval, (about ten days) to proceed to the farther discussion of the subject. It was not his wish even then to press the house to come to a vote until the outline had been opened; then the general outline and principles would be submitted, and it would be proposed to have the resolutions printed, and to allow a farther interval, for the purpose of enabling gentlemen to be properly prepared for the discussion.

Mr. Sheridan considering the measure as the counsel of his majesty's ministers, said he deprecated the mischievous consequences of any discussion at all; and therefore was not to wait for a discussion, when he deprecated the consequences of it.

The motion for taking his majesty's message into consideration on the morrow was agreed to.

On

On the following day Lord Grenville in the House of Peers moved the order of the day for taking his majesty's message into consideration; no debate occurred; and the peers voted an address of thanks for his majesty's gracious communication, assuring him, that they would maturely deliberate on the subject recommended to their notice, and promote any adjustment for consolidating the general interests of the British empire.

When Mr. Dundas moved for a like address in the commons, he observed that it was then unnecessary to dwell on the subject, as a future day would be appointed for discussing it.

The address having been read, Mr. Sheridan said, that he conceived it incumbent upon ministers before they proposed the discussion of a plan of Union, to offer some explanations with regard to the failure of the last solemn adjustment between the countries, which had been generally deemed final. There was the stronger reason to expect this mode of proceeding, when the declaration of the Irish parliament in 1782* was recollected. The British legislature having acquiesced in this declaration, no other basis of connexion ought to be adopted. The people of Ireland, who cherished the pleasing remembrance of that period when independance came upon them as it were by surprise, when the genius of freedom rested upon their island, would come to this second adjustment with a temper which would "augur not tranquillity but "disquietude, not prosperity but calamity, not the suppression of treason, "but the extension and increase of plots to multiply and ensanguine its horrors."

It might be deemed informal, he hoped it was not improper, to enter into the discussion on an address of thanks. There were topics on which silence would be unworthy of the majesty of truth, and his country had claims upon him, which he was not more proud to acknowledge than ready to liquidate to the full measure of his ability.

* We beg leave to represent to his majesty, that the subjects of Ireland are entitled to a free constitution; that the imperial crown of Ireland is inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, on which connexion the happiness of both nations essentially depends; but that the kingdom of Ireland is a distinct dominion, having a parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof: that there is no power whatsoever competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the king, lords, and commons of Ireland: upon which exclusive right of legislation we consider the very essence of our liberties to depend, a right which we claim as the birth-right of the people of Ireland, and which we are determined, in every situation of life, to assert and maintain.

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* There was a time when it would have been intimated to him, that to agitate in that house any question relative to the affairs of Ireland would be an encroachment on the rights of the parliament of that country; and that such an insult to the dignity of that body, and to its competence of legislation, would inflame that quick spirit of independence, which the sister kingdom knew how to express, and had ever appeared both able and ready to infuse into a system of ardent intrepid opposition to every act of ulterior domination. But now that the question involved the independence and very existence of the Irish parliament, he did not suppose that any speaker would have recourse to such an argument. In discussing the intricate and delicate interests, which the king's message embraced, he could see the possible danger of increasing the discontent of the people of Ireland: but danger was to be apprehended from a violation of the rights and the independence of Ireland. Whatever might be the consequences of the present scheme, he was disposed to give credit to ministers for purity of intention. He could not suspect that they would propose a measure which they believed would ultimately cause a separation of Ireland from this country. He feared the agitation of the question might rather encourage than deter our foes, and that the distraction which it might produce would aid their purpose.

To render an incorporate union in any respect a desirable measure, the sense of the nation ought to be freely manifested in favour of it; but there was no prospect of obtaining such a concurrence; and an Union carried by surprise, by intrigue, by fraud, corruption, or intimidation, would leave both countries, with regard to permanency of connexion, in a situation worse than the present: nor ought the Union to be obtained by following the advice of a pamphleteer (Mr. Cook) who hinted that we should recollect the game played off by the volunteers of Ireland to take advantage of Great Britain, and play the same game against them. Let them never have to say to the English, "you offered us your assistance, against domestic and foreign enemies; we accepted it, and, in return, gave you affection and gratitude, and the irreproachable pledge of all the support in our power. You then took advantage with your 40,000 soldiers; you constrained us to submit to an Union; you would not wait for our consent. Some were afraid of being suspected of disloyalty, if they should come forward; others were banished; all were sensible that it was in your power, by acts of negative intimidation (the expression would be understood by those who talked of negative success)

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by refusing to send more men, or to relieve our pecuniary difficulties, to force an Union. If by such acts they deprived Ireland of the power of resisting any claims made upon her, if thus they wrung from her her independence, if thus they intimidated and corrupted her parliament to surrender the people to a foreign jurisdiction, he would not justify the Irish in a future insurrection, but he would say, that the alleged grounds for it would wear a very different complexion from the late.

That the proposition itself should be entertained in Ireland, must be considered as an extraordinary case. To the period of the last solemn adjustment, the great impolicy and heinous injustice of the British government towards Ireland for 300 years is notorious and avowed. Is it then reasonable to suppose, that a country, the object of such insult for three centuries, when at last she had wrung from our tardy justice that independence, which she had a right to claim, and had obtained commercial advantages, should, only sixteen years afterwards, so far forget all prejudices, as to surrender the means, by which she acquired those advantages? Would this be the case, if the free sense of the country were manifested? But it is possible that, during those sixteen years, the parliament may have forfeited the confidence of the country. Do the Irish plead guilty to this charge? On the contrary, did not his majesty congratulate Ireland, that by the vigor of her parliament she had acquired an increase of prosperity? And that by the vigilance of the Irish parliament the late conspiracy was detected and brought to light: and when new disturbances are dreaded, was it to be dismissed? Was the detection of plots likely to be better effected by the English parliament?

Would it be maintained, that the measure of an Union would not wholly dissolve the legislature of Ireland; that independence would survive Union, though in a modified state; and that the parliament would be left to judge of the local affairs of Ireland? Really this seems almost too much for men's feelings. A parliament! A sort of national vestry of Ireland, sitting in a kind of mock legislative capacity, after being ignobly degraded from the rank of representatives of an independent people, and deprived of the greatest authority that any parliament could possess! Could such a state be called a state of independence? And could we suppose that the Irish would agree to such an Union under any other circumstances than those of force.

Was the parliament of England competent or qualified to legislate for the parliament of Ireland? Impossible. Every advantage of situation favored the one; the other was unfitted for governing, or giving law, by every disadvantage

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tage of situation and every dissimilarity of temper and habit. Lord Chancellor Clare said, that the English parliament was less acquainted with the state of Ireland, than any other body of men in the world. How then was the parliament of England better fitted to legislate for Irishmen, than that of Ireland with its experience?

With respect to the general effect of intimidation, it did not rest upon presumption. Had not a threat been thrown out, in what might be considered as an official proclamation, that the troops which had been sent to Ireland might be withdrawn, that the money with which she was aided might be withheld, and the country left helpless and devoted? Must not the Irish, then, who have supported the connexion, feel that they are not at liberty to choose? Such insinuations an Irish clerk or secretary had thought proper to throw out in his official pamphlet. The effect then upon the Irish must be, that it is impossible for them to come to a free discussion of the subject. Such hints from persons in office, and the dismissal of the best friends of Ireland from office, warranted this inference, that if a person, whether in or out of office, should oppose the Union, he will be considered as a traitor to his country? What must be the effect upon the minds of the officers and volunteers throughout the kingdom? He was willing to believe, that the noble lord at the head of affairs in Ireland had been directed to do what had been alluded to, and that it was not of his own accord. But to talk of free will under such circumstances was only adding mockery to injustice, and insult to injury.

He contended that the adjustment proposed would only unite two wretched bodies; that the minds would still be distinct; and that eventually it might lead to separation. The king of Sardinia had lately consented to the surrender of his territory, and said it was right; but did any one believe that the consent was real? The case was the same with respect to Ireland. We could not have her real consent; we do not wish it, or would not have had recourse to corruption and intimidation. They had heard much abuse of French principles; but he recommended the abstaining from French practices. Let no suspicion be entertained that we gained our object by intimidation or corruption; let our Union be an union of affection and attachment, of plain dealing and free will; let it be an union of mind and spirit, as well as of interest and power; let it not resemble those Irish marriages which commenced in fraud, and were consummated by force. Let us not commit a brutal rape on the independence of Ireland, when by tenderness of behaviour we may have her the
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willing partner of our fate. The state of Ireland did not admit such a marriage; her bans ought not to be published to the sound of the trumpet, with an army of 40,000 men. She was not qualified for hymeneal rites, when the grave and the prison held so large a share of her population.

Some delay in this matter could produce no danger; and it was incumbent on the projectors of the plan to state the reasons, which rendered them so eager to press it. As they had not explained their motives, he had been obliged to have recourse to the castle pamphlet as to the proclamation of the Irish government. That author offered singular reasons for dispatch; a dread of the continued influence of the pope and the intrigues of the British anti-ministerial party. He had also a singular mode of quieting the Catholics, by making them desperate, by telling them that they had nothing to hope from their parliament. "Dissatisfaction (said the pamphleteer) would sink into acquiescence, and acquiescence soften into content." "A very pretty sentence," said Mr. Sheridan, "for a novel!" But what right had the author to assume, that, when the Union should have taken away the rights of the Catholics, their dissatisfaction would sink into acquiescence? On the topic urged by the pamphleteer, respecting the expediency of making use of a time of war and embarrassment to accomplish the wishes of Britain, in return for the advantage taken by the Irish volunteers on a former occasion, and by the United Irishmen at a more recent period, he remarked, that the indignation of every man of honor must be roused by such an appeal to the spirit of revenge. Such arguments weighed so lightly against the disadvantages of the measure, that he could not but condemn the precipitancy with which it was brought forward.

Mr. Sheridan then stated the probable risk of changes in our political system, from the introduction of one hundred members into the British House of Commons; members who, having sacrificed the parliament of their own country, might not be scrupulously tender of the British constitution. He then disputed the competency of the Irish legislature to sacrifice itself and transfer its power to the British legislature.

Mr. Sheridan concluded with moving an amendment,* expressing the surprise and deep regret with which the house learned from his majesty that the final adjustment, which, upon his gracious recommendation, took place be-

* 7 Parl. Reg. p. 592.

tween the kingdoms in the year 1782, and which, by the declaration of the parliaments of both countries, placed the connexion between them upon a solid and permanent basis, had not produced the effects expected from that solemn settlement; and also intimating, that his majesty's faithful commons, having strong reason to believe that it was in the contemplation of his ministers to propose an Union of the legislatures of the two kingdoms, notwithstanding the said adjustment, felt it to be their bounden duty, impressed as they were with the most serious apprehensions of the consequences of such a proceeding at this time, to take the earliest opportunity humbly to implore his majesty not to listen to the counsel of those who should advise or promote such a measure at the present crisis, and under the present circumstances of the empire.

Mr. Canning first answered the allegations of Mr. Sheridan with regard to the adjustment of the year 1782. That agreement, he said, was termed final in one of the resolutions then adopted; but, from a subsequent vote, it appeared that the idea of establishing some more permanent system never had been relinquished. An attention to the true import of that vote would remove all imputation of impropriety and inconsistency from the measure then proposed. The late numerous and momentous events in Ireland rendered England more particularly interested in whatever concerned that kingdom. A most foul rebellion had broken out in that country, which, by the wise and vigorous measures of government, had been checked, though not totally quelled; party heats and animosities still existed; factions still remained, whose leaders did not merely aim at the expulsion of this or that set of ministers, who aimed not at a partial reform of this or that political abuse, real or pretended; but whose views threatened the annihilation of the government and constitution of Ireland, and the total ruin of all connexion between that country and this? The existence of the horrid conspiracy was proved by the avowals of self-convicted traitors, who were not penitent, but still entertained hopes of accomplishing the plots, which had been detected by the vigilance of parliament and of the executive government, and which would have laid the capital of the country in ashes, and destroyed every thing that was valuable or dear to the inhabitants; after the detection then of these deep and damned plots, was it not a matter of urgent necessity to devise and adopt the most effectual means of counteracting the pernicious consequences that might otherwise flow from them, consequences that not only affected the
conti-

continuance of the connexion between the two countries, but which deeply struck at the prosperity and very existence of both?

Hence, the high importance of the object was evident. It was not the making of a provincial regulation, the adjustment of an internal difference, or the arrangement of a plan for balancing parties; it was nothing less than to secure Ireland to us and to herself, and thus to promote the happiness and security of the whole empire. It would have been more fair and candid, more like a statesman and patriot, deliberately to examine the plan before he would reject it, and then, if he could suggest any other scheme by which such a desirable object could be attained, to state it for the consideration of the house. He had not, however, said that he possessed any such plan; and therefore the house ought not to reject the discussion of that proposed to them. Mr. Canning defended the consistency of Mr. Cooke's pamphlet, and then referred to a work written by Dr. Duigenan, and observed, that one of more convincing argument and more sound truth he had never seen. The author, he thought, had confuted his antagonist, Mr. Grattan, in the completest manner. In speaking thus of Dr. Duigenan, he did it without partiality, because he did not know whether that gentleman were friendly to the Union or not. The doctor was well known to be decidedly hostile to the pretensions of the Catholics, insisting on their exclusion from a share in the legislature, or in any of the great offices of state; but he admitted at the same time that the necessity of that exclusion would be done away by the adoption of an Union, which would secure the Protestant ascendancy, should they even grant the Irish Catholics complete emancipation.

Here then were two parties in opposition to each other, agreeing, however, in one common opinion. But it was contended that this was an improper time for proposing the measure; yet, if an Union would quiet the agitations of Ireland, why should the remedy be delayed till the mischief of a battle should have taken place. The present time seemed particularly proper for the scheme of Union; and one of the effects that would speedily result from it would be the removal of a considerable part of that armed force which excited the jealousy of the last speaker. That the deliberations of the Irish legislature had been influenced by the terrors of that army, or that the freedom of speech had been taken away, Mr. Canning was unwilling to admit. No evidence of such intimidation could be adduced; he justified the conduct of the ministry towards Sir John Parnell, whose opposition to a measure of

such importance would render him a very unfit associate, and might excite doubts of the sincerity of the court.

It ought to be considered, that some of the principles of the French revolution had made a great impression upon the inhabitants of Ireland, poor and uncivilized as the generality of them were, and distracted by religious feuds; and that the enemy still hoped to profit by the favorable dispositions of a part of that nation. To extinguish such hopes, to put Ireland out of danger, both from her foreign and domestic enemies, and in every point of view to improve her condition, were the objects of the proposed Union. It was not the fault of the people that the country was in such a situation; they wanted commerce, they wanted capital, they wanted a particular class of men to connect the highest and the lowest orders of society, so as to harmonise the whole. But it was not a mere act of parliament that would accomplish these great and beneficial objects: it was only a connexion with a country which had capital, which had commerce, which had a respectable middle class of men, that could effect the desired change.

It had been said, that for the space of three hundred years we had oppressed Ireland; but for the last twenty years the conduct of England had been a series of concessions. The Irish wanted an octennial parliament; it was granted. They wished for an independent legislature; they had their wish. They desired a free trade; it was given to them. A very large body of the people of Ireland desired a repeal of a part of the penal code which they deemed oppressive; the repeal was granted. The honorable gentleman had spoken as if nothing had been done for Ireland but what she extorted, and what she had a right to demand; he seemed to think that past favors were no proofs of kindness. It was undoubtedly expedient that these advantages should be given to Ireland, because her prosperity was the prosperity of England; but they were not privileges which she could claim as matters of right.

Mr. Canning concluded with recommending a strict attention to his majesty's proposal, as the only great and comprehensive view that had ever been taken of the affairs of Ireland, and with declaring his opposition to Mr. Sheridan's amendment, as it would debar the Irish from obtaining that relief which their necessities and their danger demanded.

Mr. Jones objected to the Union, chiefly, because it was unsolicited by the Irish, who were the best judges of its expediency, and was therefore ill calculated to allay their discontent.

After

After Mr. Sheridan, in explanation, had briefly supported the opinions which he had delivered, Mr. Pitt offered himself to notice, as a defender of the address, and of the general principle of the proposed Union. The address, he said, would only pledge the house to take into serious consideration a subject, which was earnestly recommended to its notice, and which was closely connected with the interest of the British empire. The mover of the amendment had deprecated all deliberation upon the subject, and even insinuated that the Irish parliament had not the power of carrying the result of its deliberations into effect, if it should determine in favor of an Union, without an appeal to the people. That position, if true, would be applicable to the parliaments of both countries, the rights and privileges of both being the same; would go to invalidate the acts of the last ninety years, and tend to annihilate the whole authority of the British parliament. To say that the ministers wished to surprise the house into this measure, was also an ill-founded assertion; for they had rather been scrupulous in the opposite extreme. The question was, whether the house should proceed to deliberate in a grave and solemn manner, or should, without examination, pronounce the Union to be unnecessary, dangerous, or impracticable. That gentleman and his friends had, in the course of many years, loudly complained of the mismanagement of the affairs of Ireland, expatiated on the deformity of its constitution, and lamented the miseries of its inhabitants. Would it not then be more prudent to apply a promising remedy at the present time, than to risque the effects of long delay, by which the evils of the country might be aggravated and embittered? These evils had a deep root, being involved in the prevailing character, manners, and habits of the people, in their want of knowledge and intelligence, in the state of property, in the separation between certain classes, and in the rancor of religious dissensions. Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform had been recommended as remedies; but there was little doubt that these pretences covered dangerous designs. If those objects could be obtained by calm investigation, and should seem adequate correctives, few would decline an acquiescence in them. But if the state of society be such, that laws, however wise in themselves, would be ineffectual as to their object, until the manners and customs of the people were altered—if men were in a state of poverty, in which it was impossible that they could have any comfort—if the progress of civilization depend in a great measure upon the distribution of wealth—if the improvement of that
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wealth depend much upon the distribution of capital—if all the advantages to be derived from an increase of national wealth depend much upon the temper of the inhabitants—if those advantages, together with the still greater advantage of mental improvement, be all retarded by the distractions and divisions of party, by the blind zeal and phrenzy of religious prejudices, by old and furious family feuds—if all these causes combine to make a country wretched, what was the remedy? A legislature standing aloof from local party connexion, sufficiently removed from the influence of contending factions to be the advocate or champion of neither; being so placed as to have no superstitious reverence for the names and prejudices of ancient families, that have so long enjoyed the monopoly of certain public patronages and property, which custom had sanctioned, and which modern necessity might justify; a legislature that would neither give way to the haughty pretensions of a few, nor open the door to popular inroads, to clamor, or to the invasion of all sacred forms and regularities, under the false and imposing colors of philosophical improvement in the art of government. All that was wanted for Ireland. Where was it to be found? In the country where the evils which he had enumerated existed, or in this? Where should that legislature deliberate? In a place where the utmost effort of what was called patriotism amounted to nothing more than an aim at temporary popularity, as was evident from what had happened, or in a place where the discussion was calm and temperate? Certainly the latter; that is, in England. To neglect the establishment of such a legislature, when it was possible to do so, was an imprudence, which nothing could justify.

Mr. Pitt did not assent to Mr. Sheridan's observation, that England had oppressed Ireland for three hundred years; but he would say, that for one hundred years this country had followed a very narrow policy with regard to that kingdom. When the connexion with Ireland was something more than a name, when that connexion was ascertained, and the imperial parliament of this country exercised a supremacy over Ireland, it did happen that during that period the narrow policy of Great Britain, influenced by views of commercial advantage, tainted and perverted by selfish motives, treated Ireland with illiberality and neglect, and did not look upon her prosperity as that of the empire at large. He reprobated, as much as the honorable gentleman, that narrow-minded policy as mischievous and pregnant with the most fatal consequences to both kingdoms. These jealousies, however, would be buried by the plan, which would soon be brought forward. They all had in
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their mouths a sentence, importing that every good Englishman and good Irishman felt they must stand or fall together; that they should live and die together; and yet without such a measure as that which was about to be proposed to them, there could be no security for the continuance of that sentiment. The happiness of both countries ought to be perpetual. As it then stood, it was liable to a thousand accidents; it depended upon the violence of the moment; it might be governed upon views of temporary popularity, or by the personal convenience of a few individuals; a tenure upon which the happiness of a nation ought never to depend.

Of the settlement of the year 1782, he said, the very authors of the measure were not satisfied with their own work, as appears from the journals of the house. They saw the imperfections of their own measure; and, as a supplement, it was recorded on the journals, that such other terms should be settled as should be agreed on between the two nations. But nothing had been done to give it effect, and therefore he had their own authority to say that it was defective.

He added, that it was incumbent on those gentlemen to show the bad tendency of the present measure, rather than requisite for its advocates to enlarge on its probable benefits; for the conduct of the former proclaimed the necessity of making some new attempt in favor of Ireland. Those who sanctioned the independence of the Hibernian parliament, without any security that the two legislatures would never differ essentially upon any point, in which the happiness of the British empire might be involved, were particularly bounden to show, that such a difference was not likely to happen, or that it might easily be remedied. How stood the case in point of experience as to the regency. The honorable gentleman said there was no difference between the parliaments as to the regent. There was indeed no difference as to the *person* who was to be regent; but there was an essential difference as to the *principle*, on which that person was to be regent: the Irish parliament decided on one principle, the British parliament on another; their agreement with regard to the person was accidental; and upon the distinct principles on which they proceeded, they might as well have differed in the choice of the person who was to be regent, as in the adjustment of the powers, which were to be granted to him. Would any one say, there was no necessity for arrangement, for securing an uniformity of opinion on points essential to the existence of the empire, and guarding against all those evils which must arise, when two bodies, which should act
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in concert, move in contrary directions? That they had not hitherto differed in the great and momentous events, which had been agitated before parliament, was a good fortune, which had arisen from one general cause; from the Union of all descriptions of persons against one common enemy, with the exception only of a few, whose counsels, happily for both countries, and for the civilised part of the world, had lost all their influence.

Could any man say, that such difference as was manifested in the time of the regency would never occur again? When they came to treat of peace, for instance, or to consider the subject of alliance with any foreign power, or any question of trade or commerce, might not local prejudices occasion a difference between the legislatures upon points essential to the welfare of the British empire? What would have been the consequence both to England and Ireland, had the dissensions in Ireland been the same in point of force against the executive government in parliament, since the commencement of the present war, as they were at the time when the Irish propositions were rejected? If, in the present contest, the leaders of opposition should have as much influence in Ireland as they formerly possessed, a vote for peace might pass, and the efforts of Great Britain might be paralysed. Would the honorable gentleman say, that the parliament of Ireland might not in such a case neutralise its ports, prevent the raising of recruits for the army and navy, strike a fatal blow at the power, and endanger the existence of the empire? Let any man maturely reflect on the dangers that might result from the present situation of both countries; and he would tremble at the perils, to which they were exposed. Under these circumstances, could they do justice to either country by neglecting to bring forward the proposal of Union?

After a renewed exposure of the deplorable state of Ireland, and an additional enforcement of the necessity of incorporating that realm with Great Britain, he said, "I see the case so plainly, and I feel it so strongly, that no apparent or probable difficulty, no fear of toil, or apprehension of a loss of popularity, shall deter me from making every exertion to accomplish the great work, on which, I am persuaded, depend the internal tranquillity of Ireland, the general interest of the British empire, and perhaps the happiness of a great part of the habitable world."

When the question was put for the amendment, it was rejected without a division; and the address was immediately voted.

On the 31st of January, the message being again read, Mr. Pitt rose, and in a long speech supported the grand object, which his sovereign recommended.

ed. He began with a reference to the late proceedings of the House of Commons in Ireland. That the parliament of that kingdom had the right and the power of rejecting a proposition of that nature, he did not presume to deny; yet, convinced as he was that the measure would not only tend to the general benefit of the empire of Great Britain, but would particularly increase the prosperity and ensure the safety of Ireland, he deeply lamented the unfavorable reception of the scheme in the Irish House of Commons. He did not mean to speak disrespectfully of the conduct of that house; but, while he admitted and respected their rights, he felt that, as a member of the parliament of Great Britain, he also had "a right to exercise and a duty" to perform." That duty was to express, as distinctly as he could, the general nature and outline of a plan which he considered as pregnant with the most important advantages. If the British parliament, upon full explanation, and after mature deliberation, should be inclined to favor the scheme, he would propose that its opinion should remain recorded as a determination by which it would abide, leaving to the dispassionate judgment of the legislature of Ireland the future adoption or rejection of the plan.

With regard to the general principle of the measure, both sides of the house seemed to consider a perpetual connexion between Great Britain and Ireland as essential to the true interests of both.

Assuming it then as a proposition not to be controverted, that it is the duty of those, who wish to promote the interest and prosperity of both countries, to maintain the strongest connexion between them, he asked, what situation of affairs had called them to the discussion of this subject? This very connexion, the necessity of which had been admitted on all hands, had been attacked by foreign enemies and domestic traitors. The dissolution of this connexion was the great object of the hostility of the common enemies of both countries; it was almost the only remaining hope, with which they still continued the contest.

A close connexion with Ireland having been allowed to be essential to the interests of both countries, and that connexion being dangerously attacked, it was not to be insinuated that it was unnecessary, much less improper, at that arduous and important crisis, to see whether some new arrangements, some fundamental regulations, were not requisite, to guard against the threatened danger. The foreign and domestic enemies of these kingdoms had shewn, that they thought this the vulnerable point in which they might be most

successfully attacked. Let us derive advantage, if we can, from their hostility; they felt the most ardent hope, that the two parliaments will be infatuated enough, not to render their designs abortive by fixing that connexion upon a more solid basis.

The nature of the existing connexion evidently did not afford that degree of security, which, even in times less dangerous and less critical, was necessary to enable the empire to avail itself of its strength and resources.

The settlement of 1782, far from deserving the name of a final adjustment, was one that left the connection between Great Britain and Ireland exposed to all the attacks of party and all the effects of accident. That settlement consisted in the demolition of the system which before held the two countries together. A system, unworthy of the liberality of Great Britain, and injurious to the interests of Ireland. But to call that a system in itself—to call that a glorious fabric of human wisdom, which was no more than the mere demolition of another system—was a perversion of terms.

Mr. Pitt then quoted the parliamentary journals, to prove that the repeal of the declaratory act was not considered by the minister of the day as preclusive of endeavours for the formation of an ulterior settlement between the kingdoms; for under his auspices, an address had been voted, requesting his majesty to take such measures as might ‘establish, by mutual consent, the ‘connexion between this kingdom and Ireland upon a solid and permanent ‘basis.’ No measures of that kind, however, had since been adopted. The two countries were left with separate and independent legislatures, connected only by the identity of the executive government; and that was not a sufficient tie to unite them in time of peace, to consolidate their strength in time of war, to give to Ireland her full share of commercial and political advantages, or to both nations that due degree of strength and prosperity to which they were entitled. On this head he referred to the opinion of Mr. Foster, who was chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland at the time when the commercial propositions were brought forward. That minister then said, “Things cannot remain as they are. Commercial jealousy is roused; it will increase with two independent legislatures; and, without an united interest in commerce, in a commercial empire, political union will receive many shocks, and separation of interest must threaten separation of connexion; which every honest Irishman must shudder to look at, as a possible event.”

Mr. Pitt added, that the evils apprehended by Mr. Foster could only be remedied

mediated by two means: either by a commercial compact, similar to that which was rejected in 1785, or by an union of the two legislatures. He insisted upon the peculiar importance of drawing out the whole strength of the empire, and thus ensuring its safety at that critical moment. The people of Ireland were proud, he believed, of being associated in the great contest, and must feel the advantage of augmenting the general force of the empire. Every statesman, every writer of any information on the subject has holden, that the measure most likely to augment the power of the British empire, was the Union and consolidation of every part of it.

Great Britain had always felt a common interest in the safety of Ireland; but that interest was never so obvious and urgent as when the common enemy made her attack upon Britain through the medium of Ireland, and when the attack upon Ireland tended to deprive her of her connexion with Britain, and to substitute in lieu of it the new government of the French republic. When that danger threatened Ireland, the purse of Great Britain was open for the wants of Ireland, as for the necessities of England.

Mr. Pitt remarked, that he well knew, that as long as Ireland was separated from Great Britain, any attempt on our part to pursue measures which we might think salutary, with respect to questions of contending sects or parties, the claimed rights of the Catholics, or the precautions necessary for the security of the Protestants, must certainly be a violation of the independence of that kingdom, and an usurpation of the right of deciding points, which could only be brought within our province by compact. He could not be inattentive to the events, that were passing before him, and he affirmed, that whoever considered the French as shewing by their conduct, that they deemed Ireland the weakest and most vulnerable part of the empire; whoever reflected on the dreadful and inexcusable cruelties instigated by the enemies of both countries, and on those lamentable severities, with which the exertions for the defence of Ireland were unhappily, but unavoidably, attended, and the necessity of which was itself one great aggravation of the crimes and treasons which led to them, must feel that, as it then stood composed, in the hostile division of its sects, in the animosities existing between ancient settlers and original inhabitants, in the ignorance and want of civilisation, which marked that country more than almost any other country in Europe, in the unfortunate prevalence of Jacobin principles, arising from these causes, and augmenting their malignity, and which had produced the distressed state that all now deplored; must agree in

thinking, that there was no cure but in the formation of a general imperial legislature, free alike from terror and from resentment, removed from the danger and agitation, uninfluenced by the prejudices, and uninflamed by the passions of that distracted country.

Among the great and known defects of Ireland, one of the most prominent features was its want of industry and of capital. How were those wants to be supplied, but by blending more closely with Ireland the industry and the capital of Great Britain? But, above all, in the great religious distinctions between the people of Ireland, what was their situation? The Protestant feels that the claims of the Catholics threaten the existence of the Protestant ascendancy, while, on the other hand, the great body of Catholics feel the establishment of the national church, and their exclusion from the exercise of certain rights and privileges, as grievances. In this state of affairs, it becomes a matter of difficulty in the minds of many persons, whether it would be better to attend to the fears of the former, or to grant the claims of the latter.

He was well aware, that the subject of religious distinction was a dangerous and delicate topic, especially when applied to such a country as Ireland. Where the established religion of the state was the same as the general religion of the empire, and where the property of the country was in the hands of a comparatively small number of persons professing that religion, while the religion of a great majority of the people was different, it was not easy to say, on general principles, what system of church establishment in such a country would be free from difficulty and inconvenience. By many, it would be contended, that the religion professed by a majority of the people would at least be entitled to an equality of privileges; but those who applied such an argument without qualification to the case of Ireland, surely forgot the principles, on which English interest and English connexion had been established in that country, and on which its present legislature was formed. No man could say, that, in the present state of things, and while Ireland remained a separate kingdom, full concessions could be made to the Catholics, without endangering the state, and shaking the constitution of Ireland to its centre. On the other hand, when the conduct of the Catholics should be such as to make it safe for the government to admit them to the participation of the privileges granted to those of the established religion, and when the temper of the times should be favorable to such a measure, it was obvious, that this question might be agitated in an united imperial parliament with much greater

greater safety than it could be in a separate legislature. He also thought it certain that, even for whatever period it may be thought necessary, after the union, to withhold from the Catholics the enjoyment of those advantages, many of the objections which at present arose out of their situation would be removed, if the protestant legislature were no longer separate and local, but general and imperial; and the Catholics themselves would at once feel a mitigation of the most goading and irritating of their present causes of complaint.

He enumerated the general advantages, which Ireland would derive from the effects of the proposed arrangement; the protection which she would secure to herself in the hour of danger; the most effectual means of increasing her commerce and improving her agriculture, the command of English capital, the infusion of English manners and English industry, necessarily tending to meliorate her condition, to accelerate the progress of internal civilisation, and to terminate those feuds and dissensions, which distracted the country, and which she did not possess within herself the power either to control or to extinguish. She would see the avenue to honors, to distinctions, and exalted situations in the general feat of empire, opened to all those, whose abilities and talents enabled them to indulge an honorable and laudable ambition.

From the question of general advantage the minister proceeded to specific statements of the benefits, which Ireland might derive from the plan, in point of commerce and manufactures.

Having thus assigned his reasons for recommending an incorporate Union, Mr. Pitt noticed some objections which had been urged against it, particularly those which related to parliamentary competency, and to the loss of the independence of the realm of Ireland.

The minister spoke much at large upon the nature of civil power, because he felt, that the false and dangerous mockery of the sovereignty of the people was one of the chief elements of jacobinism, one of the favorite impostures calculated to mislead the understanding, and to flatter and inflame the passions of the mass of mankind, who had not the opportunity of examining and exposing it; and that as such, on every occasion, and in every shape in which it appeared, it ought to be combated and resisted by every friend to civil order, and to the peace and happiness of mankind. He next addressed some observations to those politicians, who deprecated the loss of national independence.

In combating this general and abstract principle, which would operate as an
objection

objection to every Union between separate states, on the ground of the sacrifice of independence, he did not contend that there was in no case just ground for such a sentiment! Far from it: it might become, on many occasions, the first duty of a free and generous people. If there existed a country, which contained within itself the means of military protection and naval force necessary for its defence; which furnished objects of industry sufficient for the subsistence of its inhabitants, and pecuniary resources adequate to a dignified maintenance of the rank, which it had attained among the nations of the world; if, above all, it enjoyed the blessings of internal content and tranquillity, and possessed a distinct constitution of its own, the defects of which, if any, it was within itself capable of correcting; if that constitution were equal if not superior, to any other in the world; or (which was nearly the same thing) if those, who lived under it believed it to be so, and fondly cherished that opinion; he could easily conceive that such a country must be jealous of any measure, which, even by its own consent, under the authority of its own lawful government, was to associate it as a part of a larger and more extensive empire.

But if there were a country, which against the greatest of all dangers that threatened its peace and security, had not adequate means of protecting itself without the aid of another nation; if that other were a neighbouring and kindred nation, speaking the same language, whose laws and customs were the same in principle, but were carried to a greater degree of perfection, with a more extensive commerce, and more abundant means of acquiring and diffusing national wealth; the stability of whose government, and the excellence of whose constitution, were more than ever the admiration and envy of Europe, and to which the very country of which they were speaking could only boast an imperfect resemblance; under such circumstances, what conduct would be prescribed by every rational principle of dignity, of honor, or of interest? He asked whether that were not a faithful description of the circumstances, which ought to dispose Ireland to an Union, and whether Great Britain were not precisely the nation, with which on those principles, a country, situated as Ireland was, would desire to unite. Did an Union, under such circumstances, by free consent, and on just and equal terms, deserve to be branded as a proposal for subjecting Ireland to a foreign yoke? Was it not rather the free and voluntary association of two great countries, which joined for their common benefit in one empire, where each would retain its proportional

proportional weight and importance, under the security of equal laws, reciprocal affection, and inseparable interests; and which wanted nothing but that indissoluble connexion to render both invincible?

———*Nec Teucris Italos parere jubebo,
Nec nova regna peto: paribus se legibus ambæ
Invidiæ gentes æterna in fœdera mittant.*

The objection drawn from the injury, which Ireland might suffer by the absence of her chief nobility and gentry, who would flock to the Imperial metropolis, was obviated by remarking, that, though this effect would take place during a part of the year, the disadvantage would be more than counterbalanced by the operation of the system in other respects. To prove the assertion, Mr. Pitt entered into a very close chain of reasoning from presumption, analogy, and experience as to Scotland.

As the adversaries of the Union had propagated an idea, that the main principle of the measure was to subject Ireland to a load of debt and an increase of taxes, he again looked to Scotland. Was there any instance where, with forty-five members on her part, and five hundred and thirteen on ours, that part of the United kingdom had paid more than its due proportion to the general burthens? Could it then be apprehended that we should tax Ireland more heavily when she became associated with ourselves? To tax in its due proportion the whole of the empire, to the utter exclusion of the idea of the predominance of one part of society over another, was the great characteristic of British finance, as equality of laws was of the British constitution.

When they should come to the details of that proposition, it would be in their power to fix, for any number of years that should be thought fit, the proportion, by which the contribution of Ireland to the expences of the state should be regulated, and to determine that these proportions should not be such as would make a contribution greater, than the amount of its present necessary expences, as a separate kingdom. Even after that limited period, the proportion of the whole contribution, from time to time, might be made to depend on the comparative produce in each country, of such general taxes as might be thought to afford the best criterion of wealth; or the system of internal taxation might gradually be so equalised and assimilated, on the leading articles, as to make all rules of specific proportion unnecessary, and to secure Ireland from being ever taxed but in proportion as we should tax ourselves.

The application of these principles would form matter of future discussion;

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he mentioned them only as strongly shewing, from the misrepresentation, which had taken place on that part of the subject, how incumbent it was upon the house to receive these propositions, and to adopt, after due deliberation, such resolutions as might record to Ireland the terms, upon which we were ready to meet her. And in the mean time wait, not without impatience, but without dissatisfaction, for that moment, when the effect of reason and discussion would reconcile the minds of men in that kingdom to a measure, which he was sure would be found as necessary for their peace and happiness, as it would be conducive to the general security and advantage of the British empire.

Mr. Pitt then presented to the house eight resolutions, which he had prepared, embracing the general plan of the Union.

“ I. In order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain
“ and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the
“ British empire, it will be adviseable to concur in such measures as may best
“ tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one
“ kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions, as may be
“ established by acts of the respective parliaments of his majesty’s said king-
“ doms.

“ II. It would be fit to propose as the first article, to serve as a basis of the
“ said Union, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, on a
“ day to be agreed upon, be united into one kingdom, by the name of the
“ United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

“ III. For the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the succession
“ to the monarchy and the imperial crown of the said united kingdom, shall
“ continue limited and settled, in the same manner as the imperial crown of
“ the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and
“ settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of the Union be-
“ tween England and Scotland.

“ IV. For the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the said united
“ kingdom be represented in one and the same parliament, to be stiled the
“ Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and
“ that such a number of lords spiritual and temporal, and such a number of
“ members of the House of Commons, as shall be hereafter agreed upon
“ by acts of the respective parliaments as aforesaid, shall sit and vote in the
“ said parliament on the part of Ireland, and shall be summoned, chosen,
“ and

“ and returned, in such manner as shall be fixed by an act of the parliament
 “ of Ireland previous to the said Union ; and that every member hereafter to
 “ sit and vote in the said parliament of the united kingdom shall, until the
 “ said parliament shall otherwise provide, take, and subscribe the said oaths,
 “ and make the same declarations, as are by law required to be taken, sub-
 “ scribed, and made, by the members of the parliaments of Great Britain
 “ and Ireland.

“ V. For the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the churches
 “ of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and go-
 “ vernment thereof, shall be preserved as now by law established.

“ VI. For the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that his majesty’s
 “ subjects in Ireland shall at all times hereafter be entitled to the same privi-
 “ leges, and be on the same footing in respect of trade and navigation, in
 “ all ports and places belonging to Great Britain, and in all cases with re-
 “ spect to which treaties shall be made by his majesty, his heirs or successors,
 “ with any foreign power, as his majesty’s subjects in Great Britain ; that
 “ no duty shall be imposed on the import or export between Great Britain
 “ and Ireland of any articles now duty free ; and that on other articles there
 “ shall be established, for a time to be limited, such a moderate rate of equal
 “ duties as shall, previous to the Union, be agreed upon and approved by
 “ the respective parliaments, subject, after the expiration of such limited
 “ time, to be diminished equally with respect to both kingdoms, but in no
 “ case to be increased ; that all articles, which may at any time hereafter be
 “ imported into Great Britain from foreign parts, shall be importable through
 “ either kingdom into the other, subject to the like duties and regulations
 “ as if the same were imported directly from foreign parts ; that where any
 “ articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, are sub-
 “ ject to any internal duty in one kingdom, such countervailing duties (over
 “ and above any duties on import to be fixed as aforesaid) shall be imposed
 “ as shall be necessary to prevent any inequality in that respect ; and that all
 “ matters of trade and commerce other than the foregoing, and than such
 “ others as may before the Union be specially agreed upon for the due encou-
 “ ragement of the agriculture and manufactures of the respective kingdoms,
 “ shall remain to be regulated from time to time by the united parliament.

“ VII. For the like purpose it would be fit to propose, that the charge
 “ arising from the payment of the interest, or sinking fund for the reduction

“ of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union,
 “ shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland re-
 “ spectively ; that, for a number of years to be limited, the future ordinary
 “ expences of the united kingdom, in peace or war, shall be defrayed by
 “ Great Britain and Ireland jointly, according to such proportions as shall
 “ be established by the respective parliaments previous to the Union ; and
 “ that, after the expiration of the time to be so limited, the proportion shall
 “ not be liable to be varied, except according to such rates and principles as
 “ shall be in like manner agreed upon previous to the Union.

“ VIII. For the like purpose it would be fit to propose, that all laws in
 “ force at the time of the Union, and all the courts of civil or ecclesiastical
 “ jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law
 “ established within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations
 “ from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the
 “ united kingdom to require.”

Mr. Pitt at the same time moved an address to accompany the resolutions, stating, that the commons had proceeded with the utmost attention to the consideration of the important objects recommended in the royal message ; that they entertained a firm persuasion of the probable benefits of a *complete and entire* Union between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles ; and that they were therefore induced to lay before his majesty such propositions, as appeared to them to be best calculated to form the basis of such a settlement, leaving it to his wisdom, in due time and in a proper manner, to communicate them to the lords and commons of Ireland, with whom they would be at all times ready to concur in all such measures as might be found most conducive to the accomplishment of that great and salutary work.

Mr. Sheridan cautioned the house against the seductive force of the minister's oratory, which might mislead some into an assent or concurrence, that their cooler reason would condemn. He contended, that in the alarming state of Ireland, it was unsafe to drive a spirited nation into an experiment of so delicate and so important a nature. The fate of the question, when it was lately agitated in Ireland, might reasonably induce him to desist from the prosecution of the scheme ; but, as he had solemnly pledged himself for the exertion of his most strenuous efforts to produce an Union of the two kingdoms, it might be apprehended, that he would pursue his course in defiance
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of every obstacle, would make use of artifice to gain his point, flatter and delude the Irish, and, by seeming to respect their declared opinion, lull them into inactivity, the more completely to subjugate them to slavery. The House, Mr. Sheridan hoped, would not be so inconsiderate as to adopt a system, which would cherish animosity and discord, where affection ought to be conciliated, and harmony established, which would sow dissension between the commons and the peers of Ireland, irritate the whole parliament by holding it up to view as a feeble and inefficient body, duped by English factions, and array the British House of Commons against that of another realm governed by the same sovereign.

If the condition of Ireland were really as deplorable as it was stated to be, the house ought to be informed from what misconduct such evils had arisen, amidst the advantages which God and nature had bestowed upon her. It might be concluded, indeed, that her poverty was chiefly occasioned by the narrow unwise policy of Britain, a policy which, he was glad to find, the minister now disapproved. Her weakness, perhaps, was not so great as it was supposed to be; and, if it were, it was ungenerous to insult her. Such an insult would not have been offered to her while her volunteers were in arms. He reproved Mr. Canning for pleading the cause of bold and barefaced corruption, and thus clouding and contaminating with its foul fog and baneful breath the pure morning of his political life; and censured, as wanton and unnecessary, Mr. Pitt's pledge for the prosecution of his favorite measure. He animadverted on the conduct of the court in the dispute respecting the Catholics. A lord lieutenant had been sent to that kingdom to allay animosities, and gratify the great bulk of the nation. The cup of concession was presented to their lips, but, when they were on the point of tasting, it was dashed in their faces, and the new viceroy was recalled. Was that a proper prelude to an union?

In reply to the observations of Mr. Pitt on the adjustment of the year 1782, he maintained that it was intended to be final with regard to the constitution of Ireland; but he admitted that some regulations, chiefly commercial, were to have been proposed for the improvement of the connexion between the kingdoms.

The assertions respecting the number of Irish who wished for an Union were not well founded. A considerable majority of the peers, indeed, were inclined to promote it; but in the House of Commons the court had little reason to

boast of its success, as, notwithstanding the apparent plurality of votes for the measure, the far greater number of independent members were adverse to it, and out of parliament the approvers of it were very few. The inhabitants of Cork, it was said, were friendly to the scheme, and those of Limerick were likewise disposed to favor it; but had not the lure of a dock-yard been thrown out to the former, and a menace to the latter on the subject of the linen trade? Thus, while some were to be bribed, others were to be intimidated into compliance. The Catholics were among those, to whom favors were promised; but might not they be gratified without an Union? and might not every advantage, which was mentioned as the probable result of the scheme, be afforded without its adoption?

Mr. Sheridan recapitulated several of his former arguments, and concluded with reading two resolutions, to which, he thought, no true friend of either country would object. They were couched in these terms: "that no measures can have a tendency to improve and perpetuate the ties of amity and connexion now existing between Great Britain and Ireland, which have not for their basis the manifest, fair, and free consent and approbation of the parliaments of the two countries;" and "that whoever shall endeavour to obtain the appearance of such consent and approbation in either country, by employing the influence of government for the purpose of corruption or of intimidation, is an enemy to his majesty and to the constitution."

Lord Hawkesbury animadverted on the charge of intimidation, affirming it to be inapplicable to the proceedings of the ministry in the present case; denied that any corruption had been practised; and represented the dismissal of Anti-Unionists from office as a proof of the sincerity of the premier in the prosecution of an important measure. He controverted the finality of the adjustment of 1782, and declared his conviction, that the radical evils of the existing government in Ireland could not be completely removed without an Union. It would allay the jealousies of the Catholics and the Protestants, promote in every respect the prosperity of Ireland, and add to the strength and respectability of the whole empire.

Dr. Laurence conjured the house to relinquish a discussion, which might be productive of serious mischief, while so high a degree of irritation pervaded the public mind in Ireland. The measure, he said, was not necessary at the present moment, even if it promised to be more beneficial than he had reason to think that it would be. The settlement of 1782, according to the
opinion

opinion of Mr. Burke, was to every constitutional purpose final and conclusive, though the mercantile concerns of the two countries might require some further arrangements.

The house then divided upon the question for the speaker's leaving the chair, when the ayes were 140, the noes 15.

The confident assurance of the minister in final success encouraged him to the prosecution of this great design. Having allowed the interval of a week for the consideration of the resolutions he had submitted to the house, on the 7th of February he proposed a full discussion of the subject in a committee of the whole house, but before it was formed, he consented to dispose of Mr. Sheridan's motions respecting the fair and free consent of both parliaments.

Mr. Sheridan then renewed his opposition to the scheme. Since the last meeting, he said, many gentlemen had been induced to alter their opinions, and to agree with him on the impropriety and the danger of persisting in a measure, which was highly obnoxious to the people of Ireland; and as the house had not pledged itself to the support of it, it was not too late to check the rashness of its zealous advocates. The minister might wish to pursue it against the sense of a nation; but the house ought to be so far guided by prudence and judgment as to disregard all his persuasions, and rescue the empire from the peril, in which he would involve it. It was curious to observe the coincidence of the minister's views and declarations, in several instances, with those of a party, to which he was not generally suspected of being attached. He agreed with the United Irishmen, in wishing to destroy the obnoxious constitution of Ireland. *They* alleged, that the parliament of that kingdom had occasioned all the evils, which afflicted the country: *he* adduced a similar charge against that body. *They* represented the Irish legislators as being the dupes of British faction: *he* imputed all the errors of the government, all the distractions and misfortunes of Ireland to the same source, to the sway of a party, at the head of which was his friend the Duke of Portland, and to which another of his present associates (Mr. Wyndham) belonged. Both were ready to exclaim, *Delenda est Carthago*, though they differed in the mode of destruction; as the United Irishmen wished to depose their parliament, and establish a republic with foreign aid, while the premier wished to merge the delinquent legislature in that of Great Britain. In the pursuit of their aims, those mal-contents had recourse to menace and intimidation: he did not scruple to adopt means equally improper. He recommended the adoption
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of a plan of honest incorrupt administration, as a remedy which had not yet been tried; and the present conjuncture was particularly favorable for the experiment.

Mr. Pitt protested against the resolutions. One, which was self-evident, it was not necessary for the house to record, and there was still less reason to entertain it, as it appeared to contain practical falsehood under the form of literal truth; for it implied, that the measure was to be carried into effect without the fair and free consent of parliament. The second proposition tended to stigmatize every minister, whose persuasions should procure the dismissal of officers of the crown on account of a difference of sentiment upon any great political question. That practice arose out of the very nature of regular government, and was necessary for the public service.

Mr. Grey contended for the propriety of recording the propositions of his friend on the Journals of the house; they would serve as pledges, he said, for the honorable intentions of the British government, and allay the jealousy of the Irish nation.

On a division upon the previous question, the numbers were 25 against and 141 for it.

The committee was on the point of being formed for the discussion of Mr. Pitt's propositions, when

The honorable Mr. Saint John conjured the house to dismiss the question for the present, as the agitation of it might be productive of mischievous consequences.

Mr. Grey considered the question as the most momentous, that had ever been submitted to the deliberation of parliament, either in point of constitutional right or of public policy; but as one of the parties whose consent was necessary had declared against it, he recommended a suspension of the scheme. He was earnestly desirous of the prevalence of the most cordial harmony, of the establishment of an effective Union, not an Union of parliaments, but of hearts, of affections, and interests; of vigor, of ardor, of zeal for the general welfare. The scheme then offered seemed to be of a very different tendency. It threatened discontent, jealousy, and distrust.

The evils in question might be imputed to the misconduct of government rather than to the separation of the parliaments; and for these the prime minister was responsible, unless he should be able to prove, that obnoxious measures had been forced upon him by the sturdy dispositions of the Irish members.

bers. Who had fostered the religious dissensions and political feuds, which distracted the nation? Who had raised hopes, and disappointed those hopes? Who had excited alarms, and created discontent? The prospect of additional favours to the Catholics had given pleasure to liberal men of all denominations; but a party, not distinguished by talents or by real dignity, fomented animosity and intolerance, and procured by intrigue a dereliction of the system of concession. From that moment affairs wore a gloomy aspect; and the consequences were violent and disastrous.

Mr. Secretary Dundas (now Lord Melville) observed, that the measure, far from operating injuriously on Ireland, would increase the political and commercial advantages of that country in the same proportion as those of Scotland had been improved by the Union. That 'a spirit of clamor and dissension, of treachery and treason,' menacing the overthrow of the government, existed in Ireland, no one, he thought, would have the boldness to deny; and, as the influence of widely-extended conspiracies endangered the connexion between the countries, an immediate interference was necessary to rescue the western realm from the intrigues of the common enemy. For a due regulation of the affairs of any community, a mutual confidence ought to subsist between the governors and the governed; but that was not the case in Ireland, where the great body of the people did not repose in the parliament that confidence, which was essential to its utility. The reasons of that defect grew out of the frame and constitution of that parliament. The whole power of that country being vested in a fourth part of the nation, and that fourth being separated from the rest by religious distinctions, heightened and envenomed by ancient and hereditary animosities: it was impossible that a proper confidence could exist between them. For the establishment of such a confidence, the grant of a free participation of all the privileges of Britons by the superintending care of an imperial parliament, would be the most efficacious measure. The Protestants would then lay aside their jealousies and distrust, being certain that against any attempt to endanger their establishment the whole strength of the united legislature would be exerted; and, on the other hand, the Catholics would expect that their cause would be candidly and impartially considered by a general parliament, the great body of which would be relieved from the apprehensions and animosities interwoven with the constitution of the existing legislature.

Mr. Dundas spoke largely of the Scottish Union, and referred to a letter of
Queen

Queen Anne to the northern parliament, predicting the various blessings, with respect to religion, liberty, and property, which would result from the scheme of incorporation, and he said, that not one syllable of her predictions had failed.

Two estates of the Irish parliament, the king and the peers, had 'pointedly' expressed their desire, that the subject should be entertained and considered; while 'only a very narrow majority' in the House of Commons had embraced the contrary opinion. It could not therefore be said, that the affair was so far decided as to render it unnecessary or improper to submit it again to the notice of the Irish nation. He could not help auguring well to the final success of the measure, as essential to the happiness of Ireland, when he contemplated the clamor and violence, by which the consideration of it had been resisted. These are not the weapons, by which truth and solid reasoning maintain their empire over the hearts and understandings of men. Cool consideration and sober reasoning were the arms by which the cause of truth was supported; and he had no doubt that these weapons, properly used, would ultimately succeed against clamor and prejudice. Thus the system of excise, once highly unpopular, was at length relinshed and approved of; and the union with Scotland, odious at first, became at last a popular measure.

Mr. Dundas expressed his wish, that the Irish would dispassionately re-consider the proposal; and he was confident, that they would find it the best remedy for the disorders of their country, their strongest bulwark and their greatest blessing. He concluded a very long and not altogether uninteresting harangue with a strong hint, of the probability of future indulgence being granted by an Imperial Parliament to the Catholics of both countries, and a sketch of the bitter effects of French fraternity, which, he hoped, no Irishman would prefer to British liberty.

Mr. Sheridan replied to some of the arguments of Mr. Dundas with a mixture of reasoning and raillery, and still urged the impolicy of persisting in a measure, to which the Irish did not give a free assent.

Mr. Windham observed, that it had been insinuated that the Union was a measure calculated for the exclusive advantage of Great Britain at the expence of Ireland; but the reverse seemed to him to be the case. The disorders of that kingdom might be ascribed to various causes; they chiefly grew out of the nature of its constitution. That like a body distorted and mis-shapen, gave rise to various diseases, some chronical, and some acute, which, as they were inherent in its frame, no medicine could eradicate. The deformity of that
consti-

constitution was its coercive form ; it was like a garrison in the midst of a conquered town : it was a mere provisional government, deriving its existence, form, and power, from another state. Much of the misery of Ireland also arose from the barbarous ignorance of its people, who had been rendered ferocious by the animosities which existed among them. That ferocity had given occasion to new restraints on the part of the government, which redoubled the fury of the people. The constitution, therefore, and the gross ignorance which it encouraged, were the remote causes of the distractions of Ireland ; but the proximate cause was undoubtedly the inoculation of French principles, which could never enter into the blood without producing death. Unfortunately the contamination had reached Ireland, and to its baneful influence might be attributed the late horrible disorders of that kingdom.

Mr. Tierney was surprised that ministers should have proposed an Union to this parliament without having been previously assured of the consent of the Irish legislature ; but he was still more astonished and even alarmed at their present perseverance, after the strong disapprobation of the measure in Ireland. The Catholics perhaps might profit by the measure ; but their expectations had not a very firm basis. Industry might be more prevalent, wealth might increase, and good morals might become more general ; but these points might be gained without an Union. He was among those who doubted the competency of the Hibernian parliament on this occasion : as a delegated body could not be justified in surrendering the trust reposed in it by the people.

Mr. Grant* spoke to three points. The first had reference to the assent of the Irish parliament, which Mr. Sheridan had hinted might be enforced by military terrors : he denied that there was any ground for supposing that the deliberations of the Irish legislature were or would be influenced or governed by force. If the army should overawe the members, he allowed that a free assent could not be given ; but it did not appear that the presence of the troops in the country had any effect on the freedom of deliberation. The Irish did not seem to be under the least restraint in the delivery or propagation of their opinions. The second topic was the competence of parliament. This body, he said, was morally incompetent to do any thing improper or unjust ; but it was legally competent to do any thing whatever. The third point was, whether it were proper to discuss the measure after the late proceedings in Ireland.

* Now Sir William Grant, master of the rolls.

He contended that the refusal of taking the subject into consideration in the House of Commons of that realm ought to operate as an additional reason for stating the terms, that the offer might not be finally rejected before the true nature of the scheme should be known to the public.

Mr. William Smith spoke shortly against the prosecution of the plan. The question for the Speaker's leaving the chair was carried by 149 against 24, who opposed it. A committee of the whole house was immediately formed, and the resolutions were moved and carried.

On the 11th of February, the minister having moved the order of the day for the house going into a committee for the further consideration of his Majesty's message,

Mr. Sheridan recommended a substitute for legislative union. He was of opinion, that the abolition of all disabilities, which had been incurred in civil affairs by religious distinctions, would tend more to the improvement of the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland than the measure brought forward. He had the authority of the premier himself for the expediency of emancipating the Catholics of Ireland from the incapacities, to which they were subjected. Such was the opinion of the leaders of the cabinet in the year 1795; and, though Earl Fitzwilliam were not then desired or permitted to propose the emancipation, he is allowed to have been expressly authorized to give it "*a handsome support on the part of government.*" But a change of sentiment soon occurred; and the consequences of that change were deeply to be lamented.

Having censured the impolicy of neglecting that great object, and of recalling a viceroy, who was the avowed advocate of the Catholics, Mr. Sheridan contended that his proposal would remedy much of the evil and misery, which existed in Ireland, by extinguishing religious feuds, and promoting an union of interests; that no danger would attend the adoption of it, as all fears of the prevalence of popery were groundless; and that it would increase the strength of both countries, without injuring the constitution of either. He then moved, that it should be an instruction to the committee to consider 'how far it would be consistent with justice and policy, and conducive to the general interests, and especially to the consolidation of the strength of the British empire, were all civil incapacities on account of religious distinctions to be done away throughout his majesty's dominions.'

Mr. Pitt objected to what he called a very extraordinary proposition. He was

was surpris'd that one, who profess'd himself a warm friend to the independence of the Irish parliament, should propose what would be an obvious encroachment on that independence, an act of dictation and control. The motion itself, and the declarations of the mover, were, he said, inconsistent with each other. He denied that the rebellious disturbances in Ireland originated in any degree from the refusal of granting emancipation to the Catholics, or that Earl Fitzwilliam was authoris'd to hold out any hopes or make any promises which were afterwards withdrawn or retracted.

The motion was now reject'd without a division; and a fresh debate arose, when Mr. Pitt moved that the Speaker should leave the chair.

Lieutenant-general Fitzpatrick, who had acted as secretary to the viceroy of Ireland (the Duke of Portland), asserted, from his own knowledge of the views of the cabinet in 1782, the constitutional finality of the compact which was then adjust'd, and completed in the following year. An incorporative union, from its tendency to a subversion of that settlement, deserv'd in his opinion the severest censure. What security would the Irish have for the continuance of any promis'd advantages? How would a minority be able to enforce the execution of the terms? In every case of rivalry British superiority would overwhelm the interests of Ireland.

The honorable Mr. Dudley Ryder warmly defend'd the Union. Instead of violating or subverting the independence conced'd in 1782, it was in itself a strong recognition of that claim; and Ireland, after an Union, would be as independent as Great Britain. The apprehensions of a subsequent inattention to the interests of Ireland were also ill founded, as all rivalry would be lost in community of interest and mutuality of benefit.

Mr. Tierney, to prove that the settlement in question was understood to be final, refer'd to an address (voted on the 28th of May, 1782), in which the Irish House of Commons assur'd his Majesty, that 'no constitutional questions between the two nations would any longer exist, which could interrupt their harmony.'

Mr. Dundas allow'd that the independence of the Irish parliament had been completely acknowledg'd in 1782, but deny'd that this agreement could preclude its free assent to any future measure whatever, and affirm'd that it was the intention of government at that time to propose new arrangements.

The Solicitor General (Sir John Mitford*), speaking of the adjustment, ob-

* Now Lord Redesdale, chancellor of Ireland.

served, that, from the nature of the transaction, it could not be complete or final, and that the expectations of ulterior arrangement were general at the time.

The honorable Mr. Percival* concurred with the gentlemen who denied the finality of the adjustment of 1782; he represented the Union as a beneficial scheme; and exhorted the house to adopt the resolutions, that its sentiments might be recorded and fully known.

Mr. Sylvester Douglas† observed, that his opinion of the competency of the parliament of Ireland to adopt an Union, was confirmed by the opinions of the chiefs of the four great tribunals in Ireland.‡ Very few of the anti-unionists themselves ventured to dispute the point.

Dr.

* Now solicitor-general. This gentleman spoke more fully and explicitly than any other gentleman in debate upon the case of Mr. A. O'Connor's trial at Maidstone, and the nature and tendency of the evidence given by several gentlemen of the Opposition (particularly Mr. Sheridan) in his favor. He particularly animadverted upon Mr. Sheridan's assertion, that with what he then knew, he should, if he were again called upon to give evidence to the character of the person in whose favor he appeared, hold the same language which he did at Maidstone, and express himself still more strongly in his favor, viz. "That Arthur O'Connor was one of the most open of mankind, and one who was least inclined to have recourse to French assistance!" Such was the character which the honorable gentleman gave of that man upon his oath. If he reflected, he would surely admit that it was an unguarded manner of giving the character of a man guilty of the most atrocious treasons; and the honorable gentleman was reduced to the dilemma of either admitting that he had been grossly mistaken in the character of O'Connor, as the most open of mankind, or that he did not state the whole of what he knew upon oath.

† Now a peer of Ireland by the title of Lord Glenbervie.

‡ These were, the Earl of Clare, Chancellor; Lord Kilwarden, Chief Justice of the King's Bench; Lord Carlton, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and Lord Chief Baron Yelverton: who, he asserted, in preparing the bill for Legislative Independence in 1782, made no scruple to declare, that it was in his views and his wishes, that the transactions of that day should lead to the happy measure of an Union. To those opinions the honorable gentleman contrasted some of the United Irishmen's sentiments upon the same subject (8 Parl. Reg. 37); that fraternity had from its first institution, in 1791, been alarmed at the idea, that an Union between the two kingdoms might defeat their projects. In 1795, at a meeting in Dublin, where those persons, and others of the same sort, had defamed the character of the Irish Catholics by assuming that description, when many of them were, in truth, Atheists, and of no religious persuasion, the apprehension of an Union being then strong in their minds, Mr. Lewins declared his opinion of the incompetency of the parliament to such a measure, in the following terms: "*Who shall dare to assert that the Parliament of Ireland can do this? No man but an enemy to both countries; a traitor to the King and the People.*"

And

Dr. Laurence urged against the proposal for an Union, that the people of Ireland were fond of their parliament; and their parliament was not, as it had been represented, torn by factions; the Opposition of it had done all that could be done for their country; they were, indeed, low in numbers, but not in estimation. When a lord-lieutenant had been recalled because he had given his confidence to them, if in consequence of it, and of being perpetually kept out of power, Mr. Grattan took up some question in a light which he did not approve; it was only such conduct as no man not more than mortal could help adopting. Since that time he had been made the subject of much misrepresentation, when his only fault was that of sudden retirement from the senate. He then went at considerable length into most of the points connected with the subject.

On the division of the house for the speaker's leaving the chair 131 voted for it, and 19 against it. The house then resolved itself into a committee *pro forma*, and then adjourned.

When Mr. Douglas had taken the chair, on the 12th of February, Mr. Hobhouse suggested the propriety of abandoning all further proceedings for the present, as not only the parliament, but the whole people of Ireland appeared to be decidedly against the measure of any Union at all. And Mr. Banks grounded his objections to an union upon the disordered state of Ireland, which rendered it not only inexpedient but unsafe to coalesce with her. An union, he said, would not remedy her evils; but her own parliament might gradually redress her grievances. That legislature ought to retrace some of its steps, and, drawing a line between the disaffected and the loyal Catholics, re-enact restrictive laws against the former, while the latter should be admitted to all the privileges now enjoyed by the Protestants. British intrigue and faction ought also to be studiously checked in Ireland, as they had been productive of much evil. The proposed incorporation, he thought, would not tend to tranquillize that country.

The speaker of the house (Mr. Addington*) viewed the subject very differently from Mr. Banks. He was convinced, from the situation of Ire-

And Dr. M'Nevin expressed himself thus: "Parliament is incompetent to such an act of national suicide. Can the creature of the people, with parricidal arm, destroy the author of its existence? The attempt would be high treason against the nation, and put it out of the protection of society." These opinions were quoted from "The authentic Statement of the Proceedings of a Meeting held in Francis-street Chapel, 9th April, 1795."

* Now first commissioner of the Treasury and chancellor of the Exchequer.

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land at that moment, not merely of the expediency, but of the urgent necessity of an union. Though the parliament of that kingdom might of itself redress some grievances and remove some causes of irritation, there were radical and inherent evils closely interwoven with the state and condition of Ireland, and with the temper, the feelings, and the prejudices of the people, for which nothing but an incorporation of the two legislatures could provide a remedy. The state of Ireland, he said, had at no period of its history been such as to afford satisfaction to any mind that could justly appreciate the blessings of a well-ordered, a flourishing, and a happy condition of civil society. The bounty of Providence had, indeed, been displayed in that country by a fertile soil, and by abundant means of internal improvement and prosperity. Its inhabitants were not less distinguished than those of Great Britain, in corresponding stations of life, for eloquence, for literary and scientific attainments, and for those talents and exertions, which had established the naval and military renown of the British empire. Their form of government was the same as our own; but it wanted its true characteristics; it did not, like ours, bestow and receive general confidence and protection; for it was not connected by ties, which he trusted were here indissoluble, with the obvious interests, the feelings and the sentiments of the great body of the people.

He was not one of those, who were unwilling to remove the real grounds of complaint against the Protestant ascendancy; but he was strongly disinclined to a scheme, which might expose that establishment to immediate and perhaps inevitable danger. Indeed, the only measure which promised to secure the Protestants, and at the same time to favor the Catholics in a reasonable degree, was that of a legislative union. His opinion on this subject was 'sanctioned by great and respectable authorities,'—by Sir Matthew Decker, Sir William Petty, Sir Josiah Child—by Molyneux, the friend of Locke—and by many distinguished men of the present time. With the sentiments of these friends of an union he would contrast those, which were professed by Dr. Mac Nevin and the united Irishmen, whose decided repugnance to a measure that tended to the frustration of their traitorous projects served to demonstrate its necessity. That it was calculated to avert much probable evil from both countries, and to produce positive and substantial advantages to both, he could affirm without hesitation.

No consideration so forcibly impelled him to wish for an union, as his conviction

conviction of the beneficial consequences, which would result from it to the internal situation of Ireland. He had no doubt of its leading to the removal of a principal ground of animosity, by precluding that species of contest which had hitherto subsisted for political authority and power; and, among the lower orders of society, he was confident that its salutary effects would be found in that change of manners, the result of habitual industry, which would be produced by the transfer of capital from Great Britain to Ireland.

It had been said, that the measure would not produce any immediate advantage to the Catholics of Ireland; but to this assertion he could not accede. The elective franchise, bestowed on them in 1793, could hardly be considered as a boon; for the very right, with the limitation annexed to it, could not in general be exercised without some degree of violence to their opinions and their feelings, and could only be used for the purpose of contributing to form a house of commons, the whole body of which they conceived to be adverse to their interests. But the same franchise, when employed in contributing to form the representation in an united parliament, would be accompanied with the satisfactory reflexion, that the individual in whose behalf it was exercised would be mixed with those, a majority of whom were uninfluenced by the prejudices, which had been imputed to the parliament and the great body of the Protestants of Ireland.

He did not deem it necessary to offer an opinion respecting the expediency of extending to the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, in the event of an union, a more ample participation of the rights and privileges of Protestant subjects; but he quoted a passage from one of the speeches of Dr. Duigenan, importing, that an union would render it unnecessary to curb the Catholics by any exclusive law.

He strongly maintained the competency of the Irish parliament to adopt the measure, and reprobated the attempts to preclude the discussion of the subject, by the denomination of a final adjustment, which had been bestowed on the proceedings of the year 1782.

Of danger to the commercial interests of this country he entertained no serious apprehension. It was not true, that Britain would necessarily lose what Ireland would gain. He knew, besides, the liberality and the good sense of the merchants and manufacturers of this country.

After a dispassionate consideration of the subject, he was of opinion, that greater advantages were now offered to Ireland than had ever been afforded
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by any single measure to any country; that the Union would greatly augment the national resources, and place upon a rock which would be impregnable, as far as that term could be applied to any human establishment, the strength and security of the British empire. His ideas and hopes even extended farther, as he was fully persuaded, that whatever tended to consolidate and maintain the power and the independence of these kingdoms was of signal importance to the best and most valuable interests of mankind.

The five first resolutions were then read by the chairman and agreed to without objection. The sixth, which went to grant equal free trade to Ireland, called up Mr. Wilberforce Bird, who considered it as requiring particular deliberation, from the effect, which it might have on some important branches of manufacture carried on in this kingdom, and requested that it might not be precipitately sanctioned. Mr. Pitt thought it a matter of indifference to the general welfare, in what part of the empire a particular manufacture should be carried on, provided it were in a place, where it was most likely to flourish.

The remaining resolutions were carried: and, on the 14th, upon the question for bringing up the report,

Mr. Hobhouse stated his reasons very fully for opposing the measure. First, it was obnoxious to a great majority of the people of Ireland. Next, he doubted the competency of the Irish parliament to its adoption. Then he urged, that a resident legislature would be better qualified than a remote parliament to remove the internal evils of the country. And lastly, the Irish members of the imperial parliament, sensible of their inferiority in point of number and interest, would servilely court the favor of the minister, and that accession would tend to destroy the fair balance of the English constitution.

Lord Granville Leveson Gower declared himself a cordial friend to an union, which he considered as necessary for the safety and welfare of both countries.

Mr. Robert Peel, who, in the year 1785, had appeared at the bar as a petitioner against the commercial propositions, declared that the support which he now gave to the scheme of incorporation arose from a change of circumstances rather than of sentiments, as the former plan, in offering extraordinary advantages to an inferior state, which had in some measure a diversity of interest, was much less expedient than one, which would promote a community of interest by a completeness of union.

Affirming

Affirming that both kingdoms would derive additional strength and security from union, he attributed the greater share of benefit to Ireland. He stated the case of two commercial houses; one being of the first respectability, having an immense capital, and extending its concerns to every part of the globe; the other in a comparatively low situation, with little property, limited credit, and confined connexions. A proposal being made by the former to take the latter into partnership on equal terms, it might be supposed that the offer would be eagerly accepted; and, each party losing its distinct firm, the two houses would then become one.

Lord Temple regarded an union as pregnant with various advantages, one of which gave him particular gratification: which was, its anti-jacobin tendency.

By union Ireland would exchange her nominal independence, under which she had suffered the most calamitous misfortunes, for substantial benefits and permanent security.

Mr. Jones opposed the Union, and warned the minister of the danger of introducing 100 Irish members into the British House of Commons, to add to his muzzled majority. The day of their appearance might be rued as fatal to the independence and happiness of both countries.

Lord Morpeth bestowed high praise on the measure, both in point of policy and of benevolence; and, considering it as the only scheme, which could correct the vices and supply the defects of the Irish government, he gave it his most strenuous support.

Sir John Mitford (Lord Redefdale) made several pointed allusions to the doctrines of Thomas Paine, who asserted that parliament could not reform itself, or correct its abuses, without having recourse to the advice and authority of a convention of the people. The full competency of parliament for the enactment of an union could not be denied; the propriety of the measure was obvious. The present government of the British empire was, in one point of view, a solecism in politics. Two independent parliaments formed the organ, by which the sovereign will of the state was expressed. Such an establishment resembled a monster with two bodies and one head, the power of the head being checked and limited by that of each body.

Colonel Wood agreed with Mr. Addington that the disorders of Ireland were to be attributed to radical defects in the government of the country. In the late rebellion Catholics and Protestants seemed to have buried all

religious differences, conspiring against the connexion between the kingdoms on true jacobinical principles. The return therefore of such a rebellion would most effectually be prevented by an union.

Mr. Bankes, Lord Belgrave, General Fitzpatrick, Mr. Pitt, and some others spoke again to the subject on their former grounds. On a division for bringing up the report, the ayes were 120, the noes 16.

When the first resolution had been agreed to by the house, Mr. Tierney, alleging that this would sufficiently indicate the disposition of that house towards an union, moved that the further consideration of the resolutions should be postponed for three months; the motion was not seconded, and all the resolutions were agreed to.

The next procedure in this business was a communication of the votes of the commons to the lords, at a conference which took place on the 18th. The peers ordered the resolutions to be printed, and some illustrative papers to be produced. And in order to avoid precipitancy on so important a subject, they allowed a month's interval for consideration before they entered upon the discussion.

From the minister's exertions in the British senate to carry the great question of Union, we must proceed to watch its progress in Ireland. In Dublin the defeat of the minister in the House of Commons was considered as the death blow of the Unionists, and was celebrated in every quarter of the city with bonfires and other demonstrations of joy. The violent opposition, which Mr. Foster gave to the measure, had suddenly translated him from very general dislike and odium, to the pinnacle of frantic popularity.* Some short time afterwards the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council went in state to Moleworth Street, where Mr. Foster resided, amidst the acclamations of thousands of spectators, the band playing "Long live the king," to deliver an address to him as an honest man and lover of his country, for not voting away the liberty and independence of Ireland. And on the same day a numerous body of the merchants and traders of the city of Dublin went in procession from the Royal Exchange to his house, and also presented him a most respectful address to the like purport.

* The public proceedings of the county of Louth on the 14th, and of the city of Dublin on the 18th of January, 1799, which are to be seen in the Appendix, No. CXVII. shew in what estimation Mr. Foster then was.

On the 28th of January Lord Castlereagh in the Irish House of Commons moved for an adjournment to the 7th of February, in order to engraft his further parliamentary proceedings upon the issue and result of the debates in the British House of Commons. Sir John Parnell opposed the motion, as there never was a moment, in which it was more necessary for the parliament of Ireland to remain vigilant at its post. For if he were to credit report that the British minister had declared, "that he would unceasingly persevere in" a measure respecting the internal situation of that country," to which the parliament of Ireland had so recently and so decidedly given its negative, he trusted the house would see the necessity of resisting the measure of adjournment, at least until they should know what were the sentiments of the British minister and the British parliament, when they should come to learn the sentiments expressed, and the decision which took place in the parliament of Ireland on that subject; for it was impossible the British minister or parliament could have known the sentiments of the parliament of Ireland, when they had discussed the measure on the very same day it was rejected there. The British minister, whom he knew to be a man of great talents and great wisdom, he was convinced so soon as he should come to know the decision, which had taken place in that house upon the subject, could not be either so impolitic or so rash as to persevere. That house and the people of Ireland had learnt, since the decision of Thursday last, to consider the question as at rest, but the declaration of the British minister could not fail now to excite new alarms, nor could these alarms ever be quiet in that country, so long as the people could consider the measure as still hanging over them; and if the British minister were to persist in the declaration after the sense of the Irish parliament and Irish people were known to him, it was impossible for any friend to his country, or British connexion, to contemplate the consequences without the most serious alarm.

Lord Castlereagh rose and said, the right honorable baronet himself furnished by his arguments the strongest reasons for the necessity of the adjournment. That house would but ill support its own dignity, if it were to be ruled in its proceedings by the unauthenticated reports of newspapers; it should wait for authentic documents, whereon to govern its conduct. But what was the language attributed to the British minister in discussing this topic in the British parliament? Nothing more than what had already been used by himself (Lord C.) in that house, merely recommending the measure

of Union to the consideration of parliament, and declaring it to be a measure, in his conception, so essentially indispensable to perpetuate the connexion between both kingdoms, to consolidate their mutual strength, and promote their mutual prosperity, that he should never lose sight of it: certainly not meaning that he would, or could press it against the Irish parliament and the Irish people. Little would he deserve to be a minister, who, though such a measure might for the present be contrary to the sense of parliament and of the nation, would bind himself by any declaration that might forever hereafter preclude him from propounding that or any other measure for the consideration of parliament, which as a minister bounden to promote the good of the country, he should conceive would tend to that desirable end.

Mr. Barrington opposed the adjournment, and inveighed against the speech of the British minister on the subject. There was not a man within either nation more zealously attached in loyalty to his king and government than himself, nor who would sacrifice more cheerfully to the maintenance of both; but if the honor and the dignity of the Irish parliament were to be again outraged, by an attempt to press upon them the odious measure of an Union, against which that house had already contended with so much spirit, virtue, and honest indignation, he declared, that he for one would go every length to oppose it in every shape and in all its ramifications. The people of Ireland should be told, in the strongest manner, of this daring attack on the independence of their parliament and the liberties of their country; and that house ought to come forthwith to some strong declaration in assertion of its own authority and independence.

Sir Henry Cavendish supported the adjournment. The sense of the country, he was convinced, was not generally against the measure; he had conversed that day with a gentleman of great respectability from the county of Cork, who assured him, all that province were decidedly in favor of the measure.

Honorable Mr. Trench was for the adjournment, as the best mode of preventing the agitation of the public mind, so long anxious upon this question that it required time to repose.

Sir John Freke rose in consequence of what had fallen from (Sir H. Cavendish) touching the sentiments of the people of Munster. He had not that day conversed with many gentlemen from that country, but he had received
letters

letters from some of the most respectable and best informed gentlemen in that province, which so far from declaring the people there unanimous in favor of an Union, positively assured him of the strongest persuasion, that had the vote of Thursday night passed in favor of that measure, the whole province would have been the next day in open rebellion; and added, that it would not be very safe for the members, who voted for the measure to return to that part of the country.

Colonel Bagwell had received several letters from some of the best informed gentlemen in Tipperary, and so had his colleague, declaring the whole county to a man decidedly adverse to the measure of an Union.

Mr. Plunket condemned the declaration of the British minister, which was made under the influence of ignorance and delusion, as to what were the real sentiments of the parliament and people of Ireland on the subject of Union. The noble lord had intimated that the time might come when the parliament and the country would be glad to solicit the measure, as the only means of effectually securing tranquillity. He hoped the noble lord did not mean to insinuate, that measures would be adopted to produce such effects in the country, as would create the necessity of such a situation, in order that "what was spoken by the prophets might be fulfilled." He was not overfond of seeing a minister rule the country, who seemed to have a taste for verifying his own predictions as to the necessity he foretold.

Several gentlemen, who did not oppose the adjournment, spoke for and against the Union.

The question being now put, was carried in the affirmative without further opposition.

Colonel Maxwell Barry said, he had no objection to the adjournment, but as from the declaration of the British minister, stratagem might be apprehended, gentlemen hostile to the project would see the necessity of the fullest attendance throughout the session; and he should therefore move a call of the house on the 8th of February.

Lord Castlereagh assured the honorable gentleman nothing could more satisfactorily accommodate the government than a full attendance of members at all times, as the best means of expediting the public business; and with respect to the question of Union, he had already declared his determination explicitly, "that he should never bring it forward so long as it appeared to him repugnant to the sense of parliament and the country.

Colonel

Colonel Maxwell Barry observed, the noble lord could not himself answer for what he might do, as he must act according to the instructions he received from the other side.

Mr. Martin wished the call of the house postponed to a further day, in order to give ample time for gentlemen to take the sense of their constituents.

Colonel Maxwell Barry amended his motion to the 11th of February, which was agreed to.

Sir H. Cavendish, after a short preface, in which he stated, that the house of parliament had been degraded by personal outrage and insult to several of its members, coming to and retiring from that house, in consequence of votes given in that house, moved three resolutions to the following effect :

“ That any insult or assault offered to any member of parliament coming
“ or going from that house, in consequence of any thing said or done in
“ parliament; or any attempt to intimidate any member from any vote in
“ that house; or any tumultuous assemblage of persons meeting in the pas-
“ sages to that house, to awe or intimidate its members, to or from any vote,
“ or any measure, is an high infringement on the privileges of that house.”

Colonel Maxwell Barry declared for himself personally he had neither witnessed nor heard of any such insult or violence offered to any member. If the right honorable baronet alluded to the joy shewn by the people on a late occasion, he thought, considering the exultation universally felt, the conduct of the populace extremely calm and patient before and during the discussion, and extremely moderate in their expression of triumph on the defeat of the measure.

Doctor Browne agreed with Mr. Barrington, who said he had heard it asserted that day in the hall of the Four Courts, that the right honorable baronet had declared his determination to move for the removal of the parliament to Cork, in order to secure safety in its deliberations.

The attorney general said it was notorious that both the persons of members had been assaulted and abused by the most opprobrious names, their houses attacked by mobs, and themselves declared traitors to their country, for having voted in favor of Union; and that certainly such attempts to overawe the parliament would warrant its removal to Cork.

The Right Honorable Denis Browne, in proof of the daring insults, which had been offered to the dignity of that house, read a paragraph from the
Dublin

Dublin Evening Post, calling the minister of the country and those members who voted for an Union “ *a corrupt minister and his corrupt phalanx.*” It was, he said, his intention to have called the printer to the bar, that night, and moved for his committal to Newgate, which he declared he would do the very next time he saw so daring and contumacious a libel in print. The house adjourned to the 7th of February.

Out of parliament, the viceroy with the strength of the castle, neglected no means which seemed likely to promote the grand object of their wishes; by which he gained over occasional proselytes. He was, however, on the other hand strongly opposed by many even of his former friends, and found the majority of the nation (however desirous of a continuance of connexion) hostile to the scheme of Union.

Meetings, in the different counties were encouraged by the Anti-unionists; and strong resolutions were adopted with few dissentient voices. The military commanders sometimes interfered, on pretence of preventing the intrusion and violence of the lower classes; and in more instances than one, some over-zealous subaltern officers (without authority) used menace and intimidation in order to deter free discussion at those meetings.

The freeholders of Fermanagh on the very day of the last sitting of parliament, added their voices to those of the other Anti-unionists; in the King's County and the shire of Limerick strong declarations were voted against an Union; and in the counties of Monaghan and Clare, the electors thanked and applauded the members who had opposed it. In February, the like course was pursued by the freeholders of Cavan, Tyrone, and other shires; but, in that of Galway, the archbishop of Tuam and other respectable individuals warmly declared in favor of Union; and, in the town of Galway, an address was voted by many of the inhabitants, maintaining the necessity of it in very concise and forcible language. “ In the constitution of the empire, as
 “ it at present stands, we discover the seeds of party animosity and national
 “ jealousy. A Protestant parliament and a Catholic people! Hence religious
 “ dissension and civil discord. Two legislatures in the same empire! Hence
 “ local prejudices and commercial rivalry. By the settlement of 1782, the
 “ Irish parliament acquired the right of independent legislation—a right
 “ equally unsafe to exercise or not to exercise. To exercise it would have
 “ been to endanger the unanimity, and thereby to hazard the division of the
 “ empire; while, by declining to exercise this right, the Irish parliament
 “ brought

“ brought upon itself the imputation of abject submission to the British legislature. This imputation begot contempt, that contempt discontent, and that discontent rebellion. For this radical defect in the polity of the empire, we can see but one remedy; and that remedy is an Union.”

In the commercial city of Cork, a great disunion prevailed; for, while many of the traders and other inhabitants were zealous for the ministerial scheme, a great number were hostile to it. Above 700 of the latter signed and published an address of thanks to the parliamentary Anti-unionists in general, and to the Earl of Charlemont and Mr. Foster in particular, which were answered by those two gentlemen.

While the public mind was in that state of agitation, the speech which Mr. Pitt delivered on the 23d of January, was circulated throughout the nation with more than ordinary industry, and some of that minister's remarks, as interpreted by the Anti-unionists, increased the public ferment.

When the Irish House of Commons met on the 7th of February according adjournment, there not being forty members in it, the speaker adjourned to the next day, when a complaint was made to the house of several paragraphs* that

* “ 28th of January, 1799.

“ 18 Com. Journ. p. 17. A more disorderly debate scarcely ever we believe took place in any of the assemblies of France since the beginning of the revolution, than in the Irish House of Commons on the question respecting the Union; the speeches of those who were in favor of the measure were received with hisses and groans, and those who were adverse were cheered with the plaudits and huzzas, not only of the members but of the galleries; the tribunes of the French assemblies perhaps never interfered in a manner more likely to influence the deliberation than the strangers upon this occasion are said to have done; the most opprobrious language was held by some of the opponents to the measure towards its supporters, and it is a fact that many of the latter left the house, not chusing to remain in so tumultuous an assembly.”

“ 29th January, 1799.

“ We are well assured that more than ten or twelve members of the Irish House of Commons who are favorable to the Union, left the house on the night the address was debated, disgusted by the violent and licentious conduct which the strangers in the galleries were allowed to pursue; the most urgent entreaties were vain to induce them to stay; but had they staid it is evident that the question would have been carried by a majority of more than a dozen.”

30th of January, 1799.

“ We should have given much more weight to the decision of the Irish House of Commons upon the subject of a Union, if the point had been coolly and dispassionately argued there; but to a question carried as it has been, we shall be excused if we say, that we cannot look upon it as the deliberative opinion of that assembly or of the people at large.

“ The

that had appeared in the Sun, an English newspaper, generally considered to be under the immediate direction and controul of the British minister. This therefore was considered by the Anti-unionists as a part of the scheme of the British ministry to force the Union upon them, and they accordingly resolved, *nem. con.* that those English newspapers, in which the false, scandalous, and malicious libels were contained and published, should be burned by the hands of the common hangman, in College Green, and that the sheriffs of Dublin should attend to see the same done accordingly. Although the horrors of the late rebellion had now merged in the feelings and irritation created by the question of Union, still the old means of proclaiming different districts to be in a state of disturbance were resorted to: and it is not a little remarkable, that the first county proclaimed to be in that state, was that of Galway, on the 12th of February, in which county the earliest and most vigorous exertions had been made in favor of Union: whence many concluded, that the advocates for that measure, such as were the Earl of Clanricarde, and most of the nobility and gentry of that county, considered that it would be the more effectually carried, the more the people were subjected to * military rule and influence.

“ The vote of the Irish House of Commons goes to say, that they will not even entertain the
 “ question of a Union, they will not accept of any terms. Give them all the advantages and pri-
 “ vileges of British subjects, they reject them with disdain: nay the very offer they call an insult.
 “ Is this the voice of reason? or is it the clamor of faction?”

* It appears from a paper presented by Lord Castlereagh to the House of Commons on the preceding day (11th February) of the estimate of the charge of the regiments serving in Ireland, and belonging to the British establishment, that they amounted to 23,201 men, viz. (18 Com. Journ. Appendix, No. XLIX.)

Numbers.

- 1048 Battalion of first foot guards, ten companies, (flank companies not included.)
- 2056 Ditto of Coldstream, and ditto of 3d foot guards, same rate.
- 712 First battalion of 1st (or Royal) regiment of foot.
- 2136 Three regiments more at same rate, viz. 2d, 29th, and 92d, late 100th.
- 588 Second battalion of Breadalbane fencible infantry.
- 817 Bedford regiment of militia.
- 1159 Worcester ditto.
- 1169 North Gloucester ditto.
- 1634 Royal Bucks ditto.
- 1158 South Devon ditto.
- 1126 Dorset ditto.

Personal applications were made by Lord Cornwallis to such of the members of the Irish parliament, and persons of influence and power in the country, as prudence directed: and the amiable and respectable qualities of the viceroy certainly procured a great preponderance of interest in favor of the Union from persons, who probably would otherwise have opposed it.*

The

- 1047 South Lincoln ditto.
- 1443 Leiceſter ditto.
- 1278 Kent ditto.
- 1275 Hertford ditto.
- 1358 Weſt Suffolk ditto.
- 1280 Firſt Lancaſhire ditto.
- 1877 Warwick ditto.

23201

* The avowed ſentiments of that great ſtateſman, the Marquis of Lanſdown, upon this ſubject, may well be preſumed to have ſtrongly affected many gentlemen leſs competent or likely to have formed their own opinions upon that important meaſure than the noble marquis. In his ſpeech upon the Union, on the 19th of March, he thus expreſſed himſelf. “ (8 *Parl. Reg.* p. 285.) I hate the word competence. I hate the word rights. I would not be within an hundred miles of the diſcuſſion of either, if I could help it. I care nothing for your majority of five in the Houſe of Commons. I would rather adhere to the opinion of one ſenſible, unbiassed man, than a majority of ſeventy others, who are heated by a party debate, or the views of a faction. I do not think that miniſters have much real knowledge upon the ſubject; it is pretty clear they have not, from what has happened. I have no knowledge myſelf upon this point. I am no Diſſenter; nor am I Catholic. But for my own part, I ſhould have great confidence in the judgment, as well as the conduct of the preſent lord lieutenant. He is of no party. He is brave, and he is wiſe; for he is cautious as well as intrepid. Let him pledge his honor to the propriety of any meaſure, and I ſhall be much diſpoſed to aſſent to it.”

On the other hand, as Lord Rokeby was applied to by letter, his anſwer to the lord lieutenant will not be uninterſting to the curious reader:

“ MY LORD,

Horton, near Hythe, Kent, 22d Jan. 1799.

“ I HOLD myſelf highly honored by the application expreſſed to me in your lordſhip’s letter of the 11th inſtant; and the more ſo, as I am fully confident, that your lordſhip expects or deſires from me no other than a plain and ſincere anſwer to it.

“ Give me leave to ſay then, that conſidering, as I do, a peerage of Ireland to be conferred and accepted as a great and almoſt ſacred truſt for the good, benefit, and advantage of the Iriſh nation, and ſo to be executed, I cannot give my conſent and concurrence to remove from their country their own legiſlature by a legiſlative Union with Great Britain. I ſpeak this, as being my public duty towards the people of Ireland.

“ As a Briton and Engliſhman, I cannot but frequently and feelingly reflect, how very different
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The determined perseverance of the British minister in a plan of so much utility to the empire at large, was not to be checked by the firmness of the Irish opposition.

On the 19th of March, Lord Grenville opened the business in the British House of Peers. In the performance of his duty, it afforded him some relief, he said, to find that the two main points on which the resolutions were founded, had been sufficiently established to preclude the necessity of dwelling upon them. These were, that the legislature of Ireland had an independent right of deciding upon any proposal of Union as fully as the parliament of Great Britain, and that the interest of the empire at large, and of every branch of it in particular, required the maintenance and improvement of the connexion between the countries. So far from being unreasonable, he was of opinion, that it was highly expedient and politic to enter upon a speedy inquiry into the merits of the measure. Its nature had been misconceived in Ireland; the views of its advocates had been misrepresented; prejudices and unfounded alarms had thrown an odium on the proposition. To dissipate such delusions, and repel such assaults, early deliberation was necessary, that national ani-

“ the state of Ireland was about four or five years ago, from what it has been since; although it is, beyond doubt, exceedingly bettered by the wise, mild, and benevolent government of your lordship. Surely then it much behoves some men well and seriously to revolve within themselves, what and whose counsels and system they have been, that have thus brought the Irish nation to their present disposition and situation from the temper and attachment to us, which so generally and warmly prevailed with them no longer ago than in the time of Lord Fitzwilliam. What a change! Are not such ways of proceeding and governing, the doing ourselves the work of our enemies.

“ It is therefore most earnestly to be desired, that our responsible statesmen and ministers will duly and deeply consider, whether the proposed step is more likely to reconcile really our sister kingdom to England, or ultimately to exasperate and inveterate it in a greater degree against us, before they proceed in so extremely important, or, perhaps, almost desperate measures.

“ Whether this distant and remote parliamentary election may not, by an addition to the power and influence of the crown, affect likewise our constitution at home; and whether no such event has, by a similar circumstance, ever already taken place in our own island, may, perhaps, be too tender a point for me to enter into.

“ Such are, however, the humble, but sincere sentiments of a retired old man, who is nearer to ninety than to eighty years of age. I hope and trust, that your lordship will be pleased to accept them in good part as a respectful, although plain answer on the subject of the application made by your lordship to me.

“ I have the honor to be,

“ My Lord, &c.

“ ROKEBY.”

mostity might not be embittered or inflamed into a decisive rejection of the offer. It could not justly be thought an ill compliment to the commons of Ireland to discuss a scheme which they had not finally exploded, though it did not appear to have received their strong approbation.

In examining the state of connexion between the kingdoms, his lordship observed, that the settlement in 1782 did not supply the link, which by the abrogation of the former system was destroyed? It did not provide both for the independence of the parliament of Ireland, and for the close connexion so essentially requisite for the common interests of the two countries. The supposed identity of the regal power in both was the only bond and security of that connexion. That in a pure and unmixed monarchy might be sufficient; because the power of the sovereign could be exerted in the same manner in every part. The case, however, was different in a mixed government, where the exercise of authority was limited by the different privileges of its component parts. In Holland, for instance, from the time of Sir William Temple to the late subversion of the government of that country, every friend to the united states had lamented the imperfect connexion which subsisted between them, and every enemy had availed himself of the defect. The Americans, on the establishment of their independence, had experienced a similar inconvenience. The power which existed in each of the federal states was found to be too great, and that of the whole too feeble. It had been thought necessary, therefore, to abridge the authority of the states individually, to draw closer the general union, and to enlarge the authority, by which the whole was governed and holden together. Even now, perhaps, it was one of the principal defects in the constitution of the American states, that the power of each was too extensive, and that of the general legislature and government too weak for the public interest and security. The want of a general government, to direct the efforts and employ the resources of the whole confederacy, had contributed to the ruin of Switzerland. Had that country possessed a government capable of employing and directing its united strength, it might have opposed an effectual resistance to the violence and injustice of its perfidious enemy.

Considering the supposed bond of connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, his lordship did not hesitate to say, that it was absolutely null. If by the constitution the royal power could soar above the control of parliament, the regal identity might operate as a medium of connexion; but, if the parliament

liament could check that power, and the crown required the aid of the legislature even for ordinary occasions of government, the connexion was nugatory while each realm had a distinct parliament.

The noble secretary proceeded to treat in detail of the chief branches of the royal prerogative, with a view of illustrating the manner, in which they were or might be exercised in the two kingdoms. He argued distinctly upon the exercise of the ecclesiastical, military, fiscal, and political prerogatives of the crown, and plainly shewed how it might be checked and perverted from the constitutional ends of vesting them in the executive, by the possible (and as had actually happened in the case of the regency) discordance of independent parliaments. In the present state of connexion, he contended, that the crown itself might give rise to a contest. The title to the crown was created by parliament, which was at all times competent to alter it. On what foundation then did the succession rest? It was regulated by the act of annexation: the Irish parliament was independent, and might vary the tenure, as well as that of Great Britain. Hence it was necessary for the general interest of the empire, that some measures should be taken for strengthening this connexion. In the adjustment of a scheme of this nature, the local interests of Ireland claimed particular attention; and indeed the proposed plan would consolidate and extend those interests. The evils of that kingdom obviously called for a speedy remedy. The present government unfortunately had not grown up with the habits of the people. The English connexion was begun among them by the worst of all conquests, one that was incomplete and partial. At different times the invaders made occasional progress; and renewed hostilities kept alive the flame of animosity.

His lordship then went into an historical disquisition of the progress of that country to civilization and its present state. The good consequences of Union would quickly appear, in the progress of civilization, the prevalence of order, the increase of industry and wealth, and the improvement of moral habits. The Hibernian Protestants would feel themselves secure under the protection of a Protestant imperial parliament; and the anxiety of the Catholics would be allayed by the hope of a more candid examination of their claims from a parliament not influenced by the prejudices of a local legislature. A free admission of the Catholics into the Irish parliament might lead to a subversion of its constitution; but all fear of their preponderancy would vanish under a general legislature, as they then would be far outnumbered by
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the Protestants. The animosities of these rival parties would be allayed; and a tranquillity which Ireland had rarely enjoyed would be the pleasing result. He then touched upon the real point in dispute. It was absurd to suppose, that the independence of Ireland would be sacrificed in the event of an Union. It would still remain, and even derive fresh vigor from being consolidated with the proudest and most solid independence that ever was enjoyed. Before the Union which took place in 1707, England and Scotland were, in fact, less independent than when they afterwards composed the kingdom of Great Britain. By this Union, each kingdom had become more independent of foreign nations, and more independent, if he could so speak, of human events; each had become more powerful, and had increased in prosperity. In like manner, if this legislative Union should take place, no individual would suffer in dignity, rank, or condition; but, in a national view, all would receive an addition. When the Union with Scotland was in agitation, loud clamors arose against it; but time had shewn, that they were ill-founded. It was promotive of the general interests of the empire to consult the interests of every component part of it; and, as this had proved true with regard to Scotland, in consequence of an union with that country, so, he was persuaded, a similar measure would operate with respect to Ireland. Nothing could be adduced as a more powerful motive to Union, than that both countries were assailed by a common enemy, whose aim was to destroy Great Britain by making Ireland the medium of that mischief. Before the Union with Scotland, it was also the aim of the French to render that country subservient to their insidious designs. At present, the chief hope of resistance to the tyrannical power of France seemed to rest on Great Britain; and Ireland, in her weak and disordered state, could look to this country alone for support. Her independence was essentially involved in her connexion with Britain; and, if she should shake off that tie, she would fall under the French yoke.

His lordship now moved the first resolution, and intimated, that he should afterwards request the house to vote an address favorable to the adjustment of a complete Union.

Earl Fitzwilliam declined an ample discussion of the subject, because he deemed the agitation of it unseasonable. It would tend to inflame dissention, and impair the strength and vigor of the empire. The rebellion in Ireland had arisen from a disunion between the different ranks of the community,
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and a mixture of religious and political animosity. The same causes had long been productive of evil; but it was not probable, that a measure repugnant to the feelings of the majority of the nation would operate as a remedy. If the evils of the country, as some alleged, arose from a separate legislature, would an Union annihilate the British influence, which prevailed in that legislature? Would it not still be paramount after the conjunction of the two parliaments?

Upon the subject of the distinctions between the orders, would they be remedied by an incorporated Union? Had the noble lord said any thing to induce the house to believe, that these distinctions would be relieved by an Union? He had heard, indeed, something of an insinuation thrown out. But had the house, or the people of Ireland, any thing of greater weight than that insinuation? If it were meant to conciliate the Catholics and the lower orders of people, and that was to be done by an incorporated Union, it would first be necessary to shew them how much they would be benefited by it. Many persons, who were amongst the brightest ornaments of the state, were at present shut out of the legislature. Who would tell him, that the Protestant interest would be endangered by the admission of a Catholic lord in that house: yet this, with all the niggard jealousy, fit only for the darkest minds, was refused. Did any one at that time of day believe, that the family of the Stuarts would be supported by the Catholics? And yet the benches of the house were bare of those, who, in point of birth-right, had as much right to a seat in the house as any of their lordships. The noble lord had said, that the tests required in the army of Ireland, and in the army of England, were different. They were so. In Ireland they had admitted the Catholics into the army; in England they were excluded. Would the Catholics then be conciliated by getting into a more narrow-minded legislature? An incorporated Union did not promise that which they required: it put them rather at a greater distance. The whole arguments of the noble lord tended to shew, that both countries, when incorporated, would be stronger and better. But the inconveniences, stated as likely to arise from a separate legislature, had existed from the most ancient times. It was not from 1782 only, but long before that period, that all acts of imperial concern had been done by the Irish parliament. In the declaration of war in 1778 and 1757, their lordships would find, that his majesty had communicated such declarations to the Irish parliament. They had the power of deliberating upon it, and of course, as
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the noble lord had said properly, of deciding. The house then had the experience of ages, that the dangers apprehended from a separate legislature had not arisen. Why, then, it was next to be considered, whether this were the proper time for an Union. On the part of Great Britain he would say—Do you wish to introduce into the British parliament the rebellion of Ireland? Do you wish to introduce the representatives of Ireland—Representatives elected by the free electors of Ireland? Oh! no, no, by British bayonets. By such, should there be a dissolution under such auspices must the general election be carried on, with an army not only in possession of the sword, but having the law in its disposal. Could Great Britain then have any thing but the representatives of an army? Was this the body which their lordships desired to have? Was this the period, in which it was wished to introduce such representatives?

His lordship said he should now proceed to state something personal to himself, and for the mention of which, he had to apologize to their lordships. A representation of the circumstances, under which he went to Ireland had been given, and it was upon that point, that he begged to give some explanation. “ I have understood (said his lordship), that it has been stated in another place, that during my administration in Ireland, I was never required to retract what I had been directed by government to propose. If it has been stated, that I never received orders to bring forward the question of Catholic emancipation on the part of government, I admit that statement to be true. But in justification of the part I took at that period, (and in my conscience I believe the events that occurred have led to the evils that now exist, and have stamped the doom of that ill-fated country) it is necessary to these statements I should add a short history of the transaction. Yielding to the argument of not wishing to entangle government in difficulties upon the subject at that period, I admit, that under orders clearly understood by me, not to give rise to or bring forward the question of Catholic emancipation on the part of government, I assumed the government of Ireland. But in yielding to this argument, I entered my protest against resisting the question, if it should be brought forward from any other quarter; and I made most distinct declarations, that in case of its being so brought forward, it should receive my full support. With these declarations I assumed the government of Ireland. This I state upon my honor. I
“ should

“ should not have introduced it, had I not deemed it necessary to give this explanation.”

Lord Grenville observed, in reply, that the noble earl admitted, that he went over with orders not to bring forward the Catholic question: but he had no recollection of any such protest and declaration, as were alluded to by the noble earl. Where was the paper? Earl Fitzwilliam replied, he was sorry the noble lord should not have it in his recollection, that he entered his protest, not on paper, but in his presence, against assuming the government of Ireland but under the circumstance, that if the measure should be brought forward from any other quarter, he should give it his full support.

The Marquis of Lansdowne said, that he most cordially concurred in every thing that was asserted by the noble earl in favor and in praise of the Roman Catholics. He must observe, however, that this subject had no relation to the question immediately before the house, or to the situation of the Irish Roman Catholics, though, indeed, the adoption of the proposed Union might ultimately tend to do the Roman Catholics the justice they deserved. But now, as to a large and general question, he was by no means surprised that at first sight it was objected to as improper to be discussed at the present moment. Most undoubtedly, such a measure should be the work of peace and of time; it should be the result of dispassionate judgment and of calm consideration. It was not, however, the first question to be examined: there were other questions, the consideration of which should precede that of the Union; and one of them was, whether it was possible for the affairs of Ireland to go on as they were governed; the other, if an Union were to take place, what should be the nature of that Union. He enumerated the most remarkable events of the Irish history from the year 1767; and observed upon the case of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, that his posthumous attainder was an act of flagrant tyranny. From the late prevalence of disorder and calamity, he was confident, that such a government could not much longer subsist. The evils of the country required a speedy remedy; and an union promised a more efficacious cure than any other measure, which could be devised. It was at all times desirable, at that indispensable. The danger to which the British dominions were exposed rendered such a step necessary, to obviate irreparable mischief or prevent total ruin. The Orange and the Green, the Dissenter and the Catholic; the Dissenter, Catholic, and Churchman, when attacked by a common enemy, called out by instinct for an Union betwixt each other.

What ought the three kingdoms, when menaced by an inveterate and powerful foreign enemy, what must they do but unite, or be divided and crushed.

He then adverted to the proceedings of the year 1782, not from an idea of connection between that topic and the subject under discussion, but because frequent reference had been made to that settlement in the debates of both parliaments. Its authors, he said, had no idea of effecting a legislative union; nor did they by any means declare against such a scheme.

In pointing out the chief requisites* of an union, he mentioned the necessity of consolidating the armies of the two countries† for, unless there should be such an union of the military establishments as might afford an opportunity of saying with truth that there was only one army, it might be said, with regard to the affairs of the British empire, “Chaos is come again.” The navy also should be one, furnished by the united zeal of the whole community; for it would resemble patch-work, if one part of the empire should supply a ship and a half, another a quarter, and a third a different quota. There should, at the same time, be only one system of law. Commerce was the next point to be considered; and this ought to be on an equal footing in both countries. The concerns of finance ought also to be assimilated; and, in short, the union, to be effective, ought to be substantial and complete. Some might say, that most of these points were already gained; but, as they were in danger of being lost by the jealousy of the two nations, he wished to render them permanent by an Union.

There was one point which was by no means settled, and which ought to be well settled before any Union could be of any avail—that was, the disposition of the people of Ireland. He knew not how far they might misunderstand their true interests, nor to what violence they might be led: upon this subject it was manifest that ministers had misled themselves; they were ignorant of the dispositions of the parliament of Ireland; for, if they had thought they would have been out-voted, they would not have brought the subject forward; but since it was clear, that if they knew so little of the parliament, they must know very little of the disposition of the people of Ireland of other

* The noble marquis referred to a pamphlet of Dean Tucker, which he observed in few pages contained more sense, as well as more patriotism upon this subject, than the many volumes that had been written upon it.

† See what has been before said upon the inconveniency of the effects of the existing laws relative to the army.

descriptions.

descriptions. With regard to the Catholics, they were now in a state of irritability and vexation: their emancipation was a thing, which it was vain to attempt to stop; it was too late to try. They crawled upon all fours; they had been allowed to stand upon two: and it was idle to think that they would not look their governors in the face. The thing was gone by: it was silly to say, they were sorry that any thing was done for the Catholics; they ought to rejoice at it, and cheerfully finish all they had begun upon that subject. There was nothing to fear from it. Those who thought there was, ought to look at the condition of the Pope—ought to look at the state of France; they would then see that there was no fear from any body of men, on account of the religion which they professed. That species of deception was gone. “The question, (said the noble marquis) is not what religion we shall have, but whether you shall be permitted to have any? It is not whether this, or that, religion shall be destroyed? Under this situation of things, every good man is called upon to join the standard of Jesus Christ—keep the religion of Jesus Christ—any religion is better than none: at all events unite to oppose and keep from entering among you those who have no religion, and who are enemies to all.”

A member, whom he did not know personally, (Mr. Dobbs) but whose speeches in the Irish house he admired, had said of the people of Ireland, “treat them fairly and justly, avow at once your object, and if it be just, I will pledge myself for their acquiescence.” He would add to the speech of that sensible man, and say, do not come forward with your hesitating, “perhaps,” or, “it may be,” or, “we will consider,” or any such ambiguity, but come boldly forward at once, and tell them sincerely what you intend doing. Speak to them as men that are free, and determined to be free. In all the affairs of life sincerity has succeeded nine times out of ten; and although the mass of the people of Ireland were to be pitied for want of education, yet he knew, from the experience of forty years, that liberality was never ill requited by them.

There ought to be no tricking, no intrigue, in their proceedings; let them gain their point by manly and honorable dealing, not procure success by corruption, or enforce acquiescence by terror.

The present was an awful period—the contest was serious and alarming. If wisdom should not interpose, a rupture might arise between the rich and the poor, calamitous to both parties, but more particularly to the latter.

The greatest prudence and the most vigilant caution were necessary to secure the British empire amidst the convulsions of neighbouring states. It was his earnest wish that Great Britain and Ireland might stand like two rocks in the sea unmoved by storms, and that the inhabitants of both islands might form the most cordial and complete union for the preservation of property, law, order, morality, and religion.

Earl Camden spoke chiefly in defence of his own administration of Ireland. He denied that the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam was productive of disorder or disaffection, and affirmed that the rigorous proceedings of the government were rendered necessary by that seditious spirit which existed independently of the Catholic question. He declared, that all the feverities imputed to his administration, were preceded by acts of outrage, of insurrection, or of rebellion. He allowed, that his conduct in adopting active and vigorous measures, and apprehending some of the leaders, did accelerate the rebellion; but, as the same steps facilitated its suppression, he did not think that he could justly be blamed.

He then pronounced his decided opinion in favor of an Union, for the benefit of both countries. There was one part of this subject, upon which he could not speak but with great delicacy, and that was, with respect to the Irish parliament. He had upon every occasion during his residence in that country, observed the energy and vigor of the parliament of that country; but still he felt himself bound to say, that he thought a better form of government necessary for Ireland, and therefore it was that he should give his assent to this measure.

The Marquis Townshend promised to vote for the measure; but he was apprehensive that every attempt to render the Irish nation happy, would be inefficacious, unless a due obedience to the laws should be enforced by resident magistrates—unless the itinerant Catholic priests should be prevented from giving absolution for offences, the stewards, and other agents of the landlords be checked in their career of oppression, and the morals of the lower classes of the people be improved by the care of their superiors.

Lord Clifton (Earl of Darnley in Ireland) declared his preference of a legislative Union to any other mode of connexion, but doubted the practicability of the measure. The English, in general, he said, knew little more of the affairs of Ireland than of those of China; in the present case, they represented what was almost the universal sense of the nation as the voice of cabal

or the cry of faction. The voluntary assent of the Irish, he feared, could not be obtained; and coercion would be highly impolitic and unjust. He therefore wished that the scheme might be suspended.

Lord Hobart,* while he approved the conduct, which the Irish parliament had pursued for many years, was convinced that a legislature, constituted as that was, could not give satisfaction to the people. His meaning was, that a Protestant parliament could never satisfy a nation, of which three-fourths were Catholics. On this ground his determination to support the question of a legislative Union principally rested.

Lord Rawdon (Earl of Moira in Ireland) declared that no one would more heartily concur in the proposed measure than himself, if it should meet the approbation of the greater part of the Irish community: but, as it had excited general disgust and vigorous opposition, he was convinced of the danger of prosecuting the scheme. Even if the Irish parliament should be disposed to adopt it, the disinclination of the people ought to have been deemed a sufficient ground for relinquishing it: otherwise we might nourish in delusive security a secret fire, which might ultimately consume the vitals of the empire. If he should admit the probability of a change in the disposition of the people, he must contend, as the measure was to be suspended, that it was at least imprudent to pledge the British parliament to specific resolutions, which might be superseded by the future relative situation of the countries. Was it to be supposed, that the tenor of the resolutions would alter the sentiments of the Irish nation with regard to a measure, which they had contemplated in the aggregate with such distaste? Were the provisions judiciously calculated to promote such an effect? By one of the resolutions the test act was to be still operative against the Catholics and the Protestant Dissenters of Ireland. Did not this go to establish a strong jealousy, if not estrangement, in the breasts of such a majority of that community, whose confidence and concurrence were so desirable? The earl had predicted, that the system of government which had been pursued in that country could not go on, and he had unfortunately proved too true a prophet. That, however, was not a consequence flowing from the constitution of Ireland: it was solely the result of a frantic exercise of severities on the part of government, as much in contempt of that very constitution as in defiance of every principle of policy, that had hitherto been current among men.

* Now secretary of state for the war department.

He animadverted on several parts of the speech of Lord Grenville, particularly on that, in which the secretary had said, that a case might occur in which the parliament of Ireland might refuse to pay the troops, and seemed to think that his position on this ground of argument was strengthened by the difference of the test taken by the military body of Ireland from that, which was taken by the troops of England: but a man might be a brave foldier, and a trusty supporter of his country's cause, even though he should believe that there were seven sacraments; in fact, there was no separate regular Irish army; his majesty might call away any regiment to this country, and replace it by another from England, without any explanation to the legislature of Ireland. There was, indeed, a stipulation that Ireland should have a certain number of troops for her defence; and those troops she engaged to pay. But the secretary argued that she might refuse to pay them. So might the British parliament refuse to pay the army in this island. The question, by which the house ought to form an opinion respecting the expediency of bringing forward those resolutions, was not what the Irish ought to think, but what they did really think upon the subject. Whether justly or not, it appeared, they did think the demand upon Ireland was nothing less than the whole body of her laws, her rights, her liberties, her independent parliament, the blood, the labor, the wealth and resources of the people. And under what circumstances did the mass of the Irish nation come to weigh such a supposed demand? Disgusted by recent outrages, still smarting from the lash of late severities, and irritated by threats of continued infliction, how was it to be supposed, that they could meet with temper the proposition for drawing closer the ties by which, they had been mischievously told, all their past sufferings were occasioned? For it was one of the most serious evils of the late troubles, that those who were trampling upon the feelings, the properties, and the lives of their fellow-creatures, disguised their own passions under the profession, that such acts of violence were necessary for the preservation of English connection; thereby falsely representing English connection, which ought to be the source of every blessing to Ireland, as the spring from which all their calamities had flowed. The Irish government stigmatized with the name of rebellion that which was only indignation at some unconstitutional measures; and, having once made the charge against its opponents, thence deduced the right and the necessity of abandoning the paths of the law, and of making its own conception of expediency the exclusive rule of conduct towards the multitude.

tude. The legislature readily lent its aid in passing the most severe penal statutes, and these even their angry and vindictive ministry soon refused to abide by. Any thing that bore the semblance of law was too tardy for their impatient spirit. Forgetting that the corrective conduct of a government ought to be sober as well as firm, dignified and conciliating as well as vigorous, they even seemed to affect the peevishness of individual animosity; and in that temper they proceeded with eagle swiftness and more than eagle fierceness to pass a sweeping condemnation of the whole people of Ireland. Mercy, justice, and policy, were left far behind, as unprofitable associates.

He did not accuse Earl Camden of having given directions for such horrible outrages; but hinted, that the viceroy, being taught by the cabinet to believe that extraordinary rigor was necessary, had connived at excesses which arose from that system. If it were true, that so great a proportion of the adult and effective population of the country as 500,000 had engaged in the traitorous conspiracy, it was the greatest censure that could be passed on any government. When to the misconduct of the British ministers he laid the evils and the miseries of Ireland, it was to their misinformation and ignorance of the state of the country, not to deliberate inhumanity that he ascribed them. He trusted, that the time would soon arrive, when remorse would take place of apathy, and when they would earnestly wish that their system of conduct had uniformly enforced on their servants the necessity of respecting with awful veneration the rights of humanity.

Lord Grenville had imputed the rebellion in Ireland chiefly to the propagation of French principles; but the effect of these, without ministerial misconduct, would, said the earl, have been inconsiderable. It was remarkable, that the noble secretary should suppose mere barbarians, whom he represented as incapable of comprehending the meaning of Catholic emancipation or parliamentary reform, to be fully competent to the admission of ideas respecting the principles and forms of government, and the sovereignty of the people. Of that sovereignty his lordship observed, that it did not, as some had ignorantly or invidiously asserted, imply the authority or the power of the mob. The misconstruction of the phrase had produced much mischief in that country, by aiding the views of certain zealots, who, from the most malignant motives, confounded the maintenance of constitutional doctrines with the support of jacobinical tenets. The principle, properly understood, was opposed to the odious doctrine of divine indefeasible right. It was not plebeian but
national

national sovereignty; the rights of the people, not of the populace were the basis of the English constitution.

Lord Holland, though he did not consider the adjustment of 1782 as a bar to a new agreement, disapproved the proposal of an Union at a time when it excited strong disgust in that kingdom. The policy of the measure, at any time, might be doubtful; the experiment would be hazardous, and the consequences might be highly detrimental to the interests of both countries.

Lord Mulgrave thought it highly expedient to examine the propositions, and record them as the deliberate offers of this country, which would induce the Irish parliament to consider the subject with coolness and complacency, instead of viewing it with prejudice.

The Earl of Carlisle said, the discussion was expedient and seasonable. A knowledge of the terms might allay the ferment of the Irish nation; the insinuation of force was disclaimed by the chief members of the cabinet; and there was no reason to apprehend, that they would ever have recourse to it.

The Earl of Westmorland was induced, by some recent parliamentary elections in Ireland, to believe that many of the opponents of the Union had begun to think favorably of it, and that there was a chance of obtaining at least a patient hearing of the terms, which, he trusted, would recommend themselves by their beneficial tendency.

The Duke of Portland admitted, that though he deemed the adjustment in 1782, a sufficient remedy, at the time, for the grievances of Ireland, he did not regard it as superseding a legislative incorporation or any other measure, which might be devised by the same or by subsequent ministers.

The house agreed to the resolutions without a division; and a day was fixed for proposing an address on the subject.

As soon as Lord Grenville had moved, that an address should be presented to his majesty with the resolutions, Lord Auckland rose to discuss the subject at large. As many of the former arguments were used, by different members who spoke in the subsequent debates upon the Union, the report only of what appears new, will be given. He observed, that, even if Ireland had a complete equality with Britain in extent, opulence and strength, yet the existence of separate and independent legislatures, with one executive power, would render an union desirable, rather than degrading or detrimental to either. Immediately previous to the attainment of a supposed freedom of constitution and trade in 1782, that kingdom was subordinate to this realm both in legis-

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gislation and judicature: it had no more than the name of the British constitution, the semblance and mockery of a free government. Even after the Irish freedom, as it was called, had taken place, their government was still founded in the pretensions of a small part of the community to a monopoly of the representation, patronage, and resources of the whole, and could not therefore contribute to the prosperity, tranquillity, or safety of the nation.

The remaining part of his lordship's speech chiefly related to the commercial advantages, which would flow to Ireland from the Union.

It was not to be expected that capitals and commercial credit should be transferred to a country struggling under an anomalous, incompetent, and disturbed government, and maintaining a claim of right to adopt at any time adverse connexions and interests? Nothing less than Union could satisfy these questions. They could not rest on the flimsy and undefined protestation so often repeated, and so imperfectly realised, that, "the affections of Ireland" were inalienable, and that both kingdoms should stand and fall together." Let the Union take place, and all commercial distinctions and political jealousies would be annihilated; for there could be no competition between two parts of the same kingdom, having incorporated interests directed by one legislature.

The Bishop of Llandaff, had so long ago as the year 1785, intimated his opinion to the late Duke of Rutland, that he and his friend the minister would gain immortal honor, if, instead of the propositions which were then under discussion, they could accomplish, by honorable means and upon equitable terms, an Union of the two kingdoms; but his grace had answered, that the man who should venture to bring forward a scheme of such a nature at that time would have been *tarred and feathered*. Whether the repugnance to the measure were then general, or were confined to the leading men of the country, the prelate did not know; but was fully convinced of the policy and utility of the scheme at any time. It would enrich Ireland, and would not impoverish Great Britain. The consolidation of Ireland with this country would render it the strongest empire in Europe. If the lands in Great Britain and Ireland should be well cultivated, as in the event of an Union they probably would be, they would maintain a population of thirty millions, six millions of which number would be capable of bearing arms; and this population, in case of necessity, might afford one million to be in arms, without distressing agriculture, manufactures, or commerce. Then we might with safety despise the

politics of the continent, and without contributing our forces or our wealth, allow the princes of Europe to settle among themselves the equilibrium of despotic power, while, conscious of the blessings of liberty, we must lament that despotism should exist in any part of the world.

With regard to the Catholics, some contended, that, as they formed the most numerous class of the community, they had a right to some kind of ecclesiastical establishment, and to an exemption from political disabilities. This point was rendered difficult by the distribution of property, which was in the hands of a small minority, who would have no interest in, and would derive no benefit from such establishment. The point was of great delicacy and importance; but, the sooner it should be agitated, the better. In the mean time he would recommend to both parties the advice given by a father of the church on another occasion, that both should give up little things in order to secure great ones, tranquillity and peace.

The link which now held the two countries together was very imperfect; it was the sameness of one of the branches of the legislature in both. This link, by what had been foreseen, and what was unforeseen, might be endangered, and the interests of Ireland might be exposed to hazard; but, when three parts of the legislature of Ireland should be incorporated with the legislature of this country, the failure of the link would be impossible, except in an event dreadful even to contemplate, the absolute destruction of the whole government and constitution.

In urging the necessity of close connexion, he affirmed, that Ireland, as a shoot from the stem of Great Britain, had brought forth fruit; but that, as a separate plant, it would neither strike its roots downward, nor spread its branches above; it would bear no fruit for at least an hundred years. It must either be shaded by the British oak, or it must be poisoned by the pestilential vapor of the tree of French liberty—that tree which had brought forth no fruit but the apples of Sodom. That great states should allow the smaller to enjoy their independence unmolested; was more to be wished than expected. Ireland could not stand alone. In the present state of Europe she must be united either to England or to France.

Fully convinced of the beneficial tendency of an Union, he looked forward with satisfaction to the change, which it would produce in Ireland. English capital would seek employment in Ireland, and diffuse improvement and wealth. The bogs would be converted into fields covered with smiling harvests;

vests; the barren mountains would be covered with cattle; mines would be wrought, and canals would unite the most distant parts of the country; the old sources of wealth would be extended; new ones would be discovered; and the inhabitants of Ireland, now poor, idle, and discontented, would be rendered rich, industrious, and happy. This change must be the work of time; and posterity would bless the wisdom and firmness of the parliaments of two countries, which effected so great a plan, and, generously superior to partial views and selfish considerations, coalesced into one for mutual interest.

Union was a contract that ought to be founded upon free consent, arising from a persuasion of utility. He was afraid that Ireland was not yet persuaded of the advantages, which she might derive from it, and that she had not taken that comprehensive view of the subject, which would be quickly followed by her full consent. In such a case this nation and the parliament of this country ought to shew that they were not actuated by any narrow and selfish views, and that they disdained to employ any corrupt influence for the purpose of obtaining that concurrence, which ought to be the result of conviction. At the same time, they ought to deprecate all opposition arising from partial views, local interests, selfish considerations, or what, with liberal minds, might have weight no less powerful, the love of popular applause: they ought to shew, that they respected the independence of the Irish parliament, and, that they were ready to acquiesce in that decision, which, after due deliberation, it should embrace. Such alone was the course suited to the high character of the British nation; and such, indeed, was the course which the legislature had avowed its determination to follow. This proceeding alone was consonant with eternal justice and with the dignity of the country, fitted to conciliate the affections of the Irish, a high-spirited but warm-hearted people.

In the present contest, he said, all our firmness and energy were required. France was supported in every country but her own, no less by the sword than by her pestilent doctrines, and by the corrupt ambition of the desperate. Armed with these instruments of destruction, she went on, spreading desolation where-ever she appeared, crushing in the dust equally all civil government and all ecclesiastical establishment. When he contemplated this hideous monster at a distance, it was with horror; near, he viewed it with anxiety, but without despondence, trusting, that under the protection of Providence, this country would be able to meet the danger. No human means, he was con-

vinced, could contribute more to this end than a liberal, free, and equitable legislative Union between Britain and Ireland.

Lord Minto made a long, argumentative, and elaborate speech in favor of Union.

The two countries seemed to him to approach each other by an irresistible attraction, by a species of political gravitation: no human obstruction, he thought, would long avail to keep them asunder; and, when they should once be in contact, another law of nature, a principle of adhesion and tenacity, would hold them together, and eternally cement and consolidate their Union. But, though the event thus seemed to be predestined, the best means of accelerating it ought not to be neglected.

For the illustration of his argument, he had recourse to the inconveniences and evils of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy which led to the establishment of the English monarchy; and the salutary effects of the change appeared in the ultimate preservation of the kingdom from Danish conquest, by which the divided states would otherwise have been enslaved.

He acknowledged the loyalty, prudence, honor, and spirit, of a great part of the Hibernian nation, while he lamented that these qualities had not been able to prevent an extensive conspiracy for the avowed purpose of separation. As this object had occasioned a civil war, the evils of imperfect connexion were at their height; and the two governments were called upon, by the great danger of their countries, to snatch the people from the precipice, on which they stood, and conduct them into that path, which had led the Welsh and Scots to "more than safety," to dignity, prosperity, and happiness.

Referring to the practical inducements which might recommend a legislative Union, his lordship divided into positive and negative the advantages derivable from it to Great Britain. To the former class, he said, belonged the real and effective force, which would accrue from it, in a naval and military view; and, in using the latter term, he chiefly alluded to the advantage of avoiding, in times of contest and of war, those embarrassments and distractions which rendered Ireland, instead of a resource, "only a dead weight hung round the neck of British exertion." He did not say that Ireland would inevitably be lost without an Union; but he feared that we should have no security for her preservation, if the bonds of connexion should not speedily be drawn much closer. With such apprehensions he deemed it not unreasonable to contemplate the consequences of a total separation of Ireland from Britain,
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and of the probable attendant on such a rupture, the alliance of the former state with the French. As an Irish democratical republic, or rather anarchy, would be the first result of the separation, we should immediately feel the disastrous effects of such a change. Those who ought to be our friends would then be our enemies; our western coasts would be greatly endangered; our trade would be injured; and a variety of evils would follow, all of which, if the French should become absolute masters of the new republic, would be alarmingly aggravated.

He then enumerated some of the consequences, which would result to Ireland from the separation. As it could not be supposed that the nation would be unanimous in rejecting British connexion for the purpose of fraternising with the French, the event, he said, would not take place before one party, now the strongest, should have been subdued. But submission to force would not change the mind; and the republican rulers of Ireland would find, that the British troops, when employed in the rescue of that country from the Gallic yoke, would be seconded by a great portion of the inhabitants. Hence would arise the complicated miseries of foreign and internal war. The charges of such a contest would fall with oppressive weight on a people hitherto protected in a great measure by Britain; and the insulated trade and wealth of Ireland would not furnish a sufficiency of men or of money for such importunate demands.

He would not detain their lordships by describing the extent or the violence of those passions, which now inflamed and exasperated both parts of the Irish nation against each other. Every one knew the firm and immovable basis, on which their mutual hatred stood, the irreconcilable nature of its motives, its bitter, malignant, and implacable character. In this frame and temper of mind, however, towards each other, one of those portions of Ireland claimed and exercised what was felt by both to be a species of dominion over the other. It was hardly too much to say, that there were two nations in Ireland; the one sovereign, the other subject. The sovereign class or cast of Irishmen claimed their sovereignty as of right, and grounded it on an old title of conquest, confirmed, as they contended by possession, acquiescence, and prescription. They claimed also the federal support of Great Britain in maintaining that dominion, on the solemn grounds of fidelity to implied compact, compensation for sacrifices, and reward for services. They shewed a close alliance and identity of views between themselves and the
English

English interest in Ireland at all times; and they relied as strongly on recent and even on present exertions in a common cause, as on the uniform tenor of their ancient services. In a word, they called at once upon the honor and gratitude of Great Britain, and supported that appeal by a stream and series of facts. But he never could admit the ascendancy of one part of a nation over another part of the same nation, to the extent and to the purpose claimed in Ireland, as capable of assuming any character deserving the denomination of right. That which was wrong on one side could never become a right on the other. Neither possession, nor prescription, nor any limitation of time which are supposed to cure the vices of bad titles, were at all applicable to the case of perpetually subsisting, and, as it were, renovating wrongs, especially such as affected the political rights of great numbers of men. If possession then would not constitute this singular right, which is claimed in wrong, as between the parties themselves, neither could it be improved by the interests, the engagements, or the obligations of a third party; he could not see how the *jus tertii*, as it might be called, of England, could affect the relative claims of these two Irish nations, or of these two parts of the Irish nation. The Catholics of Ireland claimed not only political equality in the government of their country, a claim in which his lordship sympathized with them; but they were thought to entertain, and to nourish yet more fondly and anxiously, claims on the *property* of protestants, the present possession of which they treated as mere usurpation; and these claims were of no trifling extent. If to the physical force already possessed by the Catholic body, were added (by any revolution) the advantages of political power, and the weight and influence which belonged to the authority of government and legislation, some danger might accrue to the property, the establishment, and even the personal security of the protestants in Ireland; and, hence arose an alarming dilemma. The protestants could not be supported in that ascendancy which seemed necessary even for their protection, without derogating from what might appear to be a natural right of the Catholics. The Catholics could not be supported in their claim of equality, without transferring to them that ascendancy, which equality of rights must draw to the larger body, and which from that moment must expose the Protestants to dangers from which they ought to be protected. Such seemed to be the practical difficulties in the way of abstract justice, while the government of Ireland continued merely local. An Irish parliament

ment, in which the ascendancy was either Protestant or Catholic (and it could not but lie on one side or the other), might be expected still, he feared to gore and lacerate the country, by one or other of the horns of that dilemma : and he saw no perfect remedy for Irish division, and its lamentable consequences, while these two enraged and implacable opponents were still shut up together, and still enclosed within the very theatre, on the very *arena* of their ancient and furious contention. That divided and double condition of the Irish people required something of an imperial *aula*, a legislature founded on a broader and more liberal basis, to administer impartial laws to all, and to reconcile security with justice. While one of these parties must judge the other, in which ever hand the fasces might be placed, there was reason to expect only violence in the suit, and, if not injustice, at least slow and imperfect justice in the decree. A strong conviction arose out of these considerations, that the united parliament of Great Britain and Ireland would, in the peculiar circumstances of Ireland, constitute a better legislature, and a more perfect because a more impartial parliament for all Ireland, than any representation of a minor part or section of that country, in a separate local parliament, ever could. Laws therefore beneficial to the mass of the people of Ireland, and promoting its general prosperity and happiness, must be expected with greater confidence from the united parliament, in which local partialities, interests, and passions, would not divert the straight and equal current of legislation, than from an Irish parliament, where these stumbling-blocks must forever bend or impede its course. In the united parliament right may be done unaccompanied by wrong. Irish Catholics might be invested with their political capacities, without the slightest danger to Protestant establishment or property. These, on the contrary, must acquire a tenfold and hundredfold security in the Protestant parliament, and the genuine Protestant ascendancy of the united kingdom. The Protestant church and property might be secured, without perpetuating the present humiliating and degrading exclusion of the Catholic part of the Irish nation.

For these reasons, he advised the insertion of an explicit article in the treaty or act of Union, providing for the just claims of the Catholic Irish ; but he was not strenuous or decisive in his recommendation ; for he added, that, “ if any political peculiarities of the present time should render it impracticable to engross these wholesome provisions in the written treaty it
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“ self,”* he would rather repress his wishes for the immediate accomplishment of this desirable end, than “ expose this great transaction to needless
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* It appears that the British ministers, in order to avoid any fresh difficulties or delays being thrown into the negotiation for Union, resolved not to introduce any stipulation for the Catholics, reserving that measure to be brought before the imperial parliament, from whose justice and liberality they confidently expected concurrence and support. That the British ministers were sincere in their intentions of bringing forward and confident in their expectations of carrying the question of Catholic emancipation in an imperial parliament, is manifest from certain written communications made by them to some of the leading persons of the Catholic body about the time of their retiring from office, which were to the following effect.

“ The leading part of his majesty’s ministers finding unsurmountable obstacles to the bringing forward measures of concession to the Catholic body, whilst in office, have felt it impossible to continue in administration under the inability to propose it with the circumstances necessary to carrying the measure with all its advantages, and they have retired from his majesty’s service, considering this line of conduct as most likely to contribute to its ultimate success. The Catholic body will, therefore, see how much their future hopes must depend upon strengthening their cause by good conduct in the mean time; they will prudently consider their prospects as arising from the persons who now espouse their interests, and compare them with those, which they could look to from any other quarter; they may with confidence rely on the zealous support of all those who retire and of many, who remain in office, when it can be given with a prospect of success. They may be assured that Mr. Pitt will do his utmost to establish their cause in the public favor, and prepare the way for their finally attaining their objects: and the Catholics will feel that as Mr. Pitt could not concur in a hopeless attempt to force it now, that he must at all times repress with the same decision as if he held an adverse opinion, any unconstitutional conduct in the Catholic body.

“ Under these circumstances it cannot be doubted that the Catholics will take the most loyal, dutiful, and patient line of conduct, that they will not suffer themselves to be led into measures which can, by any construction, give a handle to the opposers of their wishes, either to misinterpret their principles or to raise an argument for resisting their claims; but that by their prudent and exemplary demeanour they will afford additional grounds to the growing number of their advocates to enforce their claims on proper occasions, until their objects can be finally and advantageously attained.

“ *The Sentiments of a sincere Friend (i. e. Marquis Cornwallis) to the Catholic Claims.*

“ If the Catholics should now proceed to violence, or entertain any ideas of gaining their object by convulsive measures, or forming associations with men of Jacobinical principles, they must of course lose the support and aid of those, who have sacrificed their own situations in their cause, but who would at the same time feel it to be their indispensable duty to oppose every thing tending to confusion.

“ On the other hand, should the Catholics be sensible of the benefit they possess by having so many characters of eminence pledged not to embark in the service of government, except on
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“ and unprofitable hazard by unseasonable pertinacity or impatience,” and would be content to leave it to the mature deliberation and impartial judgment of the imperial legislature.

The Scots were soon reconciled to the Union of their kingdom with South Britain, and their patriotic feelings expanded to the whole compass of the island; and they did not consider themselves as degraded by their political amalgamation with the other natives of Britain.

If a separate political existence be contrary, nay fatal, to the real interests of the people of Ireland, and if a perfect incorporation and union with the British empire must be productive of security, aggrandisement, and happiness to Ireland, such an Union should, on that single but decisive ground of great and permanent utility, be the first and fondest wish of every Irish heart. If the Irish rejected the offers of Britain, according to every moral probability, the alternative would be union or separation; union or ruin; union with Great Britain, or slavery to France. If the proposal should not be accepted, Ireland would not probably long remain as she then was; her distinctions, her dignity, her independence, would expire; her political extinction would be accomplished; she would become subject to the degrading yoke of the general tyrant and task-master of Europe.

Viewing Ireland as a separate kingdom, it was impossible to disannex from it the idea of its actual and necessary dependence, subordination, and inferiority to Great Britain. The king of Great Britain was, in virtue of that crown, king also of Ireland; and the whole executive government of the latter realm was administered by a viceroy, who was appointed in effect by a British minister, and responsible only to the British tribunals. To these instances of subordination it might be added, that the legislative functions of

“ the terms of the Catholic privileges being obtained, it is to be hoped, that on balancing the advantages and disadvantages of their situation they would prefer a quiet and peaceable demeanour to any line of conduct of an opposite description.

“ The originals of these two declarations were handed to Dr. Troy and afterwards to Lord Fingall on the same day, by Marquis Cornwallis, in the presence of Lieutenant Colonel Littlehales, in the beginning of May, 1801, shortly before his departure from the government of Ireland, and before the arrival of Lord Hardwicke, his successor. His excellency desired they should be discreetly communicated to the bishops and principal Catholics, but not inserted in the newspapers. They appeared, nevertheless, in the English prints soon afterwards, and were copied into the Irish papers.

the fovereign of Ireland could be performed only under the great seal of Britain. Thus the Irish parliament was left dependent for the validity of every one of its legislative acts, first on the chancellor of England, and, through his responsibility, on that very parliament of England, an equal participation in the authority of which it had been lately contended was degrading to Ireland. Another circumstance denoting inferiority was the following: "Ireland must take her part in all the wars of Great Britain: she must bear her share of their burthens, and must incur all their hazards: she may lose a province, or may become herself a province of the enemy; yet she cannot, by the utmost success of the war, acquire an acre of new territory to the Irish dominion. Every acquisition made by the forces of the empire, however great her share may have been in the danger or exertion, accrues to the crown of Great Britain. Ireland claimed no sovereignty in any one of the foreign possessions or provinces of the British empire." The Irish parliament had never asserted or conceived the right of legislating for any of the conquests of the king of England, that is to say, of the king of Ireland. Ireland had planted no Irish colonies, but had furnished planters to all those of Great Britain. He defined or at least described an independent sovereignty to be a state, which could make war and peace, which could acquire dominion by conquest, and which could plant colonies and establish foreign settlements? And he described a subordinate and dependent country to be one, which must contribute its quota to all the wars of a neighbouring kingdom, must incur all the risks of those wars, and partake in all their disasters, while all that was acquired by its success fell, like the lion's share, to that country, with which it claimed to be co-ordinate and co-equal.

Ireland, in various instances, had a very small share of the dignity of independence. But, Union would place the two countries on a footing of perfect equality, would necessarily improve the independence and dignity of the inferior, which, no longer subordinate, would then fully participate in all the rights of sovereignty. As to the competency of parliament to adopt the plan, he observed, that the strong and emphatic title of omnipotence of parliament, was not merely a bold figure used by some writers on our government, but seemed to be literally and correctly descriptive of parliamentary supremacy, and of the unlimited sovereignty of the British legislature.

Other topics would have been discussed by Lord Minto, if he had not been conscious of prolixity in the investigation of former points. Having expressed

pressed his gratitude for the attention of the peers to his arguments in support of the expediency of the measure and of the competency of parliament to its execution, he concluded with praying for its speedy accomplishment.

Lord Boringdon and Lord Hay (Earl of Kinnoul in Scotland) argued on the same side. No one indeed spoke in opposition to the Union, though a protest against it were signed by the Lords Holland and King, and the Earl of Thanet.

The address being voted, a conference was holden with the commons on the following day; and the deputed lords then proposed, that it should be offered to the throne as the joint address of both houses.

Before the commons concurred in the address to the king, they once more brought the plan of Union to a fresh discussion.

On the 22d of April, when Mr. Pitt moved that the house should join in the address voted by the peers, Mr. Sylvester Douglas (now Lord Glenbervie) delivered a long harangue in favor of the Union.

Lord Sheffield spoke also on the same side. Making various commercial calculations with a view of promoting its success, he contended that an infusion of British capital and industry, of British arts and manufactures, would meliorate in every respect the condition of Ireland, but that without an Union such a communication could not be expected.

Sir Francis Burdet conceived Mr. Pitt a very unfit minister to bring the measure to a happy conclusion; all his efforts, he thought, would inflame rather than heal the wounds of Ireland.

Mr. Buxton vindicated the premier from the censures thrown out by the Baronet. The miseries and calamities of Ireland could alone be imputed to those pestilential societies, of whose existence Sir Francis could not be ignorant.

Mr. Hawkins Browne and Major-General Loftus declared themselves friendly to an Union, though the former were doubtful of the expediency of introducing a hundred Irish members into the British House of Commons.

Lieutenant-General Fitzpatrick thought it unnecessary to vote the address, as an appeal to the crown upon the difference between the parliaments would argue a want of delicacy, and might be productive of a fatal discord and division.

Mr. Canning considered the refusal of an answer to a solemn message as a novel mode of showing respect to the crown, and did not regard such silence as more respectful to the Irish parliament. He asked, how the valuable right

of impeachment could be exercised by an Irish parliament against the king's ministers in Great Britain, his proper and constitutional advisers in the affairs of Ireland. As to the power of limiting or altering the succession to the crown, Ireland was destitute of that power which Britain enjoyed; and, indeed, the perfect equality and independence, which the parliament of that kingdom was now said to possess, and would resign in the event of an Union, did not appear to him to exist.

He took an opportunity of vindicating Mr. Pitt from the charge of having kindled the rebellion, for the purpose of bringing Ireland more completely under his yoke. He attributed the commotions principally to the influence of jacobinical doctrines, and ridiculed the absurdity of ascribing them to the recall of the Earl Fitzwilliam, or to the machinations and the conduct of the premier. He admitted, that no union but that of affection could be lasting or advantageous.

After some observations in favor of the settlement of 1782, from Lord William Russell, and renewed objections to its finality from Mr. Pitt, the address* was adopted by the commons; and, on the 26th, the sentiments of both houses on the subject were communicated in due form to his majesty.

Whilst

* The following was the form of the address.

“ MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

“ WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled, humbly beg leave to assure your majesty, that we have proceeded with the utmost attention to the consideration of the important objects recommended to us in your majesty's message respecting the connexion between this country and Ireland.

“ We entertain a firm persuasion that a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the similarity of laws, constitution, and government, and on a sense of mutual interests and affections, by promoting the security, wealth, and commerce, of the respective kingdoms, and by allaying the distractions which have unhappily prevailed in Ireland, must afford fresh means of opposing at all times an effectual resistance to the destructive projects of our foreign and domestic enemies, and must tend to confirm and augment the stability, power, and resources of the empire.

“ Impressed with these considerations, we feel it our duty humbly to lay before your majesty such propositions as appear to us best calculated to form the basis of such a settlement, leaving it to your majesty's wisdom, at such time and in such manner as your majesty, in your parental solicitude for the happiness of your people, shall judge fit, to communicate these propositions to your parliament of Ireland, with whom we shall be at all times ready to concur in all such measures as

“ may

Whilst the question of Union was pending in the British senate, that of Ireland continued to occupy itself in its other legislative concerns. Some very long and interesting debates took place upon Mr. Dobbs's motion for a commutation of tithes; upon the loyalist's claim bill, and on the rebel disqualification bill.* On the second reading of which on the 29th of March, Sir H. Langrishe expressed his disapprobation of the spirit of the bill, which he said had been brought in by the members for the city of Dublin, in conformity to the instructions of their constituents; but, as he did not profess to hold the corporation of Dublin in the same degree of respect with those gentlemen, he could not bring himself to approve of the principle on which it had been introduced. He considered the bill as tending to countenance an opinion that parliament was desirous of retracting the grant of the elective franchise to the Roman Catholics; as interfering with the royal prerogative of pardoning crimes by an *ex post facto* law, and as taking away from those, who had been forced or deluded into rebellion every inducement to contrition and repentance. The particular provisions of the bill he thought equally objectionable; the bill ordained that an oath should be tendered, by which the elector should swear that he had never been an United Irishman or a rebel; thus making a man's own oath the proof, from which his guilt was to be established, and rendering him liable to a prosecution for high treason if he should take the oath. The provision, subjecting the person taking the oath falsely to the penalties of perjury, he considered perfectly innocent; as a man's guilt in this case would infer the previous guilt of high treason, and when he was hanged the punishment of the pillory would not be very injurious to him. He moved, "that the committal be postponed to the 1st of June."

The bill was vehemently supported by Messrs. Ogle, J. C. Beresford, and Dr. Duigenan: The attorney general considered that to pass this bill would

"may be found most conducive to the accomplishment of this great and salutary work. And we
 "trust that, after full and mature consideration, such a settlement may be framed and established
 "by the deliberative consent of the parliaments of both kingdoms, as may be conformable to the
 "sentiments, wishes, and real interests of your majesty's faithful subjects of Great Britain and
 "Ireland, and may unite them inseparably in the full enjoyment of the blessings of our free and in-
 "valuable constitution, in the support of the honor and dignity of your majesty's crown, and in
 "the preservation and advancement of the welfare and prosperity of the whole British empire."

8 Parl. Eng. Deb. p. 542.

* The title of that bill was, for preventing persons, who had ever taken the Oath of the United Irishmen, from voting for Members to serve in Parliament.

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be to commit a breach of the covenant of pardon made with the country ; it would, he said, involve in its grasp many innocent and deluded persons, whose return to loyalty was indubitable, but who in the early part of the system of United Irishmen, had entered into it from curiosity or from folly, and had retired the moment they perceived its wickedness ; it would also involve all those United Irishmen, whose useful discoveries had enabled government to meet and baffle the dangers which threatened the country ; and it would involve others, who without ill intention, but from ignorance, had been members of the Union. Gentlemen well knew, that

Evil into the mind of God or man

Might come and go so unapproved as leaves

No stain behind.

And this bill went to exclude them from a possibility of being restored to their former situation.

A division took place, and the bill was ordered for committal on the first of June (by which it was lost.)

On the 6th of April came before the house a matter of notoriety, very illustrative of the spirit, with which the late rebellion was according to some opinions checked, and according to others provoked.

Lord Matthew presented a petition from T. Judkin Fitzgerald, Esq. late high sheriff of the county of Tipperary, praying to be indemnified for certain acts done by him in suppression of the late rebellion, not justifiable in common law. Lord M. bore testimony to the conduct of Mr. F. which, he said, from a local residence in the county, he had frequent opportunities of observing ; that he was an extremely active, spirited, and meritorious magistrate, and a very principal mean of putting down rebellion, preventing escapes, and preserving the lives and properties of his majesty's loyal subjects.

The petition was received and read at the table. It set forth, that the petitioner had undertaken the office of high sheriff for the last year at the solicitation of the principal gentlemen of the county, with great hazard and inconvenience to himself, at a moment when the kingdom was menaced by invasion and rebellion, and that whole county organized for insurrection, and infested by United Irishmen, who held constant meetings, in co-operation with the plan of treason for subverting the state. That about the month of May, 1798, after the proclamation of martial law, the petitioner, at the head of a party of militia and yeomen, had been obliged to fight a body of rebels in
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that county, whom he caused to surrender; but finding it impossible to stop the progress of rebellion there, as in many other parts of the kingdom, or to discover the various and horrid plans intended by traitors for the destruction of his majesty's liege subjects, he had been reduced to the necessity, in many instances, under the advice of several most respectable magistrates and gentlemen of the county, when all offers of pardon and pecuniary reward had failed, to order corporal punishment of whipping to many persons, of whose guilt he had secret information from persons, whose names he could not publicly disclose, as many persons both before and since had been murdered for giving such information; and therefore, in order to encourage persons to give such information, the magistrates were publicly sworn to keep secret the names of informants. That in consequence of petitioner's exertions, in which he was obliged to do many acts not justifiable at common law, that county was saved from destruction. That for acts of notoriety done by him in suppression of rebellion, many actions had been brought, and many more threatened, at the instance of persons who had entered into subscription to support them. That two such actions had been lately had at the assizes of Clonmel, in both of which verdicts had been obtained against petitioner, one for words spoken, and the other for corporal punishment, inflicted publicly on the 29th of May, in the town of Clonmel, which was to have been attacked two days afterwards by 8000 rebels. The learned judge, who presided at said trials being of opinion, in point of law, that unless petitioner produced information on oath of the ground, on which he acted, his case would not fall within the provisions of the Indemnity Act passed last session; but that the petitioner, not feeling himself justifiable to disclose in a public court of justice the nature of the information on which he had acted, and knowing that many of the informations, on which he had acted were in the possession of several generals and other officers, who had since been ordered out of the kingdom; that some of the persons who gave such informations had been since banished to foreign parts; and feeling he should be guilty of a breach of faith and duty in disclosing the names of his informants remaining in the kingdom, on whose informations secretly and confidentially given, he was induced to act as aforesaid, he did decline such disclosure. The petitioner therefore prayed, that, without exposing the persons, who had given such information to the vengeance of their persecutors, he might be at liberty to have the same and the whole of his case investigated, and the truth thereof established
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in such manner as to the house should appear meet, so as that the state might receive no injury, and that the petitioner, and those under whose advice, assistance, and information he acted, might not be exposed to vexatious and ruinous proceedings at common law, and that honest men might not be deterred thereby from acting in perilous times for the safety of the state and protection of his majesty's loyal subjects.

Mr. Holmes rose to move, that the petition be referred to a committee, and bore testimony to the very meritorious conduct of the petitioner, who, by his vigilance, activity, firmness, and indefatigable exertions, had defeated machinations in that country, which had well nigh overwhelmed the lives and properties of its loyal inhabitants. There was scarcely a man, on whom corporal punishment had been inflicted to extort confession, who did not acknowledge guilt, and discover wide-extended accompliceship in treason. Immense quantities of arms of every kind were discovered, and in consequence cart loads were daily brought into Clonmel from all quarters of the county. Under those important considerations, he thought the house in its wisdom and justice could not hesitate to give its protection to a man, who had deserved so well of his country.

Mr. Secretary Cooke fully concurred in the sentiments expressed by Mr. Holmes, and was enabled from his own knowledge to state, that the most essential services had been rendered to the state and to the country by Mr. Fitzgerald. Sunk in a dangerous security, the gentlemen of the county of Tipperary were wholly ignorant of the extensive system of organization, which prevailed in that county, when the activity, enterprize, and unwearied research of Mr. Fitzgerald developed a system of the most formidable treason, which would have been attended with consequences much more fatal and extensive, than in any other county in the kingdom.

A similar indolence and security had in the counties of Kildare, Wicklow, and Wexford suffered, and in some degree nurtured, treason, into open and terrible rebellion. Had the early, prompt, and vigorous activity, so happily manifested by Mr. Fitzgerald, been adopted in those ill-fated counties which he had mentioned, their principal inhabitants would not have lost their lives or their fortunes.

The Attorney General bore testimony from official information, as well as from local knowledge of the very spirited and meritorious conduct of Mr.

Fitz-

Fitzgerald, and he trusted the house would cheerfully accede to the prayer of his petition.

Honorable Mr. Yelverton said, he should be one of the last men to refuse indemnity or protection to any deserving magistrate or loyal man for acts warranted by justice or necessity, in putting down conspiracy or rebellion, but he could not sit silent and hear the falsehood attempted to be palmed on the house by this almighty sheriff, in the petition now on the table. The petition stated, that the judges who presided at that trial, who were Mr. Justice Chamberlain and Lord Yelverton, had given their opinion in point of law, that unless Mr. Fitzgerald could produce the information on oath, on which he could justify his flagellation of the plaintiff Wright, he could not come under the provisions of the Indemnity Act. No such thing was ever said by either of the judges. He was present at the trial, and not a single tittle of evidence had come out in defence of Mr. Fitzgerald, nor was even a pretence pleaded that could found a scintilla of suspicion against the plaintiff Wright, to justify those unparalleled cruelties exercised upon him, for which the jury, a most respectable one, awarded 500*l.* damages, and which the learned judges declared ought to have been considerably more than the sum claimed.

With the permission of the house he would shortly state the facts, as they appeared on evidence of several most respectable witnesses, and from those facts he would appeal to the house, whether such sanguinary, wanton, and unparalleled cruelties were entitled to their sanction and indemnity?*

The action brought by Mr. Wright was for assault and battery. It appeared that Mr. Wright was a teacher of the French language, of which he was employed as professor by two eminent boarding-schools at Clonmel, and in the families of several respectable gentlemen in the town and neighbourhood.

Mr. Wright had heard that Mr. Fitzgerald had received some charges of a seditious nature against him, and with a promptitude not very characteristic of conscious guilt, he immediately went to the house of Mr. Fitzgerald, whom he did not find at home, and afterwards to that of another magistrate, who was also out, for the purpose of surrendering himself for trial; he went again the same day, accompanied by a gentleman, to the house of Mr. Fitzgerald, and being shewn into his presence, explained the purpose of his

* As much of this case is omitted as is contained in a former note.

coming, when Mr. Fitzgerald drawing his sword, said, down on your knees, you rebellious scoundrel, and receive your sentence. In vain did the poor man protest his innocence: in vain did he implore trial on his knees. Mr. Fitzgerald sentenced him first to be flogged, and then shot. The unfortunate man surrendered his keys to have his papers searched, and expressed his readiness to suffer any punishment the proof of guilt could justify: but no—this was not agreeable to Mr. Fitzgerald's principles of jurisdiction: his mode was first to sentence, then punish, and afterwards investigate. His answer to the unfortunate man was, "What, you Carmelite rascal, do you dare to speak after sentence?" and then struck him and ordered him to prison.

Next day this unhappy man was dragged to a ladder in Clonmell Street, to undergo his sentence. He knelt down in prayer, with his hat before his face. Mr. Fitzgerald came up, dragged his hat from him and trampled on it, seized the man by the hair, dragged him to the earth, kicked him and cut him across the forehead with his sword, and then had him stripped naked, tied up to the ladder, and ordered him fifty lashes.

Major Rial, an officer in the town, came up as the fifty lashes were completed, and asked Mr. F. the cause. Mr. F. handed the major a note written in French, saying, he did not himself understand French, though he understood Irish, but he [Major Rial] would find in that letter, what would justify him in flogging the scoundrel to death.

Major Rial read the letter. He found it to be a note addressed for the victim, translated in these words:

"SIR,

"I AM extremely sorry I cannot wait on you at the hour appointed, being unavoidably obliged to attend Sir Laurence Parsons.

"Yours,

"Baron de CLUES."

Notwithstanding this translation, which Major Rial read to Mr. Fitzgerald, he ordered fifty lashes more to be inflicted, and with such peculiar severity, that, horrid to relate! the bowels of the bleeding victim could be perceived to be convulsed and working through his wounds! Mr. Fitzgerald finding he could not continue the application of his cat o'nine-tails on that part without cutting his way into his body, ordered the waistband of his breeches to be cut open, and fifty more lashes to be inflicted there. He then left the unfortunate man bleeding and suspended, while he went to the barrack

rack to demand a file of men to come and shoot him ; but being refused by the commanding officer, he came back and sought for a rope to hang him, but could not get one. He then ordered him to be cut down, and sent back to prison, where he was confined in a dark small room, with no other furniture than a wretched pallet of straw, without covering, and there he remained six or seven days without medical assistance !

“ Gracious God ! (said Mr. Yelverton) will any man say that such a conduct is to be sanctioned and indemnified by this house ? Are the laws to be supported by trampling on them ? Is the man who could commit such barbarities, without the colour of justice or necessity, or even the shadow of just suspicion, to come for protection to this house ? I feel an indignation on this subject, that almost deprives me of utterance. I have before said, that I would be one of the last men to refuse every reasonable indemnity to loyal magistrates for acts done under the pressure of apparent justice or necessity for the suppression of rebellion, but I will never vote for protection and indemnity to a bloody tyrant, whose conduct, though it may have produced good in some instances, has been productive of infinitely more mischief, and on those grounds I shall give the petition every resistance in my power.”

The Attorney General in reply said, the petitioner, whose exertions had been productive of the happiest consequences, only complained of the persecutions, to which he was exposed ; his property, and what was infinitely of more importance to an honorable man, his character was at stake. What he claimed was investigation, and what he offered was proof upon oath of the guilt which he had punished. The honorable member would have acted more becomingly by awaiting in discreet patience the testimony offered by the petitioner, and deciding deliberately and dispassionately thereon, than by becoming an accuser in the first instance, and prematurely avowing strong indignation against the petitioner. The conduct of Mr. F. and its salutary consequences under the urgent necessity which prevailed, was vouched and approved of by the authority of the noble lord and the honorable member, who, from the circumstance of local residence and experience, must be best able to judge, and therefore the authority in favor of the petitioner was at least as respectable as that of the honorable member.

Mr. Yelverton said a few words in explanation and reply.

Dr. Browne could not see what measures a committee could adopt to
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ground any proceeding of the house for the indemnification of the petitioner against all future actions for damages for injuries done by him, whether justifiable or not. The bill of indemnity already passed allowed, he thought, ample indemnification to every magistrate, who could claim or expect it on any reasonable ground, and therefore he could not see, why the house was to be called on to exceed that bill for the advantage of such an individual.

Mr. Edgeworth said, he would endeavour as far as it was in his power to repress that indignation, which he was taught in his early years to consider as one of the best guardians of virtue. He would calmly give his negative to this motion, believing it to be of most dangerous tendency.

With respect to the general character of the petitioner, he knew nothing of it but from what he heard in that house, and from what he had seen in the public prints. He would take it for granted that the petitioner's private character fully justified the eulogium, which had been bestowed upon him by the noble lord, and that his public services had been as meritorious and as successful as the honorable and worthy member [Mr. Holmes] had stated. But there were means in the power of the crown sufficiently ample to reward every useful exertion, and, as a member of that house, to interfere between the sentence of the law and its execution, was what he never could be reconciled to. A verdict had been given by a jury, with which two judges of the highest character had in the most explicit manner concurred. To interfere with that verdict was to call those judges to the bar of the house. The indemnity bill had gone as far as possible to protect magistrates; but beyond the limits of that bill to preclude any of his majesty's subjects from obtaining damages for personal injury, except where obvious mistake of judgment had occasioned those injuries, was so grossly unconstitutional as to call upon every real friend to the safety of the kingdom to resist it. He could not foretell what proceedings might be grounded upon this motion; he should therefore oppose it in the first instance; and he could not sit down without observing, that the right honorable gentlemen on the treasury bench would serve their country better by leaving the execution of the laws to juries and judges, than by becoming partizans in support of any favorite system of men and measures.

Mr. Ormsby severely censured the honorable member, who had endeavoured to excite the feelings and commiseration of the house for the fore back of a fellow, who, he believed, would be found, on enquiry, to have very well-

well-deserved what he got: it was at least well-known, that he had many bad connexions, and associated with men of such principles as fully warranted the suspicion of his own.

Those who condemned the petitioner for severity to such criminals seemed to forget that loyal men could hope for no mercy, who fell into their clutches. He trusted the house would extend ample protection to a man who had so well-deserved it.

Colonel Bagwell (member for the county of Tipperary) said, that it was not his intention to have spoken to the question then before the house, but to let the petition quietly go to a committee, had it not been for what fell from the honorable member who spoke last. He was as ready as any person to give credit to the services rendered to the county of Tipperary by the activity of the petitioner; but he was shocked and concerned to hear the sufferings of an innocent and respectable man treated with levity and indifference. As insinuations were thrown out against the character of Mr. Wright, he felt it his duty to declare what had come within his knowledge respecting that unfortunate and much-abused man. He was present during the trial of the action brought by Mr. Wright against the petitioner, and it was but an act of common justice to say, that in his mind, not the remotest shade of suspicion attached to the character of the plaintiff in that case, nor did the investigation which took place on that occasion furnish the most distant justification for the severe and terrible punishment inflicted on him. A similar opinion of the unfortunate man's innocence and loyalty was expressed from the bench, by the revered characters who presided. As to the general character of Mr. Wright, it was most unexceptionable in point of morality, religion, and politics; and to that character, the best evidence was the very high estimation, in which he was holden by the best and most respectable men in the town of Clonmell. He would beg leave further to add, that this unfortunate man, who had been thus so severely dealt by, on the ground of a suspicion, which it was, as yet, apparent his conduct had not justified, was nearly related to some of the most illustrious and best characters, which that country could boast of: the fact must be admitted in the sense of rank allied to virtue, when he stated him to have been a near relation of the late Lord Clonmell, under whose patronage he had been educated, and sent abroad; he was also a near relation to that worthy, respectable, and lamented man, Robert Shaw, Esq. and likewise nearly related to the present Lord Dunboyne; and as far as he
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could gain acquaintance with his character, he had never disgraced a relationship, which must have conferred honor on any man. Col. Bagwell concluded a short speech, dictated by humanity and justice, by saying, that he thought the conduct of Mr. Fitzgerald generally very meritorious, and deserving the protection of government against the consequences of errors committed in his zeal for the safety of the state; but it was too certain, that many innocent persons had suffered most severely from that zeal, and he thought it but conformable to every principle of humanity, justice, and sound policy, that that compensation which was in the power of the laws to make them, should be afforded;—a compensation which, taken in every point of view, must fall infinitely short of their sufferings and their claims.

The question being put, the petition was referred to a committee.

On the 8th of April, Mr. Holmes reported from the committee, that the object of the enquiry committed to them could not be so well obtained in an open committee, as it would be in a secret committee; the order was therefore discharged, and here the affair was dropped. Mr. Judkin Fitzgerald afterwards received a considerable pension for his active services in quelling the rebellion.

Very warm debates took place upon the bill for suppressing the rebellion, which authorized the lord lieutenant, during the rebellion, whether the courts of law were open or not, to take the most vigorous steps for suppressing the rebellion, and for punishing persons furthering the cause of rebellion with martial law; and which secured the acts done in pursuance of the orders of the lord lieutenant from being questioned; and prohibited any court, civil or criminal, to take cognizance of any thing done in furtherance of that act. These unlimited powers vested in the lord lieutenant were submitted to by some in the personal confidence of the humanity and discretion of the Marquis Cornwallis. They were opposed by several friends to government, as larger than necessary: and many urged strongly an amendment proposed by Mr. Dawson (member for Monaghan), that the powers should be co-extensive only with the proclaimed counties.

Mr. G. Ponsonby observed generally on the clause, that the powers contained in it were undefined, and its expression vague and general. There was no method, whereby to ascertain when a rebellion might properly be said to exist or to terminate; and it was entirely left to the chief governor to decide at his discretion on this momentous fact, and the continuation of martial law
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and absolute power : it did not describe to what rank of military officers orders to execute martial law were to be issued. He wished to know, what was meant by “injuring the persons or property of loyal subjects?” He observed, on the part of the clause, which made the military only subject to trial by courts-martial for any offence against the subject : as it was a sort of French measure, he would apply to it a French appellation ; and he would ask, what expectation of redress the aggrieved could have from those *military tribunals* ?

Mr. Ponsonby concluded by saying, that he made those observations for the purpose of giving the attorney general an opportunity for explanation.

The attorney general gave no explanation.

Lord Castlereagh, in enumerating the disadvantages, that would attend the introduction of such a passage in the bill, said, that if the county of Monaghan, although at present apparently quiet, were to start suddenly into rebellion, in like manner as the county of Wexford did, which was thought to be one of the most tranquil counties in the kingdom at that time, what was to be the consequence ? Was the military to remain inactive, and look tamely on, while the country was devastated by rebellion ; or were they to oppose the progress of insurrection, and be afterwards tried as for the murder of every rebel who should fall ? It had been urged, that this law, if dispensed by any other hands than those now holding the reins of government, might be most fatally abused. Such an argument was certainly very complimentary to the present administration ; but still it was an argument of jealousy, and the unhappy circumstances of the times left no application of this jealousy but to the government, or to traitors. If gentlemen thought, that they and the loyal inhabitants of the country would experience more mercy from united Irishmen, than from the persons exercising the government of that country, in God’s name, let them apply their jealousy to the administration, and their confidence to the united Irishmen ; for the state of the country left no alternative, but to strengthen the hands of the executive power to the utmost extent, or to submit to the predominancy of treason.

At three o’clock of the morning Mr. Dawson’s amendment was negatived.

Flushed with confidence, the Anti-Unionists were determined to remove every obstacle, that they conceived their opponents might avail themselves of, in bringing the measure to bear. In order therefore to shut out the possibility of any future difference between the parliaments of the two kingdoms

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in the appointment of a regent, in case that necessity should recur, they brought forward a regency bill.*

On the 11th of February, the right honorable Mr. Fitzgerald moved the order of the day for going into a committee on the regency bill, when Lord Castlereagh observed, that on the second reading of the bill, he pledged himself not to offer any objection to it, provided it appeared adequate to the remedy it went to supply. His lordship's opinion was, that it would not prove a remedy for the inconvenience complained of. It went, in his mind, only to

* The following is a copy of that bill :

“ *A Bill to provide for the Administration of the Government of Ireland, whensoever and as often as the Government of Great Britain shall be administered by a Regent or Regency.*

“ FORASMUCH as this kingdom of Ireland is annexed and united to the imperial crown of England, and by the laws and statutes of this kingdom is declared to be justly and rightly depending upon, and belonging, and for ever united to the same, and the kings and queens of England are, by undoubted right, kings and queens of this realm, and ought to enjoy the state, title, majesty, power, pre-eminence, jurisdiction, prerogative, and authority of kings and queens of the same :

“ And whereas the exercise and administration of the regal powers of the imperial crown of Great Britain may happen to be vested in, and committed to a regent or regency, or to some person or persons by some other title, name, or description :

“ And whereas the exercises and administration of the regal powers of the imperial crown of Ireland should be vested in, appertain to, and belonging to the person or persons in whom the administration of the regal powers of the imperial crown of Great Britain shall be vested, by whatever title, name, or description, the exercise or administration of the same shall be vested in him or them.

“ We, therefore, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled, determined to contribute every thing in our power to the firm and lasting establishment of the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, do most humbly beseech your majesty, that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that whensoever and as often as the regal powers of the imperial crown of Great Britain shall be exercised or administered by a regent or regency, or by any person or persons by any other title, name, or description, that the regal power of this your majesty's realm of Ireland shall be exercised or administered by the same person or persons, in whom the exercise and administration of the regal powers of the imperial crown of Great Britain shall be vested, by whatever name, title, or description, the same shall be so vested in him or them.

“ Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that such person or persons shall exercise and administer the regal rights of the imperial crown of this realm, under the same restrictions and limitations as such person or persons shall be subject to, in the exercise and administration of the regal powers of the imperial crown of Great Britain, and not otherwise.”

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a part of the evil; namely, the effect, but left the cause of the evil untouched. Thus the great malady still remained, and the connexion between both countries would in no instance be better secured. Two parliaments perfectly equal in point of rights, might at any future period differ respecting their choice of a regent, and therefore the bill could not effect that unity of the executive, which the measure proposed to establish.

Circumstanced as the countries were, the questions of peace and war, of treaties with foreign powers, of different religions might, at some future period, lead to a difference of decision between both parliaments, and such occurrence would shake the connexion, and in consequence the empire, to its foundations.

If questions of comparative advantage between countries might arise, how could a regency bill operate as a remedy for the evil?

His lordship wished to be informed, how a bill, which went to establish the unity of the regal powers, could identify the necessary powers of a regent for other countries: might not the particular circumstances of one country differ so materially from the other, that the regency for both kingdoms could not conveniently be exercised by the same person? Or did not the bill go to oblige the monarch to appoint one and the same regent, which in fact went to restrict the legal authority? Thus either the regal powers were curtailed, or the regency bill was inefficient to remove the inconvenience it went to remedy. The regent was to all intents and purposes a deputy; and could a regent in that case appoint a lord lieutenant? Could a deputy appoint a deputy? He presumed he could not:—and should a regent send over a lord lieutenant to that country, he was satisfied that the council could object to his authority.

His lordship read part of a speech of Mr. Fox's, to shew, that the adjustment of 1782 was not considered as a final one, that it went merely to quiet the political struggle which then existed; and that it was indispensably necessary to give up something for that imperial purpose.

His lordship concluded by saying, that the measure was inefficient to the purpose it held forth; calculated to blind the country, and disgrace the legislature.

Right Honorable Mr. Fitzgerald declared, that it was only in a case of imperious conviction, that he was led to differ from the noble lord. His idea in introducing the bill, arose from the arguments founded on the possible emer-

gency of the appointment of a regent; it being urged, that the parliaments of both countries were free to make different elections. He wished, as far as his limited abilities could, to supply that deficiency, and consequently to remove the cause of complaint. He had procured all the assistance possible in framing the bill; and all the law-authorities he consulted, agreed with him in the opinion, that he had provided fully and completely for the deficiency complained of.

Mr. Fitzgerald concluded by moving an amendment to meet an objection of Lord Castlereagh's, viz. after the word *shall*, in the first clause, by adding the words, "according to the laws and constitution of Great Britain."

Mr. Foster, for the first time, now delivered his sentiments at considerable length. His first aim was to demonstrate the finality of the settlement of 1782. He censured Mr. Pitt's* speech, which he termed a paltry production, the merest tissue of general assertion without proof, high-flowing language without meaning, and assumptions without argument.

One point, he observed, was a new and incontrovertible ground of constitutional permanence and finality—namely, that modification of Poynings' law which secured the continuance of the connection between the kingdoms, by rendering the great seal of Britain necessary for every Irish law, and making the British minister responsible to the British nation, if any bill tending to injure the empire, or to separate Ireland from it, should receive the royal assent in the western realm. This regulation, he argued, was intended to secure union and connection on a firm, lasting, and unalterable basis. It gave to the British parliament, as Mr. Dundas had observed, a control over the third estate of the Irish parliament, but it was a control over the king's naked power of assent only; which gave to Great Britain an effectual pledge, that Ireland retained no power to do any act (i. e. without the concurrence of Great Britain) to weaken or impair the connection.

For his having recommended the commercial propositions of 1785, he had been accused of great inconsistency. But he denied, that an atom of the constitution would have been surrendered by the plan of 1785, but this new

* As various editions of that gentleman's speech had been circulated, he selected that to which government had given its sanction of authority, which had been printed by the king's printer under their direction, of which 10,000 copies had been circulated *gratis* by them at the public expence.

system would lead to its utter annihilation. *The measure of 1782 was all constitutional—that of 1785 all commercial.

The pretences for a legislative Union were ill supported. The risque of a disagreement on the subject of peace or war, or with regard to foreign treaties, would not justify the adoption of a measure so unconstitutional. The case of regency afforded the only apparent foundation of alarm; but the bill now under consideration would remove all apprehensions on that head.

The arguments adduced for an Union of the two legislatures were, he said, equally applicable to the Union of the two houses of either parliament. These might disagree, and ought, by parity of reasoning, to be formed into one assembly. Where would then be our constitution? It would yield to monarchical or republican despotism. The balancing principle composed the chief excellence of our constitution; and why might not the two legislatures, guarded by one head, perform national and imperial functions in a better and more efficacious manner than a combined parliament.

Mr. Foster then took a very wide and minute review of the trade of Ireland, and declared his opinion, that it would not flourish more after an Union than under a resident parliament. It was already in a thriving state; it enjoyed all desirable freedom, and required only the care and attention of its natural protectors.

On the subject of religion he barely remarked, that an Irish parliament might adjust all points in which the Protestants and Catholics differed, as judiciously and effectually as an imperial legislature.

He severely censured that want of political wisdom, which had induced the English minister to hold out Ireland to the enemy as the most vulnerable part of the empire, torn by internal factions, barbarous, weak, and contemptible. It was painful even to refer to the phrases, by which he insulted the feelings of every Irishman. They knew them to be unfounded. Had they been true, it was the duty of a discreet statesman to have concealed with reverence the failings and weakness of so considerable and important a part of the empire. He tells the enemy the danger and the remedy; the danger immediate—the

* The speaker imputed to the British minister great insincerity in quoting his words in 1785, from Woodfall's Report, in having omitted the following pointed expression of his sentiment:—
“ He should think himself indeed unworthy of a seat in that house, or of the name of Irishman, if
“ he could consent to barter an atom of the constitution of his country for all the commerce in the
“ world.”

remedy distant and uncertain. He destroys a constitution which the Irish hold, as the dear sacred palladium of their liberty, and would persuade the world there would be more zeal in Ireland, when the constitution should no longer remain, to animate its spirit and invigorate its exertions.

Another advantage mentioned by the advocates of the measure was still more strange, namely, that it would tranquillize Ireland. If a resident parliament, and resident gentry, could not soften the manners, and amend the habits, or promote social intercourse, would no parliament, and fewer resident gentry, do it? What was the great misfortune with respect to the tenantry of that kingdom? The middle-men, who intervene between the owner and the actual occupier, and these are mostly to be found on the estates of absentees. It had remained for Mr. Pitt to advance a new system, that depriving a country of its native resident landlords, encouraging land-jobbers and land-pirates, degrading the hospitality of the old mansion-houses into the niggardly penury of agents dwellings, was become the approved modern mode of making happy and contented tenants, of forming good men and good subjects.

That the adding to the bishop's duty of attending to his diocese the new and imperial duty of quitting the kingdom for eight months in the year, was the best way of making him acquainted with his clergy, and of enforcing attention to their parishioners.

That a parliament, unacquainted with the local circumstances of a kingdom, ever at too great a distance to receive communication or information for administering in time to the wants or wishes of the people, or to guard against excesses or discontent, was more capable of acting beneficially than the one, which, by being on the spot, and acquainted with the habits, prejudices, and dispositions of their fellow-subjects, best knew how to apply relief.

In adverting to the late treason and rebellion, there they applied to fact. Could any parliament sitting in Great Britain have developed the secret system of conspiracy, animated the loyal, and supported the executive, with the effect that very parliament had done? What would the ridiculous exhibition have been at that time, of an united parliament walking through St. James's park with their address, and yet what vigor and energy did the instant procession of near two hundred members, with the mace, to the castle, give to the loyal ardor of the country; it animated the loyal spirit which crushed the rebellion before a single soldier could arrive from England, notwithstanding the uncommon exertions made there to expedite their sailing.

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The extraordinary, wise and necessary measure of proclaiming martial-law, required the concurrence of parliament to support the executive. The time would have past by, before that concurrence could have been asked for, and received from London ; and it would have given a faint support, coming from strangers, compared with the impression of its springing from Irishmen, all liable to every danger and inconvenience from its operation, and yielding themselves and their properties to its control.

“ The volunteers, said the speaker, the saviours of their country and terror of its enemies, when their great work was effected, and by the indiscreetness of a few leaders, their zeal was misled, and they began to exercise the functions of parliament, we spoke out firmly—they heard our voice with effect, and took our advice, instantly returning to cultivate the blessings of peace. I ask you, would equal firmness in a parliament, composed five parts in six of strangers, sitting in another country, have had the same effect ? You know it would not. Personal character, respect to individuals, opinion of their attachment to one common country, all impressed an awe which was irresistible.”

After having spoken very warmly to the incompetency of parliament to surrender their legislative powers, he closed his speech with the following address to his countrymen :

“ Were I to address the Catholics, the Protestants, and all religions, I would say, your country is in danger ; a desperate attempt is on foot to seduce you to surrender the independence of your parliament. You are all natives of the same island, interested in its trade, its prosperity, its freedom, and in all the blessings of a glorious and happy constitution—bounden by every tie of duty to yourselves, your country, and your posterity, to preserve it, join all hands and hearts together, bring the vessel into port, forget all family differences, all local or partial jealousies, and save Ireland, save your country. Tell the bold minister who wants to take away your constitution, that he shall not have it, that you will not be his dupe ; that you love Britain as a brother, but you will be his brother, not his dependent ; and that you will not degrade yourselves from an independent kingdom into an abject colony.

“ To any of you who have doubts on the measure, I would say, these very doubts call on you to vote against it. Do not hazard a change where you have a doubt, a change from which there is no return—accept it, you have it for better for worse, you never can untie the knot---no appeal, no parliament

“ ment left, to hear, to argue, or to speak for you; and if the step you take
 “ should prove wrong, if it should unfortunately end in the nation’s calling
 “ again for her old constitution, and the politics of the British cabinet should
 “ be so desperate as not to listen to that call, think of the dreadful conse-
 “ quences, of which you may be the cause, if fatally the shock of arms should
 “ follow. Even to you, whose conviction is clear, I would say, if the major-
 “ rity of your countrymen think differently from you, if even a respectable
 “ part of them only think so, do not rest so confidently on your own judg-
 “ ments, as to risk a measure which you cannot undo; remember then, if
 “ the direful necessity should ever arrive to make it expedient, you may em-
 “ brace it when you please, but, if once adopted, it is irrecoverable. Were I
 “ speaking in another assembly, and if in such assembly any member sat re-
 “ turned for a borough, where the wishes of the electors followed the voice
 “ of some one individual, by which he became to have an habitual superio-
 “ rity, and of course a strong interest in its preservation (I do not say such a
 “ case exists here, though it might not be unparliamentary to suppose it), I
 “ would tell him, he is a trustee, and, without positive and direct desire, he
 “ should not do an act which is to annihilate the interest he is entrusted with.
 “ No, no—let all join in cherishing the parliament---it is a good one, and has
 “ done its duty---it has proved itself competent to every purpose of legisla-
 “ tion, to procure peace, and to put down rebellion. Refuse the measure, but
 “ refuse it with calmness and dignity. Let not the offer of it lessen your
 “ attachment or weaken your affection to Britain; and prove that you are,
 “ and wish to be (as the Duke of Portland told you that you were) ‘ indif-
 “ solubly connected with Great Britain, one in unity of constitution and unity
 “ of interest.’ But, above all, revere and steadily preserve that constitution
 “ which was confirmed to you under his administration in 1782, and which
 “ has given you wealth, trade, prosperity, freedom, and independence.”

Lord Castlereagh replied rather fully, and observed, that the speaker and
 his friends, pursued a line of conduct more calculated to agitate and inflame
 the minds of the people, than to allay heats and soften animosities.

Having combated the speaker’s assertions with regard to commerce and
 other topics, his lordship lamented that any doubts of parliamentary compe-
 tency had been started. That principle might, he said, be defined to be the
 right of parliament to consult in every case the welfare and happiness of the
 people; and no man could question it, who knew or valued the constitution.

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The opposite doctrine was pregnant with mischief, and might, if it should be encouraged, be applied to the most seditious purposes. On the topic of religious divisions, he vindicated the jealousy which was felt by the Protestants, adding, that a more liberal system of policy might be pursued after an Union with full security.

Mr. George Ponsonby concurred with Mr. Foster. The true reason, which had induced the British minister to propose the scheme was, a desire of obtaining a complete dominion over Ireland, and of drawing as much money as he could from that kingdom, that he might be enabled to continue a contest, which Britain could no longer support alone. But he hoped that the spirit of the Irish would not suffer such views to prevail, and that the members of the House of Commons, as they were only trustees, would not dare to surrender the rights of the people without their consent.

About the half hour past four o'clock in the morning the question was put and carried unanimously upon Mr. Fitzgerald's first amendment: but as he was proceeding to move the other amendments the attorney general moved the necessity of the chairman's reporting progress at that advanced hour; to which Mr. Fitzgerald having agreed, Mr. Rochford reported progress and obtained leave to sit again.

When the regency bill was again discussed on the 18th of April, the majority did not find it an adequate remedy for the evils of parliamentary variance, and it was postponed to the 1st of August: and thus lost for the session.

Though the ministry had gained an advantage in the rejection of the regency bill, it did not inspire them with sufficient confidence to risk another discussion of the subject, while the public mind was so much on the fret. It was therefore resolved that the full developement of the unpopular scheme should be deferred to the next session; thus prolonging the chapter of accidents, so liable to be affected by the exertions, influence, and fiscal resources of government.

About this time commenced a very singular system of members shifting their seats in parliament according to their various feelings and sentiments, and in some instances according to the most unaccountable modes of squaring their honors and consciences on this critical and important measure. It would be both false and stupid to deny that the whole powers of government patronage, influence, and emolument, were now devoted to the proselytizing for the Union. Both in and out of parliament the opposite parties exerted
their

their respective means of attraction and seduction with the utmost vigor and zeal, and it must be admitted, not in all instances, with the utmost delicacy and correctness. No political question was ever moved, that more warmly interested its advocates and opponents: their exertions and means were proportioned to their earnestness and zeal. An accommodating casuistry reconciled some of the political combatants to quit the field for a valuable consideration in order to let in others to fight the battle they were ashamed to engage in: thus squeamishly refusing the wages of prostitution, whilst they enhanced their demands for procuration.

On the 15th of May, Lord Castlereagh moved, that the house should adjourn to the 1st of June: and amongst other motions, of course, Mr. M. Ma-son moved that the speaker should issue his writ for the borough of Kilmalloe in the room of Mr. Oliver, who had accepted the escheatorship of Munster, when Mr. Dawson said, that he had no objection to the writ being issued, but at the same time would take occasion to ask the noble lord on the treasury bench, why the escheatorship of Munster had been given to the gentleman, in whose room the writ of election was required, and refused to an honorable friend of his, (Colonel Cole) who having been appointed to serve in the island of Corfu as a British officer, asked the noble lord for that nominal place, the escheatorship of Munster, in order, that as he could not discharge his duty to his sovereign in that quarter of the globe, and fulfil the trust reposed in him by his constituents, they might not lose an opportunity of having their interest fairly supported in parliament; and he had been refused! The fact was, and he called on the noble lord to deny it if he could, that the escheatorship of Munster was, in this instance, refused, because the electors of Enniskillen had fixed on a relative of the honorable colonel as his successor in that house, who would support the independence of his country against the project of an Union, because it was intended that Colonel Cole's seat in the Irish parliament should be filled by a gentleman (Mr. Balfour) who had already conspicuously manifested his respect and attachment to that parliament, by the resolutions which he brought forward in the county of Louth in opposition to the measure of an Union; he called upon the noble lord as a minister acting upon fair and honest principles, to come forward and candidly avow what were his motives for acting by his honorable friend in a manner so apparently partial and unhandsome. It was an explanation which the noble lord owed to himself, to that house, and to the country.

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Mr. Prime Serjeant said, that his right honorable friend who sat beside him, would be very much wanting to the duty he owed his sovereign, and to the situation in which he stood, if he were to enter into any explanation, or assign to any individual of that house, the motives influencing him in the exercise of a prerogative of the crown; to do so were in effect to resign that prerogative, and betray the interests of his sovereign.

Mr. O'Donnel violently supported Mr. Dawson.

Colonel Cole was refused the eloquence of Munster in the expectation that he must either stay at home and resign his regiment, or go abroad, and thereby give a vote more to the minister on the next discussion of his favorite measure.

Mr. Arthur Moore did not conceive how ministers could justify such a partial and unfair exercise of the prerogative of the crown, unless they were determined openly and broadly to confess and declare (that which every day's events rendered useless for them longer to conceal) that they were resolved to carry the measure of Union by any, and by every means, and to use all the engines and influence of power, and the insidious practices of fraud and unfair dealing, to bring about its completion. Sir, there is no man who is an attentive observer of public occurrences, and who keeps an eye on the measure of the administration, who must not have seen, and seen with affliction, that the measures which had been taken, and were now in daily and unremitting practice, to effectuate the Union, were such as no honest man could justify, which, while they stamped the authors of them with indelible disgrace, must render the incorporation of the legislatures of the two countries, if carried, impermanent, and the discontents and calamities of that nation eternal. Was it not enough that the whole authority of the court, both ordinary and extraordinary, was exerted to bring about the measure, and that upon a full and fair discussion of its merits, it was rejected by the unbought and uninfluenced sense of the representatives of the people? Was it not enough that since that period, the efforts of corruption had been redoubled, that promises were lavished, and stipulations made for offices and honors, that their liberties were brought to market overt, where every dishonest man might sell and buy, but where no honest man was permitted to shew his face? Is it not enough that the public sense was daily misrepresented by fables and false reports of change of sentiment, of conversion from error, of majorities in favor of the measure in that house? Was it not enough that the sister kingdom and the British ca-

binet, were evidently and designedly misled and misinformed, as to the real state of public opinion in that country? Was it not enough, that the public money was perverted to the purpose of extinguishing the free and fair communication of opinion, and of corrupting the press, to become the vehicle of false statement, of personal calumny, and of libel on the Irish parliament? Would not these means, these efforts, content them? Were they not satisfied with having the purse and the power of the country in their hands, and actively employed in forwarding their views? Were they not content with purchasing the mercenary aid of every hireling scribbler, and circulating gratis the wicked, seditious, (he thought in some instances little short of) treasonable publications of interested or ignorant men, through the medium of the public post-office, to all parts of the kingdom, while the communication of every publication in favor of the legislative independence of Ireland was not only withheld but forbidden? Were they not satisfied to sap and undermine their constitution by the slow and silent approaches of unremitting corruption, but must it be openly and boldly assailed by an undisguised aggression upon the privileges and independence of parliament? So unjust and partial an exercise of the prerogative was highly disgraceful to the administration, and an unpardonable invasion of the privileges of that house; the escheatorships of the provinces were become mere nominal offices, exclusively applicable to the purpose of occasional vacation of the seats of this house, in order either to accommodate any member who might wish to retire from parliament altogether, or be eligible for another seat, or to gratify the electors of any particular place, by giving them an opportunity of electing whatever person they should think most worthy of the trust of representing them. Was this the use made of the like nominal offices in England, viz. the stewardships of the three Chiltern hundreds, &c. which Mr. Hatfield stated had been, since the year 1750, made use of for the convenience of all parties, and which the ministers of England have uniformly and impartially so applied for the purpose of accommodation, where the seat has not been vacated for any pecuniary consideration.

If that house convinced as it must be of the fact, would not reprobate and punish it, it would be better to submit at once to the vassalage and servility prepared for them, it would be better to yield the constitution with a good grace, than to have it taken from them by fraud, foul dealing, and indirect means, it would be better to embrace with courage the instant death of an union, than

than to enjoy for a time a precarious and painful existence, with the melancholy certainty before their eyes of closing their career in ultimate and inevitable dissolution.

Mr. Plunkett spoke with great warmth on the same side, the question had been brought into that house accompanied by the execrations of the people of Ireland, but at the same time with the proud boast, and childish hope, on the part of the noble lord, that it would be carried by a triumphant majority; it was dismissed and defeated by the instinct, and the reason, and the virtue, and the talents, and the property of the country. Let it not then be said that the Union had been defeated by a faction, unless it were that faction, to whom it was owing, that a vestige of the British government was still to be traced in the country, without whom they would have lost Ireland in the last year, and without whom they could not hold it during the next. At first the noble lord professed that no man should be allowed to vacate, unless he gave satisfactory assurance that his seat was not to be sold. He stated it as a fact, and desired to be contradicted if it were not so, that the noble lord had totally abandoned that principle, which he admitted was a fair and honorable one; he stated it as a fact, that since he made that profession he had allowed seats to be vacated, where he knew that money was to be given by the successor, and that he had refused permission to vacate as in the instance of the honorable colonel, where he knew that no money was to be given. He stated it as a fact, that it was publicly avowed by government, that voting or not voting for the Union, was the sole rule by which the permission to vacate should be regulated. Would any man after that be so senseless, as to believe that government wished for the fair sense of the parliament or of the people; would they deny, that they had purchased the newspapers to admit publications only on one side? Would they deny, that they had instructed sheriffs to prevent the sense of the counties being collected by the convening of county meetings? Were they ready now to have the counties of Ireland convened and to abide the test of their declarations on the question? It was notorious that the power of government had been strained in every corner of the kingdom, to prevent the sense of the people from being declared. He was informed, that their emissaries actually descended so low as to threaten a publican in the city of Cork, that his licence should be withdrawn, if he ventured to receive into his house a number of gentlemen, who afterwards affixed their signatures to an address, thanking the parliament for having rejected the Union. They were told distinctly, that the measure was not to be pressed against the sense of par-

liament and people, but whilst they shewed that they were straining every nerve to corrupt the sense of parliament, and to stifle the voice of the people, they could not be believed.

The attorney general strongly recommended to the minister to keep the disposal of offices to himself, and not to betray that part of the prerogative of the crown, by answering the interrogatories of any member of that house.

Mr. J. C. Beresford asked how would it appear to the people of the country when they should see members of that house, who were adverse to the measure of an Union, and who happened to hold rank in the British army, sent out of the country in order to thin the house, and give a majority to government, and when it should be seen that the place bill was made a tool of in the hands of government, to enslave parliament, instead of maintaining it free.

Hon. F. Hutchinson, called Mr. J. C. Beresford to order, for the purpose of recalling his attention to the question under debate, and not from an apprehension that his honorable friend could succeed in his endeavour to inflame the people. The season for that delusion was now past: the discussions, which had taken place in both countries had informed the public judgment, and it was too late now to practise any delusion upon it with effect. He said, that to the best of his observation, there was a strong growing sentiment in favor of the Union in many parts of the kingdom. He spoke more particularly of the South, where his connexions lay; he said he believed it to be true, that fifteen parts out of sixteen of the property of the county of Cork had, by public resolutions, declared their opinion in favor of the measure, that the sentiment of a most numerous and respectable meeting holden in Cork had been long since known; that he had taken pains to inform himself of the opinion of the county of Kerry, and that he had the best grounded reasons to think that nearly the whole weight of the property of that county was favorable to the Union. He said, he referred to those parts of the kingdom only, with which he happened to be particularly connected; that from these and similar facts, which other gentlemen might state from their local knowledge, he desired permission to controvert the assertion so often repeated, that the sense of the majority of the nation was adverse to the Union. He said, he could not help observing, that this assertion contained in itself a monstrous assumption, when it was a fact which could not be controverted, that the Catholics, who composed that majority, had, as a body, cautiously refrained from delivering any public opinion upon the question. Having mentioned the Catholic body, he stated, among other grounds of argument, that he sustained the
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the Union, principally because it was his firm persuasion, that it would have the effect of restoring to the Catholics their just rights, and would place them in a situation of perfect equality with their protestant fellow-subjects; that in speaking of Ireland, it ought always to be remembered, that no nation had ever been in this respect similarly circumstanced. He said, it was time to apply a remedy to the evils arising from that exclusion, and that conceiving the Union to be that remedy, he would sustain it whensoever brought before parliament, considering it as a measure calculated, among other wise purposes, to heal the dissensions of that country, and to strengthen and cement the force of the empire. He begged leave, before he sat down, to advert to some observations, which had been made on the conduct of sheriffs. He had the honor of standing in that situation for the county of Tipperary. He had been applied to to call a meeting of certain baronies, and afterwards had received a requisition to convene the county, to consider of the question of a legislative Union: he had declined to comply with either of these requisitions; but in so doing, he acted in compliance with the opinion and advice of the majority of the rank and property of that great county, whose sentiments he had thought it his duty to consult, and by whose sentiments he had been directed. They conceived, from the disturbed state of the country, among other reasons, that the time for this meeting was inopportune; they had stated this opinion to him in a public paper, conceived in the strongest terms. His opinion coincided with theirs, and he had acted accordingly.

Mr. G. Ponsonby, and also Mr. W. B. Ponsonby spoke very warmly against this abuse of the prerogative for the unfair purpose of biasing the parliament; and a very irregular and intemperate debate ensued. Amongst the speakers Mr. Martin took an opportunity of enlarging upon the merits of Lord Cornwallis's administration.

Was it not by his wisdom, more than by his arms, that the rebellion had been put down? Had not the expectation of his clemency done as much to preserve Ireland, as the terror of his power? Had he listened to intemperate, bigoted councils, and counsellors, when the French landed at Killala, the rebellion would have raged in every county as much as it had in Wexford and at the battle of New-Ross; by his mercy he conquered the rebels, for he separated from them those who were forced by terror, or even those who were deluded. But his excellency boasted a better conquest: it is one over himself, over his own nature, when his duty forbade him to spare those, who by irreclaimable wickedness

wickedness became the proper objects of punishment; and where real objects of punishment had been found, he defied the calumniators of his administration not to allow, that his excellency considered with a mild firmness what was due to justice as well as to humanity.

There were three or four individuals, who blamed, what almost as many millions approved. The Marquis Cornwallis did not submit to be the pliant, docile pupil of those, who used to command when it was their duty to obey, but without such assistance, and in defiance even of their own machinations, he had saved Ireland. That he had saved Ireland, witness the confidence of a disciplined army: witness the confidence which the country had in them, and which both had in the name of Cornwallis. That he had saved Ireland, witness again the repose of every part of the Island, with an enemy hovering on the coast, and known to be destined for invasion. Why did they not hear of a rebel army assembling? For this reason, that no country was ever in a better state of preparation. Did his excellency accomplish that by consulting any of the great parliamentary undertakers? No, he was enabled only to accomplish it by separating from them, from that faction who expelled one commander in chief, and obliged the late lord lieutenant to apply for his recall. Those were the acts, on which the public would decide the merits of his excellency's administration, and not on hearing to whom the office of escheator had been granted or refused.

The debate was put an end to by the question of adjournment, which was carried by the minister, there having been on the division 47 for, and 33 against it.

The house having adjourned to the 1st of June, the commons attended their speaker to the House of Lords, where his excellency delivered the following speech * from the throne.

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ I HAVE received his majesty's commands to release you
 “ from your further attendance in parliament, in order that the various parts
 “ of the kingdom, which are still agitated by the projects of the disaffected
 “ may reap the advantage of your more immediate vigilance and protection.
 “ I am at the same time to thank you in his majesty's name for the con-
 “ tinued and undiminished zeal, which you have manifested for counteracting

* 19 Com. Journ. p. 145.

“ the wicked plots of internal conspirators, and for the defeat of every hostile attempt, which the desperation of the enemy may meditate.

“ The situation of affairs on the continent has been materially improved in the period, which has elapsed since the commencement of the session. The signal advantages already obtained by the Austrian arms, and the vigorous and decisive exertions on the part of Russia, must be subjects of great joy and congratulation of all, who can estimate the value of established order and legitimate government. I know the pleasure you must derive from the consoling prospect that Ireland may be ultimately rescued from the ravaging arms and the desolating principles of France.

“ GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

“ I THANK you in his majesty's name for the large and extraordinary supply, which you have so honorably voted to meet every wish of the government and every exigency of the state. You must reflect with the highest satisfaction upon the liberal co-operation, which in every moment of difficulty you have experienced from the British parliament; and I have the fullest confidence, that the public spirit of this country will not be found inferior to that of Great Britain in submitting to such temporary burthens as the safety of the community may require.

“ I sincerely regret that so extensive a demand should be made upon your liberality, but when no measure has been left untried by the malice of our enemies to sever this kingdom from the British empire, and to involve you in all the horrors of rebellion and massacre, you have displayed true wisdom in proportioning your exertions to the blessings you have to preserve, and the miseries you have to avert.

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ I AM to return you his majesty's acknowledgments for the many important measures you have accomplished this session. Your liberality and justice to those who have suffered from their loyalty will confirm the exertions of the well-disposed, and your judicious provisions for the regulation of paper currency are calculated to preserve its credit from depreciation without diminishing the necessary circulations.

“ I am sensible of the confidence, which you have reposed in me, by enabling me to exercise the powers of martial law in the manner best adapted to the present circumstances of the country. It will be my care to employ those powers for the purposes, for which they were given, by taking the most
“ effectual

“ effectual and summary measures for the suppression and punishment of rebellious proceedings interfering as little as possible with the ordinary administration of justice among his majesty’s peaceable subjects.

“ I have his majesty’s particular commands to acquaint you, that a joint address of the two houses of parliament of Great Britain has been laid before his majesty, accompanied by resolutions proposing and recommending a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be established by the mutual consent of both parliaments, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the similarity of laws, constitution and government, and on a sense of mutual interest and affections. His majesty will receive the greatest satisfaction in witnessing the accomplishment of a system, which by allaying the unhappy distractions too long prevalent in Ireland, and by promoting the security, wealth and commerce of his respective kingdoms, must afford them at all times, and especially in the present moment, the best means of jointly opposing an effectual resistance to the destructive projects of foreign and domestic enemies; and his majesty, as the common father of his people, must look forward with earnest anxiety to the moment when in conformity to the sentiments, wishes and real interest of his subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, they may all be inseparably united in the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free constitution, in the support of the honor and dignity of his majesty’s crown, and in the preservation and advancement of the welfare and prosperity of the whole British empire.

“ I feel most sensibly the arduous situation, in which I am placed, and the weight of the trust, which his majesty has imposed upon me at this most important crisis; but if I should be so fortunate as to carry this great measure, I shall think the labours and anxieties of a life devoted to the service of my country amply repaid, and shall retire with the conscious satisfaction that I have had some share in averting from his majesty’s dominions those dangers and calamities, which have overspread so large a portion of Europe.”

Violent as were the effects of the opposite exertions to forward and resist the Union in Ireland, in Great Britain the project excited but a slight degree of attention or interest. Many considered it as a measure, that promised little benefit and threatened little inconvenience to either country. Even the most violent Unionists were not so sanguine, as to conclude that all its good effects

effects would be rapid or immediate; though some less attentive to the real state of Ireland, vainly imagined that her evils and miseries would instantly disappear upon her union with Great Britain.

When the session of the British parliament closed on the 12th of July, the king, after expressing his joy at the comparatively tranquil state of Ireland, observed, that the ultimate security of that country could alone be established by its "intimate and entire union" with Great Britain.*

Ireland was now neither convulsed with rebellion, nor perfectly tranquil. Several counties (the Anti-unionists said for carrying the union) were proclaimed. The presence of numerous troops kept the malcontents in awe and repressed disorder; the extraordinary powers of courts martial diffused through the realm an effective terror. Some insults, outrages, and depredations, however, were committed; inveterate animosity inflamed the public mind, and the question of union aggravated the bitterness of contest.

If credit be allowed the reports of the Anti-unionists, the meanest artifices were practised to obtain signatures to the several addresses; and the lowest of the rabble were invited to subscribe their names or affix their marks. On the other hand, the Unionists accused their opponents of having had recourse to scandalous misrepresentations, and of having abused the credulity of the populace by shameless impositions. These mutual charges and recriminations were unfortunately but too well founded.

The influence of government was surprisingly forwarded by the progress

* Thus his majesty spoke with reference to Ireland. (*9 Eng. Deb. p. 578.*) "I have the satisfaction of seeing, that internal tranquillity is in some degree restored in my kingdom of Ireland.

"The removal of the only remaining naval force of the enemy to a distant quarter must nearly extinguish even the precarious hope, which the traitorous and disaffected have entertained of foreign assistance.

"But our great reliance for the immediate safety of that country must still rest on the experienced zeal and bravery of my troops of all descriptions, and on the unshaken loyalty and voluntary exertions of my faithful subjects in both kingdoms.

"Its ultimate security can alone be ensured by its intimate and entire Union with Great Britain; and I am happy to observe, that the sentiments manifested by numerous and respectable descriptions of my Irish subjects, justify the hope, that the accomplishment of this great and salutary work will be proved to be as much the joint wish, as it unquestionably is the common interest of both my kingdoms."

which the lord lieutenant made through many counties which he conceived to be well-disposed to the measure.

While this great imperial measure was advancing to maturity, the legislature of Great Britain re-assembled as early as on the 24th of September. His majesty then represented the experience of every day as confirming him in the persuasion,* that signal benefit would be derived to both countries from that important measure; and he trusted, that the disposition of the parliament of Ireland would be found to correspond with that, which the national council of Britain had manifested for the accomplishment of the scheme. The Marquis of Buckingham, when he moved the address of thanks, observed, that, from the opportunities of accurate judgment afforded to him by a residence in Ireland at different periods, and from the very attentive consideration, which he had bestowed on the subject, the probable benefits of the measure struck him in a forcible light. He was confident that the happiest effects would result from it. The people of Ireland, he said, had long thought themselves injured by the domineering influence and selfishness of Britain; but all such prejudices would be removed by an union; and a close conjunction of interests, with the prevalence of the same laws over the whole empire, would establish peace and tranquillity, contentment and happiness. The popular sentiment in favor of Union was rapidly gaining ground.

In proceeding to the year 1800, the exertions of the Marquis of Downshire and other Anti-unionists demand particular notice. In the first month of that year, that marquis, the Earl of Charlemont, and William Brabazon Ponsonby, member for the county of Kilkenny, sent circular letters to the Irish gentry and yeomanry, to the following effect. They were authorized, they said, by a number of gentlemen of both houses of parliament, thirty-eight of whom were representatives of counties, to intimate their opinion, that petitions to parliament, declaring the real sense of the freeholders on the subject of a legislative union, would at that time be highly expedient; and, if such a proceeding should meet with the approbation of any one of the individuals, to whom the letters were addressed, it was recommended to him to use his influence in procuring such a petition without delay from his county. It was reported that the same gentlemen, together with some other enemies

* 10 Parl. Reg. p. 3.

to the Union, had formed a stock purse for defraying the expences of opposing it.

The conduct of the Marquis of Downshire was so displeasing to government, that he was removed from the government of the county, the colonelcy of the royal Downshire regiment of 1200 men, and was also erased from the list of privy councillors. The Anti-unionists highly resented this disgrace of the marquis, and availed themselves of it as an additional and flagrant proof of the corrupt bias and intimidation, with which it was the determination of government to carry the Union.

From the prorogation of parliament to the close of the year both parties busied themselves with unceasing industry in advancing their respective causes. The great body of Roman Catholics had rather kept themselves back upon the question. Many of that body thought for themselves upon the point, and promiscuously with their fellow subjects signed addresses and resolutions, some for and some against the Union, under the general descriptions of freeholders or inhabitants of particular districts.* In all large bodies of any religious or civil distinction will be found a gregarious disposition or bias, arising out of some fact or principle common to the spirit of their general union and incorporation. When therefore the Catholics perceived that the greatest number and the most violent opposers of the legislative Union were the most virulent of the Orangemen and the real malcontents or separatists, their feelings were not keenly excited to coalesce with the Anti-unionists. The lord lieutenant had uniformly shewn them protection and kindness, and so gratified were they with this pleasing novelty, that the affections and gratitude of most of the body were firmly attached to his administration and to the measures, which his excellency so warmly espoused and recommended.

It may indeed be said, that a very great preponderancy in favor of the Union existed in the Catholic body, particularly in their nobility, gentry, and clergy. The severities and indignities practised upon them after the rebellion by many of the Orange party, and the offensive affected confusion and use of the terms *papist* and *rebel* produced fresh forebodings in the minds of many, the pointed recollection of the long sufferings of their body from their

* In some counties and districts the Roman Catholics came forward under their distinct appellation, as may be seen by some addresses in the Appendix, No. CXVIII.

own legislature, and the grateful sense of the benefits they had received from the parental tenderness of their sovereign, after the indignant rejection and contumely of the Irish parliament, all naturally tended to inspire the Catholics with plenary confidence and attachment to the Marquis Cornwallis and this favorite measure of his government. Some highly respectable members of the Roman Catholic communion were certainly very warm Anti-unionists. It probably is owing to the kind and liberal conduct of Lord Cornwallis's administration towards that body, and to the opposite treatment, which they experienced from the rigorists, that so many Roman Catholics solicited the Union. For unquestionably no distinct description of persons had so interesting and strong an argument to ground their opposition upon, as the body of Roman Catholics, who by the Union evidently forfeited all the constitutional advantages of a most decided majority in an independent nation, to sink into an insignificant minority of the united kingdom.

As Dublin appeared to be exposed to more loss and local prejudice from the Union, than any other part of the kingdom, so was the opposition to it there more vigorously supported than in any other part of the kingdom. Here indeed a large portion of the Roman Catholic residents came forward in their distinct capacity of Catholics to oppose it, which in other parts of the kingdom they had not done, although several Catholic individuals had signed addresses and resolutions promiscuously with their Protestant brethren against the measure. This step was productive of some disunion in the Catholic body; as the clergy and many other respectable inhabitants of the city of that communion were for supporting the lord lieutenant in the measure. The effects of this difference of opinion in the Catholic body was perceived by their innate adversaries the Orangemen, who, in order not to weaken their body by any such internal disunion, warily published an advertisement from their grand lodge to prevent even the discussion of the question amongst them.*

Before

* GRAND ORANGE LODGE.

To the Orangemen of Ireland.

Dublin, Jan. 21, 1800.

The grand lodge of Ireland observe with heartfelt satisfaction, that their former recommendation to their brethren, to abstain, as Orangemen, from any discussion of the question of Union, has had the happiest effects, inasmuch as it has disappointed the sanguine and malignant hopes entertained by

Before the meeting of the parliament in January, such Catholics of Dublin as were Anti-unionists, held a meeting at the Royal Exchange on the subject of the projected Union. Some difficulties arose in the way of the meeting from the military, but which were removed the moment his Excellency Marquis Cornwallis became acquainted with the attempt made to prevent an expression of the popular opinion on a question big with the fate of the popular interests.

The assembly having obtained permission to speak, Mr. Moore was unanimously called to the chair, when Counsellor O'Connel opened the business of the meeting, with observing, that under the circumstances of the present day, and the systematic calumnies flung against the Catholic character, it was more than once determined by the Roman Catholics of Dublin to stand entirely aloof, as a mere sect, from all political discussion, at the same time that they were ready as forming generally a part of the people of Ireland, to confer with and express their opinions in conjunction with their Protestant fellow-subjects. This resolution, which they had entered into, gave rise to an extensive and injurious misrepresentation, and it was asserted by the advocates of Union, daringly and insolently asserted, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland were friends to the measure of Union, and silent allies of that conspi-

by the enemies to religion and good order, that such discussion would be productive of discord amongst Orangemen. They now feel it their duty to offer some further observations on the present juncture of affairs.

Orangemen in different capacities, as members of parliament, grand jurors, freeholders, and members of corporate bodies, have opportunities of debating the important question of an Union—but it is the earnest entreaty of the grand lodge, that as a society they will continue silent—for as every Orangeman, however zealous, may, and no doubt will, from local circumstances, conceive different ideas on this subject, the discussion of a question of such magnitude, involving not only great imperial topics, but also matters of local advantage and local disadvantage, must unavoidably create a division in opinion—and “an house divided against itself cannot stand.” It is therefore recommended to all Orangemen to keep in mind the great object for which they have associated, to wit:—“We associate to the utmost of our power to support and defend his majesty King George the Third, the constitution and laws of this country, and the succession to the throne in his majesty's illustrious house being Protestants, for the defence of our persons and properties, and to maintain the peace of our country; and for these purposes we will be at all times ready to assist the civil and military powers, in the just and lawful discharge of their duty,” and to avoid as injurious to the institution all controversy upon subjects not connected with our principles.

THOMAS VERNER, Grand Master.

JOHN C. BERESFORD, Grand Sec.

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racy formed against the name, the interests, and the liberties of Ireland. This libel on the Catholic character was strengthened by the partial declarations of some mean and degenerate members of the communion, wrought upon by corruption or by fear, and unfortunately it was received with a too general credulity. Every Union pamphlet, every Union speech impudently put forth the Catholic name as sanctioning a measure, which would annihilate the name of the country, and there was none to refute the calumny. In the speeches and pamphlets of Anti-unionists, it was rather admitted than denied, and at length the Catholics themselves were obliged to break through a resolution which they had formed, in order to guard against misrepresentation, for the purpose of repelling this worst of misrepresentations. To refute a calumny directed against them as a sect, they were obliged to come forward as a sect, and in the face of their country to disavow the base conduct imputed to them, and to declare that the assertion of their being favourably inclined to the measure of a legislative incorporation with Great Britain, was a slander the most vile; a libel the most false, scandalous and wicked, that ever was directed against the character of an individual or a people.

“Sir,” continued Mr. O’Connel, “it is my sentiment, and I am satisfied it is the sentiment, not only of every gentleman who now hears me, but of the Catholic people of Ireland, that if our opposition to this injurious, insulting, and hated measure of Union were to draw upon us the revival of the penal laws, we would boldly meet a proscription and oppression, which would be the testimonies of our virtue, and sooner throw ourselves once more on the mercy of our Protestant brethren, than give our assent to the political murder of our country; yes, I know—I do know, that although exclusive advantages may be ambiguously held forth to the Irish Catholic to seduce him from the sacred duty which he owes his country; I know that the Catholics of Ireland still remember, that they have a country, and that they will never accept of any advantages as a *sect*, which would debase and destroy them as a *people*.”

After which Mr. O’Connel moved the resolutions inserted in the newspaper, which were unanimously agreed to.*

The

* “*Royal Exchange, Dublin, January 13, 1800.*

“AT a numerous and respectable meeting of the Roman Catholics of the city of Dublin, convened pursuant to public notice.

AMBROSE MOORE, Esq. in the Chair.

“*Resolved*, That we are of opinion that the proposed incorporate Union of the legislature of
“ Great

The lord lieutenant had every reason to be satisfied with the success of his tour through the kingdom during the course of the summer. The great odium and horror of the measure had abated in most places, and in many those who had at first shewn themselves against it, had now become warm advocates in its favor. If it had not become generally popular, it had ceased at least to be generally unpopular. Active preparations were made to meet the parliament, which was to open on the 15th of January. In the mean while many new members had been chosen in lieu of others, who had retired upon terms. Mr. Grattan had been elected for the borough of Wicklow on the death of Mr. Gahan deceased, and was sworn in on the 15th, being the first day of the meeting of the last parliament of Ireland. The lord lieute-

“ Great Britain and Ireland, is in fact an extinction of the liberty of this country, which would be reduced to the abject condition of a province, surrendered to the mercy of the minister and legislature of another country, to be bound by the absolute will and taxed at their pleasure by laws, in the making of which this country could have no efficient participation whatsoever.

“ *Resolved*, That we are of opinion that the improvement of Ireland for the last twenty years, so rapid beyond example, is to be ascribed wholly to the independency of our legislature, so gloriously asserted in the year 1782, by the virtue of our parliament co-operating with the generous recommendation of our most gracious and benevolent sovereign, and backed by the spirit of our people, and so solemnly ratified by both kingdoms as the only true and permanent foundation of Irish prosperity and British connexion.

“ *Resolved*, That we are of opinion, that if the independency should ever be surrendered, we must as rapidly relapse into our former depression and misery; and that Ireland must inevitably lose with her liberty, all that she has acquired in wealth and industry and civilization.

“ *Resolved*, That we are firmly convinced that the supposed advantages of such a surrender, are unreal and delusive, and can never arise in fact; and that even if they should arise, they would be only the bounty of the master to the slave, held by his courtesy, and resumeable at his pleasure.

“ *Resolved*, That having heretofore determined not to come forward any more in the distinct character of Catholics, but to consider our claims and our cause not as those of a sect, but as involved in the general fate of our country, that we now think it right, notwithstanding such determination, to publish the present Resolutions, in order to undeceive our fellow-subjects, who may have been led to believe by a false representation, that we are capable of giving any concurrence whatsoever to so foul and fatal a project; to assure them that we are incapable of sacrificing our common country to either pique or pretension; and that we are of opinion that this deadly attack upon the nation is the great call of nature, of country, and posterity, upon Irishmen of all descriptions and persuasions, to every constitutional and legal resistance; and that we faithfully pledge ourselves to persevere in obedience to that call as long as we have life.

“ Signed by order,

“ JAMES RYAN, Sec.”

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nant made a long speech from the throne, which avoided any mention of or reference to the Union.* Lord Viscount Loftus moved the address, and
 was

* “ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ I HAVE received his majesty's commands to assemble you in parliament.

“ Upon a review of the important and glorious events that have distinguished the period, which has elapsed since I last addressed you, the most gratifying and encouraging reflections present themselves to our consideration.

“ By the brilliant course of victories achieved by the combined imperial armies, the various kingdoms and states of Italy have been delivered from the ravages and the tyranny of the French.

“ The throne of Naples, and our friendly connexions with that kingdom, have been restored.

“ The French expedition to Egypt has been checked in its career by the exertions of the Turkish arms, assisted by a small detachment of his majesty's forces, and the gallantry of their heroic commander.

“ The hostile plans of the common enemy in India have terminated in the total destruction of the power, which had been misled by their artifices, and through the timely, vigorous, and decisive counsels of the Marquis Wellesley, and the consummate skill and valour of his majesty's generals, officers and troops, the British possessions in that quarter of the Globe have been beneficially extended and effectually secured.

“ By the descent of his majesty's forces and of his Russian allies on the coast of Holland, the Dutch fleet has been happily rescued from the power of the enemy; and although the season, peculiarly unfavorable to military operations, produced the necessity of relinquishing an enterprise so fortunately begun, and prevented the complete accomplishment of his majesty's views, yet the result of that expedition has been peculiarly beneficial to this kingdom, in removing all fear of attack on our coasts from a quarter whence it had been so often planned, and enabling his majesty's fleets to direct their vigilance exclusively to the single port, from which the enemy can attack this country with any hope even of a temporary success.

“ My utmost care has been exerted to carry into execution the extraordinary powers, which you have committed to my discretion with vigor, and at the same time with moderation; all tendency to insurrection has been effectually repressed: but it gives me true concern to acquaint you, that the painful necessity of acting with severity has been too frequently imposed upon me; and although public tranquillity has been in a great measure restored, yet I have to lament that disposition to outrage and conspiracy still continues in several districts, that much industry is used to keep alive the spirit of disaffection, and to encourage among the lower classes the hopes of French assistance.

“ I trust the recent revolution in France cannot fail to open the eyes of such of his majesty's subjects, as have been deluded by the artifices, which have been unremittingly employed to withdraw them from their allegiance, and that it will restore and increase the love of constitutional order and of regulated freedom, by demonstrating that the principles of false liberty tend ultimately to despotism, and that the criminal struggles of democratic faction naturally close in military usurpation.

“ So

was seconded by Colonel Crosbie. His lordship hinted only in oblique terms at the measure of Union, by observing that after his majesty had rallied and inspired

“ So long as the French government, under whatever form it exerts its influence, shall persevere in schemes of destruction and projects of ambition, subversive at once of the liberties of Europe and of the security of his majesty’s dominions, there can be no wise alternative but to prosecute the war with increasing energy. It is by great exertions alone that either their views of aggrandisement can be frustrated or solid peace procured.

“ His majesty has therefore availed himself, with peculiar satisfaction, of the cordial and great assistance which has been afforded him by his faithful ally the emperor of Russia, and has thought right to make every exertion for augmenting the disposable military forces of his own dominions, his majesty, therefore, has been highly gratified in accepting the services so generously offered by his English militia, and I am to express to you the entire confidence which his majesty feels that the zeal and loyalty of his militia of this kingdom, in forwarding at this important crisis the active operations of the empire, will not be less prompt and conspicuous.

“ The apprehensions of general scarcity, which some time since took place, called for my early attention to this most important subject, and I was induced, with the advice of the council, to offer premiums for the early importation of grain. This measure will, I flatter myself, meet your approbation, and I have full confidence in your wisdom, if it shall be necessary to resort to any further extraordinary means for procuring a supply.

“ GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

“ THE evident necessity of securing this kingdom from every danger, whether foreign or domestic, and of rendering the success of invasion, if attempted, impracticable, will demonstrate to you the wisdom of continuing that enlarged system of defence you have so wisely adopted.

“ I have therefore ordered the public accounts and estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you, and have the fullest confidence that in the supply which the situation shall appear to you to require, you will equally consult the safety of the kingdom and the honor of his majesty’s government.

“ I am induced to hope that the great increase of the revenue which has taken place in the present year may enable you to raise the sums which may be wanted for the current services without any distressing addition to the burthens of the people.

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ I RECOMMEND to your usual attention agriculture, the manufactures of Ireland; and I doubt not that the Protestant charter schools, and those public institutions, whether of charity or of education, which have been protected by your liberality, will still receive a judicious encouragement.

“ It will be for your wisdom to consider how far it will be necessary to continue any of those extraordinary powers with which you have strengthened the authority of his majesty’s government for the more effectual suppression and punishment of rebellious conspiracy and outrage.

“ His majesty places the most entire reliance upon your firmness and wisdom, and he has no
VOL. II. * I “ doubt

inspired his continental allies with a glorious spirit and persevering vigor, he had at the same moment improved the condition of British subjects, on the broad and generous basis of the empire, and thus derived the warmest affection of a free people, and the unceasing gratitude of a virtuous posterity, whose happiness and interests their gracious sovereign had by such undeviating and undaunted means secured. Sir Lawrence Parsons desired the lord lieutenant's speech at the conclusion of the last session to be read. This speech, said he, recommended from his majesty the measure of an incorporating Union with England. The minister had prevented them from giving an answer to his majesty at the time, by a sudden prorogation. He wished to prevent them from giving an answer by having studiously omitted any mention of the subject in that speech. The reason was obvious: from the time they had rejected that measure last session, the minister had employed every engine of the government, and endeavoured by the most unwarrantable practices to pervert the sentiments of the parliament on that subject, and did not wish that they should take it into consideration until his machinations were complete. It mattered not, whether the representatives of that great nation were turned out of that door by the sword of the army, or the gold of the treasury—by a Cromwell or by a secretary; in both cases the treason against the constitution was the same. One of the greatest offences of James the II. was attempting to pack a parliament; of that offence he now arraigned the minister of the crown, by prostituting the prerogative in order to pack a parliament. A string of men, who were against the Union, were to go out; that a string of men, who were for it, might come in. Were they to sit supinely there until those practices were matured? To wait while the serpent was collecting himself in his coils, to spring upon them with greater violence? The British ministers evidently intended to take an unfair advantage of Ireland. While the spirit of the people was depressed by recent troubles—the country covered with armies greater than ever were known there before—while martial law prevailed, and a formidable invasion was menaced—in short while apprehensions from without and from within precluded all free exercise of the public

“doubt that you will anxiously pursue such measures as shall be best calculated for bringing the present war to an honorable termination, and for restoring the country to permanent tranquillity.

“It will be my constant object to attend to your suggestions and advice, that I may by this means most beneficially accomplish the commands I have received from his majesty, and most effectually forward the interest and happiness of this kingdom.”

mind

mind upon that fatal project, they forced the discussion of the measure regardless of the unfitness of the time, thinking only of the present strength of one state and the accidental weakness of the other.

It was only in consequence of the late rebellion, said the advocates of Union, and in compassion to Ireland, as a cure for all its disorders, that the measure was proposed. The idea of the scheme arose from the ambition of the British cabinet, which, regretting the cession of independence to Ireland in 1782, attempted a partial recovery of its authority three years afterwards, and, failing on that occasion, sought to recover it completely by an Union; for, that such a measure was in contemplation above three years before the rebellion broke out, was evident from a letter of the Duke of Portland to Earl Fitzwilliam, though it were not so expressly mentioned.

Ireland would gain nothing but might lose much by an Union. Her loss by absentees, on a moderate computation, would be nearly doubled. The country would be more liable to disorder and convulsion from the absence of the landholders. These, when resident on their estates, might be considered as the binding-stones of society, keeping by their strength and weight all the parts of government firm and compact; but, if they should be removed, the fabric on the first storm might fall to the ground.

He then moved an amendment to the address, connecting the desire of a continuance of British connexion with the wish for the preservation of an independent resident parliament.

Lord Castlereagh spoke contemptuously of the arguments of Sir Lawrence: The silence of the lord lieutenant on the subject did not arise from any conviction of the impolicy of prosecuting the scheme. The question had been withdrawn, when the House of Commons seemed unwilling to entertain it; but, as a great majority of the people now approved the measure, and as there was reason to believe, that many of its late parliamentary opponents had renounced their ideas of its demerits, his majesty's counsellors had resolved to give it a new chance of regular investigation. The reason of its not having been mentioned in the viceroy's speech was merely, that it was to be made a subject of distinct communication to parliament. As the question claimed a full discussion, it ought not to be extinguished by anticipation. As the amendment tended to preclude inquiry, he trusted that the good sense of the house would reject the motion.

Mr. Latouche, the privy counsellor, recommended an Union as the most
* 1.2
promising

promising remedy for the disorders of Ireland; but it was reprobated by Lord Cole as a pernicious measure and promoted by improper means. Mr. John Claudius Beresford would only consent to it in case of the invasion and occupancy of Ireland by a French army; and even then he would insist on the restoration of the parliament, in the event of a total expulsion of the enemy.

Mr. George Ogle again declared his unwillingness to surrender the Irish constitution. Mr. Denis Browne spoke against the amendment, as did also Mr. Martin and the junior Mr. Bagwell.

Mr. Fitzgerald advised a postponement of the discussion till the agitations and troubles of the realm should have subsided. He hoped that the majority of the members would not extinguish the light of the realm, as he knew not where, if they should repent, they would find "the Promethean heat which" could that light relumine."

Mr. O'Hara lamented the effects, which the Union would have in point of trade and revenue; stating, that, instead of an annual balance of 600,000*l.* in favor of Ireland, there would then be a balance of 900,000*l.* against her.

Mr. George Ponsonby spoke with much point and severity of Lord Castlereagh's arguments.*

Government ought to endeavour to make the parliament wiser and better, not to seek its destruction on pretence of its errors or misfortunes. But, notwithstanding all its efforts, "I firmly believe," said he, "that the gentlemen of this house will never consent to yield themselves up to the minister. I am satisfied that the people of Ireland will never consent to the annihilation

* It is indeed very cruel, he said, that a motley opposition should impede the wishes of the minister; it is very cruel that some who have approved and some who have opposed parliamentary reform should resist a measure, which will leave them no parliament at all; it is very cruel, that those who have submitted plans of emancipation to traitors should agree in opposing an Union; it is a most sad and deplorable thing, that those who may have differed in speculative improvement of the constitution should agree in reprobating its total destruction; and still more sad, because the very circumstance of a motley opposition shows, that the smallest presumption in favor of an Union cannot be deduced from it. How ingeniously and logically the noble lord argues! "A legislative Union, gentlemen, is a most excellent thing; for yonder stands a man who has supported parliamentary reform; an Union is an excellent thing, for yonder is a man who proposed to divide the country into French departments; this Union is a most powerful remedy for all your evils, for yonder sits an honorable gentleman, who would have emancipated the Catholics of Ireland!" These, it must be allowed, are very conclusive arguments, why you should relinquish that parliament, which alone can secure the liberties of the people!

“ of their parliament. If ever this assembly should consent to its own im-
 “ molation; if ever the members of the Irish House of Commons should
 “ assent to an act for turning themselves out of doors, hope shall not quit me,
 “ until the last man shall have passed the door, which the minister would close
 “ upon our liberties. When they shall approach that door, if they but cast a
 “ look behind; if they but view that chair, where integrity now sits en-
 “ throned; if their eyes but linger on that floor, where patriot eloquence has
 “ been poured forth for their country; if they but recollect the struggles of
 “ honorable legislation, which these walls have witnessed; they will stop before
 “ they take the last irretrievable step; they will cling to this house, the tem-
 “ ple of their honor, and will say to the minister: You have taken an unjust
 “ advantage of our confidence, to desire us to ruin our country; you have
 “ taken a most ungenerous advantage of the state of that country, to seduce
 “ its parliament to annihilate itself and the liberties of its constituents; but
 “ we will show you, that you have deceived yourself in the calculation of our
 “ baseness; we will show you that we represent an honest, brave, and gene-
 “ rous people, and are worthy to represent them; we will not flatter, but we
 “ will serve them, and establish an eternal claim to their gratitude and to the
 “ gratitude of posterity.”

The attorney general entered into a history of the progress of faction in Ireland, and largely indulged in invective against the leaders of opposition, and the whig club.

Mr. Bushe censured the last speaker for his endeavours to identify anti-unionism with disaffection to the sovereign. He cautioned the ministry against propounding the dangerous doctrine of the incompatibility of British connexion with Hibernian independence; a doctrine which would paralyse the loyalty of the Irish, and shake the first and best principles of politics in the island to their foundations. He exposed the injustice, with which Ireland had long been treated by Great Britain, and affirmed, that all the concessions of the latter had been wrung from her like drops of her heart's blood.* He

could

* Thus Mr. Bushe expressed himself upon this point, which more materially affects the general subject of this history, than the particular question of Union. “ You are called upon to give up
 “ your independence, and to whom are you to give it up? To a nation which for six hundred years
 “ has treated you with uniform oppression and injustice. The treasury bench startles at the asser-
 “ tion,—*Non meus hic sermo est*. If the treasury bench scold me, Mr. Pitt will scold them,—it is
 “ his

could not think without horror of the provincial despotism which would succeed the present government of Ireland; and he exhorted Britain to beware of the formidable precedent of uncontrolled power holding five millions of people in chains. He ridiculed the various pretences for the measure, as ill-founded and absurd; asserted the full sufficiency and superior qualifications of the Irish parliament for every purpose of just and equitable government; and concluded a very long and impressive discourse with an appeal to the spirit of 1782, and to the protecting care of Providence for the preservation of his country.

When Mr. Prendergast had spoken in favor of an union, Mr. J. M. O'Donnell declared that he opposed it because he considered it as ruinous and disgraceful, because he knew the foul means which had been practised to carry it into effect, and because he did not conceive that the parliament had a right to sacrifice the constitution of the country.

Mr. Osborne represented the inefficacy of the settlement of 1782, and the risk of separation, as strong grounds for a legislative union.

Mr. Hardy spoke against the Union;* as did also Mr. Arthur Moore. He condemned the ministerial practices of corruption and intimidation, the wicked and unconstitutional means to which the government had resorted, in order to impose upon the country, destroy the parliament, and overturn the constitution. If the measure should be carried under all the circumstances he had alluded to, it would be a robbery, and not a treaty; an act of constraint and violence, not of compact and volition; a conquest, not an Union. An Union formed upon such principles, and accomplished by such means, policy never could require, justice never could sanctify, wisdom never approve,

“ his assertion in so many words in his speech.—*Ireland, says he, has been always treated with injustice and illiberality.*—Ireland, says Junius, has been uniformly plundered and oppressed. This “ is not the slander of Junius, or the candor of Mr. Pitt; it is history. For centuries has the British nation and parliament kept you down; shackled your commerce; paralysed your exertions; despised your character; and ridiculed your pretensions to any privileges commercial or constitutional. She never conceded a point to you which she could avoid, or granted a favor which “ was not reluctantly distilled. They have been all wrung from her, like drops of her heart's blood, “ and you are not in possession of a single blessing, except those which you derive from God, that “ has not been either purchased or extorted by the virtue of your own parliament from the illiberality of England.”

* This gentleman as well as Mr. O'Donnell denied the assertion made from the treasury bench, that nineteen counties had petitioned for the Union.

patriotism

patriotism never reconcile, time never cement, force never establish. It might be an Union for a few days, a few months, perhaps for a few years; but it would be followed by ages of ill blood, generations of hostility, centuries of contest and desolation, and misery to that island to all eternity. It would be an Union founded on the violation of public faith, erected on national degradation, equally subversive of the moral, physical, and political fitness of things, and equally odious and abominable in the sight of God and man.

Sir John Parnell said, that he would support the amendment for the purpose of preventing those disturbances and that separation from Great Britain, which some gentlemen had accused the Anti-unionists of promoting.

Sir John Blaquiére recommended an Union chiefly for the convenience of Great Britain, which was now obliged, by the distractions and divisions of Ireland, to employ for her internal safety a force, that might be more beneficially used in support of the general interests of the empire.

Dr. Browne had become more inclined to an Union than he had been in the preceding session, because he thought it more necessary from intermediate circumstances. After the scenes which he had witnessed in that country during the rebellion, and for some time after, he expressly declared to some very respectable and dignified friends, who well remembered it, that he thought such an Union under the then existing circumstances desirable, and he never did at any time shew the heat and fury upon the subject, which other men had done. The disposition of the college in general was against it; but was so far from being universal, that nearly half of the governing part of the society favoured it. And some of them had said, they would never vote for the man who opposed the Union.

It did not seem to him a good method of promoting the Union, to persecute every man with calumny and abuse, who said, that he thought they ought to hear what England proposed, even though he rested that opinion merely on his notion of its propriety. If opposition to the Union proceeded from love of the nation, he respected it; if from regard to individual power, or personal aggrandizement, he concerned not himself about it.

Had he seen after the rejection of the Union last year any measures brought forward to conciliate the people, or to heal the distractions of the country; had he seen any reviviscence of that spirit, which produced the constitution of 1782, coming forward to preserve it, he should not have listened to proposals of Union. But for gentlemen to suppose, that if parliament did not
support

support itself, it could be supported; to suppose that without domestic virtue, the nation would trouble itself about its existence, was absurd. The truth was, apathy had gone through the nation upon the subject; in 1782, the idea of an Union could not have been brought forward; in 1785, it could not have been brought forward; why could it then? Because then the parliament had the warm affections of the nation, and now it had not.

The method of preventing Union was not by rebellion, nor by Orange systems: nor by looking for republics, nor by holding up every man as a rebel, who disapproved of particular measures; it should have been by regular obedience to the laws, and constitutional parliamentary opposition to the proposed measure.

The measures of last session to which he had alluded particularly, were the rebellion bill and the Fitzgerald bill. The first, which he knew was rather forced upon the government than sought for by it, and which therefore was not imputable to the executive power, enabled any petty officer to take up any person on the vague charge of assisting the rebellion, on his mere suspicion founded on any foolish word or indiscreet trifling action, try him, and execute him, without the possibility of appeal to any other tribunal. This law still existed. Why did they not feel it? Why not know it? Why were they ignorant that they lived under such power? Because the wisdom, the prudence, the temper, the humanity, the goodness of the chief governor prevented it; he could not forget, that he lived under such law; he could not forget that the parliament, while it contended against the ademption of its rights, voluntarily relinquished them all, or that to-morrow a hot, or impudent, or weak successor might make them feel this unbounded power in its excess.

The other, which he called the Fitzgerald bill, made for a particular instance, as it was thought it would, screened the greatest outrage upon private innocence that was ever known. To his certain knowledge, no measure ever so much promoted the Union, nor made so many converts among the dispassionate viewers of their conduct in England, and that country. The abuse upon that occasion neither tended to peace, nor was true; he had found in England, and so he said a year ago to his constituents, more coolness, more kind disposition to their country than among the sons of Ireland, and to represent it as always hostile evidently tended to separation.

Mr. Plunket in a very long and animated speech reflected severely on Dr. Browne's change of opinion. He went over the old field of argument; traced the

the proceedings of the government from the first mention of the scheme, censured both the measure and the means; and earnestly exhorted the ministry not to offer violence to the settled principles or shake the settled loyalty of the country.

The prime serjeant took notice of the arts, which had been practised by the Anti-union faction, to delude and inflame the people. He accused the leaders of that party of having resorted to the usual auxiliaries of a bad cause—virulence, misrepresentation, clamor, and sedition. He then appealed to the well-meaning and highly-respectable gentlemen, who had opposed the Union from a sincere opinion of its impolicy, whether it were just or candid to co-operate with the faction in preventing a cool discussion of the measure. As a great proportion of the kingdom had declared in its favor, he thought it the duty of the representatives of the people to give it a fair investigation.

Mr. Barrington, by serious reflection, was confirmed in his opinion that a revolutionary measure arising from the ashes of a rebellion, and grounded on the distractions of a nation, could not be permanent; and he dreaded the ultimate loss of British connexion from the pertinacity of those ministers, who wished to deprive Ireland of her independence.

Sir John Macartney and Mr. Egan supported, and Mr. Luke Fox opposed the amendment.

Mr. Grattan entered the house between Mr. William B. Ponsonby and Mr. Arthur Moore, whilst Mr. Egan was on his legs actually referring to the constitution of 1782. The re-appearance in parliament of the founder of that constitution at that critical moment and under those awful circumstances, electrified the house and galleries with an indescribable emotion of terrific joy and expectation. On rising to speak, he referred to the adjustment of 1782. The minister of Great Britain, he said, had come forward in two celebrated productions; he declared his intolerance of the parliamentary constitution of Ireland; that constitution, which he ordered the several viceroys to celebrate, in defence of which he recommended the French war, and to which he swore the yeoman, that constitution he now declared to be a miserable imperfection, concurring with the men, whom he had executed for thinking the Irish parliament a grievance; differing from them in the remedy only: they proposing to substitute a republic, and he the yoke of the British parliament. They had seen him inveigh against their projects; let them hear him in defence of his own: he denied in the face of the two nations a public

fact registered and recorded ; he disclaimed the final adjustment, as being no more than an incipient train of negotiation. That settlement consisted of several parts, every part a record, establishing on the whole two grand positions : first, the admission of Ireland's claim to be legislated by no other parliament but that of Ireland : secondly, the finality imposed upon the two nations ; regarding all constitutional projects affecting each other. Finality was not only a part of the settlement, but one of its principal objects ; finality was the principal object of England, as legislative independency was the object of Ireland.

Having spoken very largely to the two points of regency and war, on which the Unionists rested their strongest arguments against the constitution of 1782, he thus continued : " I will put a question to my country. I will suppose her at the bar, and I will then ask, Will you fight for an Union as you would for a constitution? Will you fight for those lords and commons, who in the last century, took away your trade, and in the present your constitution, as for that king, lords, and commons, who restored both? Well, the minister has destroyed this constitution. To destroy is easy. The edifices of the mind, like the fabrics of marble, require an age to build, but ask only minutes to precipitate ; and, as the fall is of no time, so neither is it the effect of any strength. That constitution, which with more or less violence has been the inheritance of this country for six hundred years ; that *modus tenendi parlamentum*, which lasted and out-lastcd of Plantagenet the wars, of Tudor the violence, and of Stuart the systematic falsehood ; even the bond and condition of our connexion, are now the objects of ministerial attack. The constitution which he destroys is one of the pillars of British empire ; dear in its violation, dear in its recovery. Its restoration cost Ireland her noblest efforts ; it was the habitation of her loyalty, as well as of her liberty, where she had hung up the sword of the volunteer ; her temple of fame, as well as of freedom, where she had seated herself, as she vainly thought, in modest security and in a long repose. I have done with the pile which the minister batters, I come to the Babel which he builds ; and, as he throws down without a principle, so does he construct without a foundation. This fabric he calls an Union ; and to this his fabric there are two striking objections. First, it is no Union : it is not an identification of people, for it excludes the Catholics : Secondly, it is a consolidation of the legislatures ; that is to say, it merges the Irish parliament,

“liament, and incurs every objection to an Union, without obtaining the
 “only object which an Union professes: it is an extinction of the con-
 “stitution, and an exclusion of the people.”

What was the language of the minister's advocates to the Catholic body?
 “You were before the Union, as three to one; you will be by the Union as
 “one to four.” Thus he founds their hopes of political power on the ex-
 tinction of physical consequence, and makes the inanity of their body and the
 non-entity of their country the pillars of their future ambition. He after-
 wards observed, that the minister, by his first plan, as detailed by his ad-
 vocates, not only excluded the Catholics from parliament, but also deprived
 the Protestants of a due representation in that assembly; that he struck off
 one half of the representatives of counties, and preserved the proportion of
 boroughs as two to one; thus dismissing for ever the questions of Catholic
 emancipation and parliamentary reform: that, instead of reforming abuses in
 church and state, he wished to entail them on posterity; that, in lieu of Pro-
 testant ascendancy and Catholic participation, he proposed to constitute bo-
 rough ascendancy in perpetual abuse and dominion; that it was his aim to
 reform the British parliament by nearly sixty boroughs, and that of Ireland by
 nearly five hundred and fifty-eight English and Scotch members, and thus by
 mutual mis-representation frame an imperial House of Commons, who would
 become the host of ministers, not the representatives of the people.

Of the predicament in which the new members would be placed, he said,
 never was there a situation, in which men would have so much temptation to
 act ill, and so little to act well. Subject to great expence and consequent
 distresses, having no support from the voice of an Irish public, no check, they
 would be in situation a sort of gentlemen of the empire, that is to say, gentle-
 men at large, unowned by one country, and unelected by the other, suspended
 between both, false to both, and belonging to neither. The sagacious British
 secretary of state had remarked, how great would be the advantage to the ta-
 lents of Ireland, to have this opportunity in the British empire thus opened!
 that was what they dreaded: that the market of St. Stephen would be opened
 to the individual, and the talents of the country, like its property, draughted
 from the kingdom of Ireland to be sold in London. These men, from their
 situation (man was the child of situation), though their native honor might
 struggle, would be the adventurers of a most expensive kind, adventurers with
 pretensions, dressed and sold, as it were, in the shrouds and grave-clothes of

the Irish parliament, and playing for hire their tricks on her tomb, the only repository the minister would allow to an Irish constitution; the images of degradation and the representatives of nothing; he then noticed the bribes offered by Mr. Pitt. To the Protestant Church perpetual security was promised; but a measure that would annihilate the parliament by which that church was upholden, and disfranchise the people who supported that establishment, would rather tend, he said, to its disgrace and ruin.

To the Catholic clergy salaries were promised. Those who had been strongly accused of disloyalty were to be rewarded for imputed treasons against the king, if they would commit real treasons against the people. Salaries, he allowed, might reasonably be given to those sectaries for the exercise of religious duty; but he could not approve the grant of wages for political apostasy. According to this plan, the Catholic religion would seem to disqualify its followers from receiving the blessings of the constitution, while their hostility to that constitution qualified them to receive a salary for the exercise of their religion, which would thus be at once punished by civil disability and encouraged by ecclesiastical provision: as good Catholics they would be disqualified, and, as bad citizens, would be rewarded.

A commutation of tithes formed another bribe. It had formerly been observed by some of the king's ministers, in opposition to a proposal of that kind from Mr. Grattan, that it would tend to the overthrow of the church; but now, he said, the premier was not unwilling to overturn the church, if he could at the same time overturn the constitution.

Bribes were also offered to the mercantile body. Commercial benefits were holden out for political annihilation; and an abundance of capital was promised; but first, a great part of the landed capital of the country would be taken away by the necessary operations of an Union. This rival being removed, commercial capital, it was supposed, would quickly take its place. But these and other promises of the minister would probably be found visionary. He goes on (said Mr. Grattan) asserting with great ease to himself, and without any obligation to fact, upon the subject. Icarian imagination is the region in which he delights to sport. Where he is to take away your parliament, where he is to take away your first judicature, where he is to take away your money, where he is to increase your taxes, where he is to get an Irish tribute, there he is a plain direct matter-of-fact man; but where he is to pay you for all this, there he is poetic and prophetic; no longer a third-hand financier,

financier, but an inspired accountant. Fancy gives him her wand; Amalthea takes him by the hand; Ceres is in his train. The English capitalist, he thinks, will settle his family in the midst of those Irish Catholics, whom he does not think it safe to admit into parliament; as subjects, he thinks them dangerous; as a neighbouring multitude, safe. The English manufacturer will make this distinction: he will dread them as individuals, but will confide in them as a body, and settle his family and his property in the midst of them; he will therefore, the minister supposes, leave his mines, leave his machinery, leave his comforts, leave his habits, conquer his prejudices, and come over to Ireland to meet his taxes, and mis his constitution. The manufacturers did not do this when the taxes of Ireland were few, or when there was no military government in Ireland: however, as prejudices against this country increase, he supposes that commercial confidence may increase likewise. There is no contradicting all this, because arguments which reason does not suggest reason cannot remove. Besides, the minister in all this does not argue, but foretell; now you cannot answer a prophet, you can only disbelieve him. The premier finds a great absentee draught: he gives you another; and, having secured to you two complaints, he engages to cure both. Among the principal causes of complaint, we may reckon another effect arising from the non-residence of the Irish landlords, whose presence on their own estates is necessary for the succour, as well as the improvement of their tenantry; that the peasants may not perish for want of medicines, of cordial, or of cure, which they can only find in the administration of the landlord, who civilizes them, and regulates them in the capacity of a magistrate, while he covers them and husbands them in that of a protector, improving not only them but himself by the exercise of his virtues, as well as by the dispensation of his property, drawing together the two orders of society, the rich and the poor, until each may administer to the other, and civilize the one by giving, and the other by receiving; so that aristocracy and democracy may have a head and a body; so that the rich may bring on the poor, and the poor may support the rich; and both contributing to the strength, order, and beauty of the state, may form that pillar of society where all below is strength, and all above is grace. How does the minister's plan accomplish this? He withdraws the landed gentlemen, and then improves Irish manners by English factors. The minister proposes to you to give up the ancient inheritance of your country, to proclaim an utter and blank incapacity to make laws for your own people, and

and to register this proclamation in an act, which inflicts on this ancient nation an eternal disability ; and he accompanies these monstrous proposals by undisguised terror and unqualified bribery ; and this he calls no attack on the honor and dignity of the kingdom. The thing which he proposes to buy is what cannot be sold---liberty. For it he has nothing to give. Every thing of value which you possess you obtained under a free constitution : if you resign this, you must not only be slaves but idiots. His propositions are built upon nothing but your dishonor. He tells you (it is his main argument) that you are unfit to exercise a free constitution ; and he affects to prove it by the experiment. Jacobinism grows, he says, out of the very state and condition of Ireland. I have heard of parliament impeaching ministers ; but here is a minister impeaching parliament. He does more ; he impeaches the parliamentary constitution itself. The abuses in that constitution he has protected ; it is only its existence that he destroys : and on what ground ? Your exports since your emancipation, under that constitution, and in a great measure by it, have been nearly doubled ; commercially therefore it has worked well. Your concord with England since the emancipation, as far as it relates to parliament, on the subject of war, has been not only improved, but has been productive ; imperially, therefore, it has worked well. To what then does the minister in fact object ? that you have supported him, that you have concurred in his system : therefore he proposes to the people to abolish the parliament, and to continue the minister. He does more ; he proposes to you to substitute the British parliament in your place, to destroy the body that restored your liberties, and restore that body, which destroyed them. Against such a proposition, were I expiring on the floor, I should beg to utter my last breath, and to record my dying testimony."

Mr. Corry replied at large to Mr. Grattan. The inferiority of the Irish constitution was obvious in the want of that power of controlling the exercise of the royal prerogative in questions of peace and war, which the British lords and commons possessed. Where, he might ask, was the control of the Hibernian parliament over the British minister advising the king to declare war, when even with respect to the minister in Ireland the power of that body was totally inoperative over what the honorable gentleman himself had so often expressly termed the fugacious responsibility of those, who could elude the grasp of parliament, and scoff at its authority by stepping on board of the packet ?

On

On the division about ten o'clock in the morning, 96 voted for the amendment, 138 against it. This majority of 42 exceeded the warmest expectations of government; and the viceroy hoped to increase it by allowing an interval of some weeks to pass, before he sent to either house a copy of the resolutions of the parliament of Great Britain.

The defeat of the Anti-Unionists by a majority of 42, flushed the minister with confidence, and drove their opponents almost to desperation. The members were now so far marshalled into their ranks, that considerable changes or conversions were not to be expected on either side: some solitary instances of conversions did appear. No means of conversion or confirmation were omitted on either side. In order to counteract the first effects of this ministerial triumph in the capital, within an hour or two after the adjournment of the House of Commons (at ten o'clock on the 16th of January) an aggregate meeting of the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin was convened by instant requisition, at which they passed very strong resolutions,* and
amongst

* The following were the proceedings of the meeting, which shew the spirit of that day.

AGGREGATE MEETING.

16th January 1800.

At a most numerous and respectable meeting of the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, assembled this day by requisition, at the Sessions-house,

The HIGH SHERIFFS in the Chair,

The following gentlemen were constituted a committee, who reported the following resolutions and address, which were unanimously agreed to by the meeting; Mr. Hartley, Mr. Dease, Mr. Rawlins, Mr. R. M'Donnell, Mr. Moore, and Mr. Alderman Howison.

" 1. That the constitution of Ireland, as established at the memorable period of 1782, is the indefeasible and unalienable right of ourselves and our posterity.

" 2. That we do most solemnly and firmly protest against any act, which in destroying that constitution, exceeds the powers with which our representatives in parliament have been invested; and we do assert, that they have no right to adopt the disgraceful proposal of this our extinction for ever. Their powers are limited in time and extent, but the rights of the people are unscriptable and immortal.

" 3. That the re-proposal of the measure of a Legislative Union with Great Britain to the same parliament, which not a year since rejected even its discussion with indignation, is as insulting, as its consequences may be dreadful.

" 4. That the means resorted to for the purpose of procuring a parliamentary concurrence in this measure, and a delusive approbation of the people, are base and unconstitutional; and we call

" on

amongst others a most enthusiastic panegyric on the talents, virtue, and patriotism of Mr. Grattan, their late member. The quick shiftings of the *popularis*

“ on those who supported the measure, to recollect, that while they think they can violate the constitution with impunity, we remember we have taken a solemn oath to maintain it.

“ 5. That we contemplate with horror, the ungenerous language held to us in the hour of our distress. The manner in which we acquired our glorious constitution is openly avowed ; it remains only for us to say, that a constitution which we proudly asserted, ought never to be basely surrendered, and we pledge ourselves most solemnly, while we have life, we never will be the willing slaves of dishonorable negotiation.

“ 6. That we hail the auspicious moment of internal unanimity, when the cordial concurrence and co-operation of all sects and persuasions, as common brothers in a common cause, shall render any attempt upon our liberties, from whatever quarter it may proceed, disgraceful and ineffectual.

“ 7. That the grateful thanks of this meeting be returned to the virtuous minority of the House of Commons, who supported the independence of Ireland, by opposing a Legislative Union with Great Britain.

“ 8. That our worthy representatives, J. C. Beresford, Esq. and the Right Hon. George Ogle, highly merit, and we do hereby tender them our sincere acknowledgments for their uniform and steady opposition to an attempt to annihilate the independence of Ireland.

“ 9. That our warmest thanks and gratitude are due, and are hereby given, to the Right Honorable John Foster, Speaker of the House of Commons, whose virtuous and patriotic conduct have endeared him to every Irishman, who loves his country ; and that we can never despair of the success of a cause, supported by the talents and virtue of a man, who has on all occasions proved himself the steady friend of Ireland.

“ 10. That we feel the most lively satisfaction at the return of our late able and virtuous representative, H. Grattan, Esq. to our senate, at this alarming crisis of our liberty ; and that we derive the most encouraging preface from the addition of such splendid talents, and such well-tryed virtue, to the honest friends of Ireland, who, undaunted by corruption, and unawed by power, have continued firm to the trust reposed in them by their country ; and that the following address be presented to Mr. Grattan :

“ SIR,

“ FOR your spirit and patriotism, accept our most grateful acknowledgments. You have come forward at a time most critical to Irish liberty, to save the constitution.

“ This attempt of the minister, the annexation for ever of the kingdom of Ireland to the British parliament, is hateful to every lover of his country. When you so illustriously distinguished yourself in establishing the independence of the Irish legislature, the support of the people was not wanting. You will have it on this occasion, and with your virtues and talents, it would be criminal to despair of success.”

“ Resolved, That the high sheriffs be requested to present said resolutions and address, accompanied by such freemen and freeholders as chuse to attend.

“ Resolved,

pularis aura should not here pass unnoticed. The ingratitude and calumnies of Mr. Grattan's late constituents had weighed not lightly in the scale, which turned that gentleman's resolution to retire from parliament. They now placed him at the head of the triumvirate of their affections and adoration with Messrs. Foster and Ogle, who had been unceasing objects of Mr. Grattan's opposition during the whole course of his political career in parliament.

On the 15th of February 1800, petitions against a legislative Union with

"Resolved, That the aforesaid resolutions, with the answers of the speaker, our representatives, and Mr. Grattan, (when received) be printed."

The high sheriff having quitted the chair, it was taken by Mr. Alderman Crothers, and the unanimous thanks of the meeting were returned to the high sheriffs, for their patriotic conduct displayed by their readiness in calling this meeting, and their highly proper conduct in the chair.

The high sheriffs were pleased to appoint Saturday, at one o'clock, to meet at the Royal Exchange, to proceed to the several gentlemen with the resolutions of thanks, &c.

The following are the answers to the above resolutions :

"GENTLEMEN,

"I AM truly thankful for your approbation of my conduct, and the very flattering terms in which it is expressed.

"A sincere conviction of the ruinous consequences attendant on a Legislative Union, bound me to oppose it. Every day's reflection since has served to increase that conviction, and to shew me that the great safeguard and true security of our own liberties, and of what is equally dear to every loyal Irishman, our perpetual connexion with Great Britain, lie in the preservation of a separate independent parliament within the kingdom, under the constitution established and ratified in 1782.

"Accept my warmest thanks, and believe me to be with the most sincere respect and attachment your very faithful and obedient servant,

JOHN FOSTER."

"GENTLEMEN,

"YOUR resolution does us great honor: we are grateful for it. When we cease to deserve your confidence, we hope you will withdraw it from us for ever.

"J. C. BERESFORD.

"GEORGE OGLE."

"GENTLEMEN,

"I AGREE with you in thinking the present crisis to be truly alarming. After considering the project of an Union fully, fairly, and dispassionately, with every advantage promised and professed, I do really and sincerely think it the worst measure ever proposed in this country. I shall contribute my mite to oppose it; I have no confidence in the powers of my own broken and shattered exertions; but I have sufficient strength remaining to bear my last testimony against an Union.

HENRY GRATTAN."

Dublin, Jan. 18, 1800.

VOL. II.

* I.

Great

Great Britain were received from the counties of Dublin, Limerick, Wexford, Cavan, Longford, Tipperary, Galway, Meath and Fermanagh, as also from the city of Limerick, and the town of Belfast, and several others. When on the introduction of the Tipperary petition,

Mr. Bagwell (one of the representatives of that county) declared, that notwithstanding the support he had been induced to give the measure of a legislative Union, on the first night of the session, from the resolutions of a number of his respectable constituents, in favor of it, having been presented to him by the high sheriff; yet, on inspecting the list of names affixed to the petition before the house, he observed so large a majority of the independence and property of the county, among whom he discerned the names of several, who had before declared a different sentiment on the question, that he was now determined to oppose the measure whenever brought forward in parliament.

Sir L. Parsons stated to the house an act, which he considered as the greatest enormity, an high infringement of the privileges of parliament, and a violation of the liberties of the subject. He said he had it from a most respectable authority, which he named, that some time ago Major Rogers; who commands at Birr, having been told that there was an intention of assembling the freeholders and inhabitants to deliberate on the propriety of petitioning against a legislative Union, the major replied he would disperse them by force if they attempted any such thing; that the major, however, applied to government for direction: what answer or directions he received could only be judged of by his immediate conduct. On Sunday last several magistrates and respectable inhabitants assembled in the session-house, when the high sheriff (Mr. Derby) went to them and ordered them to disperse, or he would compel them; they were about to depart, when a gentleman came and told them the army was approaching; the assembly had but just time to vote the resolutions, but not to sign them; they broke up, and as they went out of the session-house, they saw moving towards it a column of troops with four pieces of cannon in front, matches lighted, and every disposition for an attack upon the session-house; a building so constructed, that if a cannon had been fired, it must have fallen on the magistrates and the people, and buried them in its ruins. A gentleman spoke to Major Rogers on the subject of his approaching in that hostile manner; his answer was, that he waited but for one word from the sheriff, that he might blow them

them

them to atoms ! These were the dreadful measures, Sir Laurence said, by which government endeavoured to force the Union upon the people of Ireland, by stifling their sentiments and dragooning them into submission. He then proposed two resolutions to the house to the following effect :

1st. " That to prevent by military force the freeholders of any county from meeting to petition parliament, is a gross violation of the privileges of this house, and a subversion of the constitution.

2d. " That Verney Derby, Esq. and Major Rogers do attend at the bar of this house on Wednesday next."

Mr. Bowes Daly seconded the motion. He reprobated such violent conduct, and hoped country gentlemen would make a common cause of it.

Lord Castlereagh said, that he had never before, either in his official or parliamentary capacity, heard a syllable of the matter then stated to the house. The honorable baronet ought to have come prepared with proofs of the facts alleged; but his manner seemed more calculated to inflame than to inform. He had assumed as fact, perhaps upon very slight authority, an outrage, which every man must condemn, if true; and then he had thought proper to impute to government the odium of that outrage. As to the first resolution, his lordship said it would be derogatory to the dignity of parliament to vote an acknowledged truism. It was one of the many inflammatory tricks, which had of late been frequently played off, and if now adopted would seem to admit the fact alleged, by unnecessarily declaring a principle always and universally asserted.

Sir John Parnell, Mr. Ogle, and Mr. J. C. Beresford spoke against the enormity of the alleged offence; but they agreed that the parties accused should be heard at the bar; and, upon the suggestion of those gentlemen, Sir Laurence Parsons withdrew his first resolution, and the second passed unanimously.

Then Lord Castlereagh acquainted the house that he had a * message from his

* " CORNWALLIS,

" AT the close of the last session, in obedience to the particular commands, which I received from his majesty, I acquainted this parliament, that a joint address of the two houses of parliament of Great Britain had been laid before his majesty, accompanied by resolutions proposing and recommending a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be established by the mutual consent of both parliaments, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the similarity of constitution and government, and on a sense of mutual interests and affections.

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" I have

his excellency the lord lieutenant, which he read; and then proceeded in great confidence to lay open the plan of the Union, which he now looked up to as a certainty.

He prefaced his speech with some remarks on the unfavorable reception, which had attended it in the preceding year, and on the change of sentiment, which had taken place in the minds of many who were then hostile to the measure. The resistance to it, he said, had been principally occasioned by ignorance of its nature and misrepresentation of its effects. In proportion as it was more deliberately and fully investigated, the opposition to it became less general, and the clamours less violent. The great body of the landed property in Ireland became friendly to the principle; for the property of those who had declared in favor of it in the two houses of parliament, was, in comparison with that of its opponents, nearly in the proportion of three to one. Nineteen counties, whose superficial contents formed five-sevenths of the island, had come forward in its support. He did not mean to assert, that these counties were unanimous in approving the measure. Complete and perfect unanimity was not to be expected upon any great political question; but he would venture to assert, that a very great proportion of the property in those counties decidedly favored it, and most of the great commercial towns in the kingdom had also declared in its favor. Dublin was then affected, as Edinburgh had been at the time of the union with Scotland;

“ I have it now further in command from his majesty to lay those resolutions before this house, and solemnly to recommend to the consideration of his faithful commons the great objects they embrace.

“ His majesty has observed with increasing satisfaction, that the sentiments which have continued to be manifested in favor of this important and salutary measure by such numerous and respectable descriptions of his Irish subjects, confirm the hope he has expressed, that its accomplishment will prove to be as much the joint wish as it unquestionably is the common interest of both his kingdoms: an event to which his majesty looks forward with the utmost earnestness, as the only means, by which the common interests of all his people can be indissolubly united, and their security and happiness can be permanently established.

“ His majesty therefore relies on the wisdom of his parliaments, and the loyal concurrence of his people for the completion of this great work, with a firm persuasion that a full and unreserved participation of constitutional and commercial advantages will augment and perpetuate the prosperity of his subjects of his united kingdom, and that under the favor of Divine Providence the freedom and power of the British empire will be established on a foundation not to be shaken by the efforts either of its foreign or domestic enemies.”

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and he trusted would like Edinburgh have cause to be thankful to Providence for the accomplishment of an union with Great Britain.

He then animadverted on the proceedings of the chief adversaries of the Union, who not satisfied with exercising their deliberative powers within those walls, but organizing themselves in another place, empowering certain persons* to send their letters missive through the country, and establishing agents in the different counties, to bring the mass of the people to the bar of that house, as petitioners against the measure of Union. He was sorry to say, that some of the agents of those gentlemen had gone forth with the most unwarrantable pretences, and adopted the most treacherous artifices, and the most ludicrous misrepresentations, to deceive and distract the populace, whose signatures against an Union they wished to obtain. That had also been the case in the Scottish Union? The table of the parliament was day after day, for the space of three months, covered with such petitions: but the Scottish legislators acted as, he trusted, the Irish parliament would act; they considered only the public advantage; and, steadily pursuing that object, neither misled by artifices nor intimidated by tumult, they received, in the gratitude of their country that reward, which amply compensated their arduous labors in the great work so happily accomplished.

The principle of the measure had been investigated with such depth of argument and such sound ability,† in a speech, which had been since committed to the press, that he considered it as placed beyond question or doubt.

With regard to the mode of proceeding, which the projectors of the scheme intended to adopt, he premised, that it was originally their wish to follow the form pursued in the Union with Scotland, and to propose the appointment of commissioners of both realms, who might digest articles for the consideration of the two parliaments; but that, as this plan had been prevented by the refusal of the Irish House of Commons to allow a discussion of the question, it became expedient for his majesty's ministers to adopt measures, which might defeat the misrepresentations of their views, and unfold to this kingdom the liberal intentions of Great Britain. For this purpose they had introduced into the British parliament those articles, which had been now transmitted to Ireland, forming a basis for more extensive resolutions. After the minute investigation of these articles in the parliament of Ireland, and the detailed ap-

* Alluding to the Marquis of Downshire, &c. vide antea.

† By Mr. Smith.

plication of the general principles involved in them, the matured scheme would be submitted to the approbation of each legislature, and eventually functioned by solemn acts.

The secretary's first proposition stated the grand object in terms similar to those of the first resolution of the British parliament. The three articles which followed tended to establish the complete identity of the executive power in every possibility of circumstance and in every application of authority. Some would think that this object was secured by the act of annexation; but, though he venerated that act as the only bond now connecting this realm with Britain, he considered it, both in principle and operation, as extremely defective. In principle, it gave to the parliament of another country, in which the Irish are not represented, one of the most important legislative powers, that of regulating the succession to the crown. That the practice was not less defective than the principle, appeared in the case of the regency; for the prince of Wales was absolutely constituted regent by the address of the Irish legislature, before any regent was appointed by Great Britain.

To prove the danger of so imperfect a connexion his lordship instanced the conduct of James II., when after his abdication of the crown of England, he repaired to Ireland, and made use of the parliament as an instrument for erecting his opposition to England, and establishing a distinct monarchy in Ireland.*

He then put some illustrative questions respecting the predicament in which Ireland stood in the important cases of war, of peace, and of treaties. He then referred to a more frequent and just ground of complaint in that house, that the Irish minister, acting as he did under the direction of a British cabinet, was not responsible to the Irish parliament from the moment of his withdrawing from this kingdom, unless, by a derogation from our independence, we should impeach him at the bar of the parliament of Great Britain for offending against the constitution of Ireland. Who, he asked, advised the measures of the Irish government? The English minister. And how could the Irish parliament reach *him*? Who administered the great seal of England, without which no legislative act could be ratified? An English minister. And how could the Irish parliament reach *him*? In short, how could an efficient and constitutional responsibility be obtained, but by making the jurisdiction of parlia-

* Vide antea, Vol. I.

ment as comprehensive as the executive power? And this could be effected by an Union alone.

He separately and successively refuted all the objections made against the Union, as to its reducing Ireland to a mere colony, as to its weakening the executive power in Ireland, as to the impotency of a non-resident parliament, and as to future commercial and financial arrangements.

He then entered into the following detail.

Upon a comparison of the average value of the imports and exports of Great Britain for three years, ending with January, 1799, compared with those of Ireland ending on the 25th of March preceding, he found that the value of British commerce amounted to 73,961,899*l.*, and that of Irish commerce to 10,925,961*l.* and that they bear the proportion to each other of nearly seven to one. On a similar comparison of the value of the following articles, viz. malt, beer, spirits, wine, tea, tobacco, and sugar, consumed in the respective countries, he found that the value of the British articles amounted to 46,891,655*l.*, and that of the Irish articles to 5,954,856*l.* forming a proportion of 7 and 7-8ths to one. The medium, therefore, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 was to be taken as the fair proportion; and upon this principle Great Britain ought to contribute fifteen parts, and Ireland two, to the general expences of the empire.

In the article which related to this head, the first section provided, that the past debts of the two kingdoms should be borne by them respectively; and, if they coupled this liberal provision with the ninth section of the article, which gave to Ireland a participation in whatever sums might be produced from the territorial revenues of the dependencies of Great Britain in India, they would acknowledge not only the justice but the generosity of the terms. Great Britain held out to Ireland a proportional enjoyment of all the advantages of the empire, without requiring the smallest participation in the burthens, which she had incurred to procure them; and Ireland would acquire a revenue of 58,000*l.* a year, in case of her own burthens, out of the revenues paid by the East India company, from the territories subdued by British arms.

By the second section, the proportional contribution of 15 to 2 would continue for twenty years, that the system of the Union might acquire stability, before it should be subjected to the slightest modification.

When he stated the system of contributing on the principle of proportional ability, he was aware that a natural objection would arise, that, however fair

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or liberal the system might appear at present, it might at a future period, and under different circumstances, prove to be both partial and disadvantageous. It was therefore intended, that the imperial parliament should have a power to revise the proportion at the given period he had mentioned, but that the revision should be grounded upon the same principles, upon which the original proportion was formed, and limited to the result of those principles. Their contributions, therefore, might hereafter vary according to their relative increased or diminished ability; but, until the period of a common taxation should have arisen, the principles and the basis of their contribution were unalterably fixed. The only power reserved to the imperial parliament, was to examine and ascertain the *criteria*, by which the abilities of the two countries were to be determined: the *criteria* themselves were to remain unaltered and unalterable: and, since they were of such a nature that they could not fail of leading to a fair result, Ireland had by these means the utmost possible security, that she could not be taxed beyond the measure of her comparative ability, and that the ratio of her contribution must ever correspond with her relative wealth and prosperity.

By the fourth section, the revenues of Ireland would constitute a consolidated fund, which would be charged in the first place with the interest and sinking fund of the debt of Ireland, and be afterwards appropriated to its proportional contribution. The fifth section gave power to the imperial parliament to impose such taxes in Ireland as might be necessary for her contingent; but it should in no case be enabled to impose higher taxes, after the Union, upon any article in Ireland, than the same article should bear in Great Britain. The sixth section ascertained the manner, in which any surplus of the revenues of Ireland might be applied. There were four considerations which occurred with respect to any occasional excess of revenue. The first, and most obvious, was the diminution of taxes; the second, the application of such excess to local purposes of ornament or improvement in Ireland; the third to provide against any possible failure of revenue; the fourth to suffer such excess to accumulate at compound interest, in case of their contribution in a future period of war.

It was provided by the seventh section, that all future loans, for the interest and liquidation of which the respective countries had made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions, should be considered as a joint debt; and, on the other hand, that, where they did not make corresponding provisions

provisions, their respective quotas of the sum so raised should remain a separate charge.

The eighth section contained a provision, that, when the separate debts of the two kingdoms should be either extinguished, or in the proportion of their respective contributions, the general expences of the empire might be thenceforward borne by common taxes, in lieu of proportional contribution. It might perhaps be alleged, that common taxes with Great Britain would impose upon that kingdom heavier burthens than she would otherwise be required to support. But let the house consider, that the charges of the debt of Great Britain amounted to twenty millions a year, and the charges of the debt of Ireland to 1,300,000*l.* of British money a year; and that common taxes were not to take place, till either the past and separate debts of both countries should be liquidated, or till they should become to each other in the proportion of their contributions; that is, in the ratio of 15 to 2. Before that could take place, the taxes of Great Britain must be reduced by the amount of ten millions a year; in which case, the scale of her remaining taxation would be lowered to the scale of taxation in Ireland, and the adoption of British taxation would become a benefit. A similar result would take place, and to a greater degree, were the past debt of the two countries to be entirely liquidated: for, in that event, Ireland would be exonerated from taxes, to the amount of 1,300,000*l.* a year, and Britain to the amount of 20,000,000*l.* and the system of common taxation would become still more beneficial to Ireland. It might happen, however, that if war should continue, and Ireland fund her supplies, whilst England raised a great part of her's within the year, and mortgaged her income tax to their rapid reduction in peace, the proportion of the debt of Ireland might rise, and her scale of taxation increase accordingly. In this case, also, the system of common taxation perfectly secured the interests of Ireland, being produced by natural causes and in no degree forced. It could not impose any burthen on that country, to which she would not in the ordinary course of her expenditure be liable, whilst the provision, which went to preclude any article from being subject to a higher rate of duty in Ireland than the same article paid in Great Britain, would exempt her from having the scale of her taxation raised above that of England, even though the natural progress of her expence should lead to it. And whilst Ireland was thus secured against any injustice in substituting a system of common taxes for proportional contribution, the

united parliament would be enabled to make abatements in Ireland, as the parliament of Great Britain always had done in Scotland since the Union; where, from local circumstances, the high duty could not be levied without either rendering the revenue unproductive, or pressing with too much weight upon the poorer classes.

It remained for him to consider the operation and effect of this article, and how far the proportion of $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 might be favorable or otherwise to Ireland, considered with reference to the past expences of the two countries, as also to their probable future expenditure.

The peace establishment of Great Britain, in the year preceding the war, amounted to 5,806,744*l.*, and that of Ireland to 1,012,523*l.* The proportion of these sums is about $5\frac{3}{4}$ to 1. On an average of seven years, from the commencement of the war, Great Britain had expended in each year 27,650,649*l.*, and Ireland 3,076,651*l.* The proportion of these sums was about 9 to 1. As, however, upon the experience of the past century, it had been found that there were three years of peace to two of war; if they formed their calculations upon that proportion, the past expences of Great Britain and Ireland might be considered in the ratio of $7\frac{1}{4}$ to 1.

Such was the result as to past expenditure. He should next state what they might expect from the proportion of $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, in their future expences.

The expence of Great Britain, for the year 1799, was 32,700,000*l.*, and that of Ireland 5,439,000*l.* If that expence had been borne in the proportion of $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, Great Britain would have expended 33,652,059*l.*, and Ireland 4,486,941*l.*: the latter would have, consequently, saved 952,059*l.*, or 1,025,294*l.* in Irish currency. So long as the war should last, and they should continue separate from Britain, they could not suppose that their expence would be reduced; and therefore they would in future expend more by one million a year, than if they were united with Great Britain.

He then adverted to the probable future expences of Ireland in time of peace; which, if they considered the advanced pay of the army, the increased charge of the militia, the necessity of keeping up some part of that invaluable force, the yeomanry, they would find it impossible to maintain a peace establishment of only 12,000 men at home at a less charge than 1,500,000*l.* a year; and, if they should increase their establishment to 20,000 men, the whole charge would amount to 1,900,000*l.* a year. Now, from the best documents which he had been able to procure, it was probable that the peace establishment of

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Great Britain would amount to about 7,500,000*l.*; and, if they should add that of Ireland, the whole charge would be nine millions. If that charge were borne in the ratio of $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, there would be a saving to Ireland of 450,000*l.* British, or nearly 500,000*l.* Irish currency.

He now turned to the situation of the public revenues. The produce of all the taxes in the last year amounted merely to 1,850,000*l.*; and the present charges of the debt alone are 1,400,000*l.* Irish currency. He would, however, admit, that the revenues of this kingdom had, during that present year, experienced an extraordinary increase; and, though it were not to be supposed that the whole of that increase could be permanent, when they might account for it by the particular circumstances of the times, he would suppose that the revenues might produce a permanent sum of 2,300,000*l.* The charge of their debt was 1,400,000*l.*; and the peace establishment, at the lowest computation, would be 1,500,000*l.* The total expence therefore would be 2,900,000*l.*; and, if they remained a separate state, there would be an annual deficiency of 600,000*l.* which they must endeavour to supply by new burthens upon the people, besides raising additional taxes of 250,000*l.* a year, so long as the war should continue. If, on the contrary, they wisely united with Great Britain, and agreed in a system of contribution proportioned to their respective means, the future charge of their war expence would be diminished a million a year, and they should be able to support their peace expenditure with a very slight addition to the present taxes. He confidently then appealed to those gentlemen around him, who had a real stake in the interests and happiness of that country, and he trusted they would seriously pause and deliberate before they suffered advantages like those which he had stated, to be rejected without discussion, or to be decided by wild and senseless clamor.

The affairs of commerce formed the next branch of inquiry; and on that head his lordship observed, that the principles, which were to form the basis of the agreement, did not materially differ from the plan brought forward in the year 1785. It was highly desirable, he said, that the commerce and intercourse between Britain and Ireland should be as free as between two countries of the same kingdom; but there were two circumstances, which prevented such an adjustment; these were, the necessity of securing particular manufactures by protecting duties, and the difference of internal taxes, consequent on the disparity of burthen sustained by Great Britain.

As to the first section of the commercial article, by which the subjects and the produce of each country would be placed upon an equal footing for ever, with regard to privileges, encouragements, and bounties, that gave the continuance for ever of the British and Irish bounties on the exportation of Irish linen, and afforded a full participation in the great article of sail cloth. As to the next section, relative to the exportation of all commodities from one country to the other without duty, that secured to Ireland for ever the raw materials, which she received from Britain, and which she could procure from no other country—coals, tin, bark, alum, hops, and salt: it also conceded to Ireland the staple commodity of English wool. The same section put an end to all bounties whatever on the articles of trade between the kingdoms, with an exception of malt, flour, and grain, which, it was proposed, might still be regulated on the present system.

The third section, respecting the articles which should be subject to duty in either country, gave rise to the following observations. To give adequate protection to the fabrics of that kingdom, a duty of 10 *per cent.* on the true value would be fully sufficient, in addition to the charges of freight, &c. which were estimated at 5½ *per cent.* Any manufacture in Ireland that could not be carried on with a protecting guard of 15½ *per cent.* against the manufacturer of England, where taxes were higher and labor dearer, could not deserve much encouragement. Nor was it fair in such a case to sacrifice the interests of the consumer, or encourage by high duties the habits of indolence. In fixing that rate of protection, he wished it to continue for such a period of years as would give security to the speculations of the manufacturers; at the same time he looked forward to a period when duties of that kind might gradually be diminished and ultimately cease. It was evident, that, if their manufactures kept pace for the next twenty years with the progress they had made in the last twenty years, they might at the expiration of the term be fully able to cope with the British, and the two kingdoms might be safely left, like any two counties of the same kingdom, to a free competition. It was therefore provided, that after twenty years the united parliament might diminish the duties of protection, in such a ratio as the situation of their manufactures at that period might render expedient. As all articles, except those enumerated in the resolutions, are to be free from duty upon import, he called the attention of the house to the perpetual security offered to the linen manufacture of Ireland. It had been frequently asserted, that that manufac-
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ture derived all its prosperity from the encouragement which it had received from their local parliament; but he had ever contested the truth of that statement. The prosperity of the linen manufacture resulted not from domestic encouragement, but depended on its possession of the British market, and the British bounties on re-exportation. What then gave them that market but the liberality of Great Britain, which imposed a duty of 33 *per cent.* upon foreign linens, and admitted Irish linens without duty. The whole quantity of linen imported into Great Britain amounted to 50,000,000 of yards, of which 33 millions went from Ireland. Now, if a duty of 33 *per cent.* should be laid upon Irish linen as well as foreign, it would produce a sum of more than a million a-year to the revenue of Britain; and the trade would thus be thrown altogether into the hands of the foreign manufacturer.

It had been urged, that the encouragements granted to Irish linen were in consequence of a compact that the Irish parliament should give up the woollen manufacture. It must have been a singular compact indeed, by which Great Britain was irrevocably to bind herself to impose on her own subjects the burthen of a million sterling *per annum*, in order to secure an export of woollen goods, which had never exceeded 680,000*l.* a year. But, if he should allow that a compact existed, Ireland, by that proposal, would have both parts of it; she would keep what she had by linens, and recover what she was supposed to have given up in woollens as the price of these encouragements. She would not only enjoy for ever the British markets for her linen trade, but would receive the raw material of England for the improvement and extension of her woollen trade; and she would have British bounties to favor the re-exportation of the former, and low British duties to encourage the importation of the latter.

Some had affirmed, that Great Britain laid the high duty on the foreign linens to protect her own manufacture, and not to favor the Irish. If that were admitted, what then prevented her from laying the same duty on Irish linens? Could any other reason be assigned than disposition to protect the manufactures of Ireland? If Great Britain should only impose a protecting duty of 10 *per cent.* on the import of Irish linens in favor of her own, she would only act towards them as they had towards her in almost all the leading articles of British manufacture; and what would be the effect? It would exclude them in a great measure from her market. The foreign manufacturer, who now supplied nearly one-third of her demand, even under the disadvantage of
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a duty of 33 *per cent.* would then supply nearly the whole. The English consumer would buy his linens nearly at as cheap a rate, whilst the state would levy an annual revenue on the import, which was now sacrificed to the encouragement of the manufacture of Ireland. Was it then to the local parliament, or to the parliament of Great Britain, that Ireland stood indebted for these advantages? It was to the parliament of Great Britain alone, to the parliament of that country which had been described as the natural and instinctive enemy of Ireland, that they owed the obligation. That hostile country annually sacrificed a sum to the protection of the linen trade of Ireland, equal in amount to the total expence of our peace establishment as it stood before the war; and, by treaty, she had bounden herself to continue it for ever.

As to the countervailing duties (mentioned in the fourth section) necessary to balance internal imposts, the necessity was evident, while the two countries should be subject to unequal taxes; and, when the inequality of taxes should cease, and a common revenue take place, they would be discontinued.

The two next sections might be of great commercial consequence, as they provided, that the charges upon the re-exportation of native, foreign, and colonial goods, should be the same in both countries, and that no drawbacks should be retained upon any article exported from either country to the other. All who considered and understood the nature of our commerce and the advantages of our situation must allow the great benefit of securing the perpetuity of these regulations to Ireland. It had been acknowledged, that the situation of Ireland was much more convenient for the re-export trade than Great Britain, not being subject to the dangerous and tedious navigation of the channels; but, when it was considered that the transit or re-export trade of Britain amounted to 14,000,000*l.* a year, gentlemen would admit, that the prospect of national advantage from that part of the system highly deserved their attention, and that there was no benefit, which the cities of Cork and Dublin might not expect, when, in order to carry that article into effect, the system of bonding foreign goods for exportation should be extended, and arrangements made for converting those harbours as far as possible into free ports.

Upon a review of the result of that article, they would find their linen trade secured, the prospect of a great woollen trade opened, a great manufactory of fail cloth encouraged, the British market opened by low duties (in
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case of their skilful use of domestic advantages), and at the same time secured for their great provision trade, whilst an additional encouragement was given to their farmers, in taking off the duty from the produce of their lands.

In considering the effect of the proposed commercial regulations upon the revenue, they would again find the advantage of the system. The duties on the exportation of hides, tallow, cattle, and provisions, which produced 44,000*l.* would cease; and the loss of revenue by taking off duties, and by lowering duties from $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 *per cent.* would amount to 32,000*l.* Thus the total loss would be 76,000*l.*: but, to balance that loss, they would gain the duty of 1*l.* 3*d.* a ton upon coals, which then was raised upon Irish consumption, and amounted *per annum* to 17,000*l.*; they would gain the duties retained in England on subsidy goods, 9,000*l.*; they would receive their proportion of 500,000*l.* from the India company, 58,000*l.* the whole amounting to 84,000*l.* Thus taxes would be remitted, at present raised either on Irish produce or Irish consumption, whilst the loss of revenue would be fully compensated by a transfer of duties then payable into the British exchequer.

The eighth section provided that a sum equal to what then was applied to charitable purposes, and to the encouragement of manufactures, should continue to be so appropriated annually by the united parliament; thus securing a continuance of the linen board, and other local institutions, which had hitherto received parliamentary bounty.

He then reverted to the fifth article, and briefly discussed the ecclesiastical part of the plan of Union. The leading features of the whole system, he said, were, one state, one legislature, one church; and, if there should not be an identity with Britain in these great points of connection, Ireland could not expect to enjoy real and permanent security. The church in particular, as long as the separation should continue, would ever be liable to be impeached upon local grounds, and would be unable to maintain itself effectually against the argument of physical force, by which it was continually assailed: but, when once it should be completely incorporated with the church of England, it would be placed upon such a strong and national foundation, as to be above all apprehensions or alarms from adverse interest.

The Protestant, so long as the establishment remained separate, and was impeached on local grounds, would feel his power, his property, and his government insecure, and must naturally look with distrust and jealousy on the Catholic: the Catholic would feel proportionate alienation and resentment,
and

and would continually urge his claims against the establishment of the minority; and thus there appeared no ray of hope of a termination to distrust, jealousy, and alarm. But, when the ecclesiastical establishments of the two kingdoms should have been incorporated into one church, the Protestant would feel himself at once identified with the population and property of the empire, and the establishment would be placed upon its natural basis. The cause of distrust must vanish with the removal of weakness; strength and confidence would produce liberality; and the claims of the Catholics might be temperately discussed, and impartially decided before an imperial parliament, divested of those local circumstances, which would ever produce irritation and jealousy.

He took notice of the imputation, that the Catholic clergy have been bribed to support this measure. That was an illiberal imputation, thrown out for the dangerous purpose of weakening their authority over, by lowering them in the opinion of, their flocks; for it was known, that an arrangement for the clergy, both Catholic and Protestant Dissenters, had been long in the contemplation of his majesty's ministers. As to the insinuation, that the measure of Union was a measure of bribery; if bribery and public advantage were synonymous, he readily admitted it to be a measure of the most comprehensive bribery that was ever produced. It bribed all the inhabitants of Ireland, by offering to embrace them within the pale of the British constitution, and to communicate to them all the advantage of British commerce. But perhaps there was one class in the community, to which an Union would not act as a bribe: he alluded to those, who called themselves lovers of liberty and independence; of that liberty, which consisted in the abdication of the British constitution; that independence, which consisted in the abandonment of British connexion. He acknowledged, that those were bribes he was not prepared to offer: there were many, with whom he was not prepared to make any treaty, but the treaty of the law.

The only remaining question of importance was, that which related to the constitution of the parliament. The representation of Ireland by equal numbers having been urged as a measure requisite for a fair Union, his lordship reprobated the idea as founded on the common and refuted error, that the two kingdoms, after an Union, would retain distinct and adverse interests. If this should be admitted, the proposed remedy would even augment the disorder. Rival interests, far from being remedied by equality of numbers, would

would, from the circumstance of such equality, break forth into jealous and hostile competition. It would therefore be adviseable to proceed upon an opposite principle, and, on the ground of a community of interest between incorporated kingdoms, adjust the number of representatives by the *criteria* of wealth and population.

The population of Ireland was in general estimated from 3,500,000 to 4,000,000.* The population of Great Britain is supposed to exceed 10,000,000. The contribution proposed for Ireland to furnish to the expences of the empire, is as one to $7\frac{1}{2}$. These two proportions taken together, will produce a mean proportion of about $5\frac{1}{4}$ to 1. If, therefore, Ireland should send one hundred members to represent her in the Imperial House of Commons, she would be fairly and adequately represented.

With reference to the peerage, he would propose, that the representative body for Ireland should consist of four spiritual and twenty-eight temporal lords: and when it was considered, that above forty noblemen who had great interests and stakes in Ireland were already peers of Great Britain, he flattered himself, that their interests in that branch of the legislature would be sufficiently maintained by a body so numerous and respectable.

With regard to the appointment of the peers, who were to sit in the imperial parliament, he should propose, that the four spiritual peers should sit by rotation of sessions, and that, for the prevention of the inconveniences, which resulted from septennial elections, the twenty-eight temporal peers should be returned for life. Such an arrangement appeared at once best calculated to secure their independence, and to preserve, as far as possible, the hereditary principle of the peerage. It was also intended to interfere in as small a degree as possible with any existing privileges of the peerage of Ireland; and he should suggest, with that view, that the peers of Ireland might still be allowed to sit in the House of Commons of the united parliament, for any county or borough of Great Britain; but that, during the period of their thus sitting as commoners, they should be tried as commoners, and be precluded from representing the Irish peerage, or voting at the election of any peer; and, as the Irish peerage materially differed from the Scotch, the titles of the latter being entailed generally, and the former limited to the heirs male, it was intended to reserve a power to the crown of creating Irish peers, provided that the number of peers existing at the time of the Union were not augmented.

* There are many strong reasons for believing it to amount to near 5,000,000.

In forming the representation of the commons of Ireland, he should suggest the expediency of increasing the proportion, and strengthening the influence of the counties. That principle was wisely adopted in the Scottish Union, when the representatives for the counties amounted to thirty, and those of the boroughs to fifteen. In following that precedent, he intended to propose, that the sixty-four members for counties should be elected as at present, and that thirty-six should represent the chief cities and towns of the kingdom. Here the proportion was nearly the same.

In order to produce a return of thirty-six members only, to represent the boroughs and cities of Ireland, which consisted of one hundred and eighteen places, recourse must be had to some principle, either of selection or combination. The latter principle was followed in the Union with Scotland, where the boroughs were divided into fifteen classes, each class consisting of four or five boroughs, each borough electing a delegate, and the majority of delegates choosing a burgess. It had, however, been found by experience, that this mode of election was subject to much inconvenience and cabal; and he would therefore advise, that only the most considerable towns in the kingdom should be permitted to send representatives, and that the privileges of the other boroughs should cease. He would propose, that Cork and Dublin should each send two representatives as at present; that one should be returned by the University; and that thirty-one of the most considerable cities and towns of Ireland, whose relative importance was to be measured by the joint consideration of their wealth and population, should each send a member to the imperial parliament.

In selecting the towns which should retain the privilege of sending members to parliament, the criterion he suggested, would be from the combined result of the hearth-money and window tax.

As the disfranchisement of many boroughs would diminish the influence and privileges of those gentlemen whose property was connected with such places of election, he endeavoured to obviate their complaints by promising, that, if the plan submitted to the house should be finally approved, he would offer some measure of compensation to those individuals *whose peculiar interests should suffer in the arrangement.

Much and deep objection might be stated to such a measure; but it surely

* This purchase of each borough for 15,000*l.* each, was supposed to have brought over many profelytes to the Unionists, who would otherwise have opposed the measure.

was consonant with the privileges of private justice; it was calculated to meet the feelings of the moderate; and it was better to resort to such a measure, however objectionable, than adhere to the present system, and keep afloat, for ever, the dangerous question of parliamentary reform. If this were a measure of purchase, it should be recollected, that it would be the purchase of peace, and the expence of it would be redeemed by one year's saving of the Union.

Some might object, that a representation formed on the principle suggested, would be too popular in its nature and effects; and, indeed, if Ireland were to remain separate from Great Britain, he should feel the full weight of that objection; but, as their representation was to be mixed with that of Britain, any danger arising from its popular constitution would be sufficiently counteracted by the consistency and stability of that body.

The last article would provide for the continuance of the existing laws, for the preservation of the courts of justice in their present state, for the removal of appeals to the House of Lords of the imperial parliament, and for subjecting the prize court of admiralty to the lord high admiral of the empire. He then spoke of the general plan in the following terms:

“ Having now gone through the outline of the plan with as much conciseness as possible, I trust I have proved to every man who hears me, that the proposal is such a one, as is at once honorable for Great Britain to offer, and for Ireland to accept. It is one, which will entirely remove from the executive power those anomalies, which are the perpetual sources of jealousy and discontent. It is one, which will relieve the apprehensions of those who feared that Ireland was, in consequence of an Union, to be burdened with the debt of Britain. It is one, which, by establishing a fair principle of contribution, tends to release Ireland from an expence of one million in time of war, and of 500,000*l.* in time of peace. It is one, which increases the resources of our commerce, protects our manufactures, secures to us the British market, and encourages all the produce of our soil. It is one, that, by uniting the ecclesiastical establishments, and consolidating the legislatures of the empire, puts an end to religious jealousy, and removes the possibility of separation. It is one, that places the great question, which has so long agitated the country, upon the broad principles of imperial policy, and divests it of all its local difficulties. It is one, that establishes such a representation for the country, as must lay asleep for ever

“ the question of parliamentary reform, which, combined with our religious divisions, has produced all our distractions and calamities.”

Then Lord Castlereagh, in a warm panegyric on the British minister, concluded, that, as on a recurrence of danger, Great Britain might not have such a character to rise up again for her salvation, it was highly expedient to seize the present moment, and strengthen the Irish constitution by blending and uniting it for ever with the great and powerful empire of Britain. If that important object should be accomplished, and if at any future time the enemies of Britain and of mankind should be let loose upon the social world, Ireland, he doubted not, would be in such a situation of unanimity and power, as to bear a conspicuous part with Great Britain in the glorious task of restoring the liberties of Europe.

Mr. G. Ponsonby made a powerful attack on the Irish minister. He vindicated the Anti-unionists, who were accused of irregular practices, by observing, that, though at any other time and under different circumstances such behaviour might be extraordinary, yet, when it was considered, that a formidable rebellion was scarcely suppressed, and that martial law was in force, the interference of men of rank, property, and respectability, seemed to be necessary, in order to shew to the people the safety and the propriety of expressing, in a constitutional manner, their sense of a measure, which would deprive them of constitution, of liberty, of every thing dear and valuable to themselves and to their country.

He treated as visionary all the proffered advantages of Union. In the ecclesiastical establishment, Union would produce but one solid effect, which would be to translate the Irish into English bishops.

He then summed up the effects of the Union in these terms: “ Your peerage is to be disgraced; your commons purchased; no additional advantage in commerce; for twenty years a little saving in contribution; but, if the cabinet of England think, that we contribute more than we should, why not correct that extravagance now? If any thing should be conceded in the way of trade, why is it not conceded now? Are any of those benefits incompatible with our present state? No; but the minister wants to carry his Union; and no favor, however trifling, can be yielded to us, unless we are willing to purchase it with the existence of parliament and the liberties of the country.”

A short speech of censure from Sir John Parnell was succeeded by a long
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one from Mr. Dobbs, but there was nothing new in their arguments. The latter of these two gentlemen was very enthusiastic in his declamation. He at length consoled himself with this reflection, that the fate of nations was not in the hands of man. It was not the will of a British minister that could rob Ireland of her newly-acquired rights: he proclaimed it to the two nations, that the independence of Ireland was written in the immutable records of Heaven.

Colonel Verreker, Mr. Lee and Mr. Ogle, again reprobated the measure; Sir John Blaquiere, Mr. Martin, and Mr. Ormsby strenuously supported it.

Mr. John Claudius Beresford denied, that the greater part of the property in the kingdom favoured the Union. Such a conclusion could not be drawn from the addresses which had been presented, while so many petitions proved the contrary. On the subject of the letters missive, he saw nothing very strange in such endeavours to procure the real sense of the country, when so many extraordinary means had been used to procure an apparent one. * He admitted, that the establishment would be endangered by the emancipation of the Catholics while Ireland should continue to have a separate parliament; but, in the event of an Union, he pledged himself to promote the grant of the concessions which they desired.

Mr. Burrowes declared, that his opposition to the progress of the measure did not arise from the peculiar demerit of the plan now developed, but from his unwillingness to surrender the constitution of the realm upon any terms whatever, or to transfer the supreme power of the state to a country divided from Ireland by boundaries which could not be removed, and by feelings which could not be extinguished. If an Union should pass, as an Irishman he should be indifferent how many or how few deputies should be sent from their emasculated country. The parliament could not be said to exercise an unbiassed judgment, though he would not particularise the means, by which it had been influenced. With regard to the opinion of the public, it was clear, that the general voice was strongly against the measure. The detestation of it was strikingly apparent in every quarter of the kingdom, and among all classes of people. This display of the national sentiment was an awful warning.

Mr. Edgeworth, disclaiming all party connexion, discussed some points connected with the measure. He did not object to it as an innovation. The settlement of 1782 was an innovation; and he concurred in the opinion, that
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it was intended to be final, though by no means perfect. While he wished for an Union, he did not altogether approve the plan now recommended. It would leave grounds of jealousy and altercation, and would not involve the complete identity of interest requisite for the stability of such a measure. He also thought it improper to urge the scheme, unless it should appear to be desired by the sober and impartial majority of the nation; and, while seventy boroughs were allowed to be saleable commodities, for which the public money was to be given, he not only deemed it impossible to collect the genuine sense of the nation in that house, but could not conscientiously support a scheme attended with this avowed corruption.

Mr. Mac Cleland ridiculed the idea of the present independence of Ireland; affirmed, that national and commercial jealousies were necessarily incident to the existing connexion between the countries; and recommended an Union, as tending to combine real independence with wealth and prosperity.

Mr. Tighe accused Lord Castlereagh of having argued upon two assumptions, which he could not prove. One was, that the opinion of the nation was in favor of the measure; the other, that Ireland could be adequately and fairly represented in an united parliament. He also charged the Unionists with having had recourse to the dishonorable arts of corruption and intimidation, in the prosecution of their unconstitutional scheme.

Mr. Smith denied, that the Union would annihilate the liberties or the constitution of Ireland; and asserted, that the greater part of the property and intelligence of the country justly considered the measure in an opposite point of view.

Mr. J. M. O'Donnell reprobated the scheme with great warmth, and inveighed particularly against the apostates and traitors, who aimed at the ruin of their country. He contradicted the attorney-general's assertion, that Molyneux had recommended a legislative Union.

Mr. Serjeant Stanley spoke in favor of Union.

Mr. Grattan said, that the right honorable gentleman proposed a counter-revolution, as if he were to bring in a bill to depose the House of Hanover, and re-establish that of Stuart: he proposed to restore the domination of the British parliament, which abdicated Ireland, and to depose the Irish parliament that had saved her; grounding the proposition on the opportunity, the weakness, the divisions, and the martial law of the country; but concealing those grounds, because a disclosure of them would display the real character
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and perfidy of the measure, and professing to introduce it on another ground, namely, the wishes of the country, as mis-stated and misrepresented by the servants of the crown. In this proposition, the minister had gigantic difficulties to encounter. It was incumbent upon him to explain away the tyrannical acts of a century; to apologise for the lawless and oppressive proceedings of England, for a system which had counteracted the kindness of Providence towards Ireland, and had kept her in a state of thralldom and misery; to prove that the British parliament had undergone a great change of disposition; to disprove two consequences, which were portended by the odium of the Union and the increased expences of the empire, namely, a military government for a considerable time, and, at no very distant period, an augmentation of taxes; to deny or dispute the growth of the prosperity of Ireland, under the maternal wing of her own parliament; to controvert the sufficiency of that legislature for imperial purposes or commercial objects, though facts were against him; and to explode or recal his repeated declarations in its favor. In short, he had to prove many points, which he could by no means demonstrate; and to disprove many, which might be forcibly maintained against him. It was, moreover, singular to behold the man, who denied the right of France to alter her government, maintaining the omnipotence of the parliament of Ireland to annul her constitution.

He then urged the very serious importance of the question. It was not such as had formerly occupied their attention: not old Poynings, not speculation, not an embargo, not a Catholic bill, not a reform bill---it was their being---it was more, it was their life to come---whether they would go to the tomb of Charlemont and the volunteers, and erase his epitaph, or whether their children should go to their graves, saying, "A venal, a military court attacked the liberties of the Irish, and here lie the bones of the honorable men, who saved their country." Such an epitaph was a nobility, which the king could not give to his slaves; it was a glory, which the crown could not give to the king.

Mr. Corry, the chancellor of the exchequer, offered some observations in reply, that contained no novelty.

Dr. Duigenan entered into a most diffuse dissertation upon the subject, disclaimed all connexion with the ministers of either country, and asserted the sincerity of his own convictions in favor of an Union.

Mr. Saurin asserted the existence of a compact between the government
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and the people. It was to be found, he said, in the heart of every honest senator; and he trusted, that every member would reflect on the duties involved in such a compact before he should give his vote on the present question. The functions and authority of parliament ought not to be transferred to another country, without the sanction of a full and ascertained majority of the people. The trustees of power had no right of themselves to destroy that which they were delegated to preserve.

Colonel Fitzgerald, Mr. Johnson, and the solicitor general spoke in favor of Union.

When the question was called for, the house divided, at a very late hour, 158 for Lord Castlereagh's motion, and 115 against it.

In returning from the house, some of the members were insulted by the populace for supporting the Union; but no serious mischief ensued. Applications were made to the viceroy for protection; and from that time forward, under pretence of securing the persons of the members from insult and outrage, a regular guard of cavalry was mounted in Foster's Place, near to the Parliament House, round which they regularly paraded during all future debates. This measure of precaution or pretext was loudly reprobated by the Anti-unionists, as a military controul, and therefore as an unconstitutional check upon the freedom of debate.

When the number of the placemen, pensioners, and other influenced members, who had voted on the late division is considered, the minister had but slender grounds for triumphing in his majority of 48, if from them were to be collected the genuine sense of the independent part of that house and of the people of Ireland, whom they represented. Flushed however with the unexpected success, the minister eagerly sent it in to the lords, where the Earl of Clare had pledged himself to carry it through*. Here on the 10th of February, 1800, the order of the day having been read for taking his majesty's

* So imperiously in the eyes of the British cabinet did the relative situations of the two kingdoms now call for a Legislative Union, so unlikely did it appear, that another favorable opportunity of carrying the measure should soon recur, that recourse was certainly had to the powers of patronage and influence; and many, it is to be feared, in both houses sacrificed their convictions. Twenty-seven new titles were added to the peerage; promotions, grants, concessions, arrangements, promises were lavished with a profusion never before known in that country. Pity for both sides, that so great and important a political measure should owe any part of its success, to other than the means of temperate reason and persuasion.

message into consideration relative to the proposed Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, and the articles for that purpose, the Lord Chancellor arose to call their lordships' attention to a subject certainly the most momentous, which had ever been submitted for decision to the parliament of that country : a subject embracing the vital interests of Ireland, and intimately affecting the strength and prosperity of the British empire. But when he recollected the criminal and unexampled efforts which had been made, from the moment that measure was first proposed for discussion, to bear it down by noise, and faction, and intrigue, if not by recommendations of open rebellion, he should condemn himself for a gross dereliction of his duty, were he to forbear to submit it to their most serious consideration, in all its various and important views and bearings, under the strong conviction, that nothing but Union would save that kingdom from annihilation, and eventually uphold the stability of the British empire. From a critical and attentive observation of what had passed in Ireland for the last twenty years, he was satisfied in his judgment and conscience, that the existence of her independent parliament had gradually led to her recent complicated and bitter calamities ; and that it had at length become desperate and impracticable. He had, more than once, in the House of Commons, stated without reserve, that the rapid growth of faction, and the precipitate folly and passion of men, who from time to time were suffered to take a commanding lead in the councils of that assembly, would inevitably reduce them to the alternative of separation or Union. He had with as little reserve stated the same opinion since he had had the honor of a seat in that house ; he avowed, that in every communication he had had with the king's ministers on Irish affairs for the last seven years, he had uniformly and distinctly pressed upon them the urgent necessity of Union, as the last resource to preserve that country to the British crown. He had pressed it without effect, until British ministers and the British nation were roused to a sense of their common danger, by the late sanguinary and unprovoked rebellion. His lordship after this entered into an historical sketch of Ireland from the invasion down to the late turbulent period.* Thence he

* Having so frequently referred to many parts of this noble lord's speech in the course of this history, as they bore upon the particular periods and events under consideration, it will be unnecessary to tire the reader with a repetition of them. Mr. Grattan, as has been before observed, wrote an answer to this speech, and charges the chancellor with gross misrepresentation and falsehood. " His idea," said Mr. Grattan, " was to make the Irish history a calumny against their ancestors, " in order to disfranchise their posterity."

proceeded, certainly not in a style of affection, or reconciliation, or tenderness, or credit to his country, to represent it in a manner, which most of his countrymen have considered opprobrious, calumniating, and untrue.

In referring to the period of Lord Fitzwilliam's administration, he assumed, that the Papists would have remained content with the favors which they had received; or, if they looked to ulterior indulgence, they were willing to try the effects of time, temper, and negotiation: but on a change of the Irish government in 1795, the name and authority of Earl Fitzwilliam were abused to force their sect to come forward as the engine of faction, and demand the repeal of every law, by which they were excluded from political power. Catholic emancipation was the cry; but it was a mere cover for bad designs. It was originally a pretence for rebellion, and then a powerful engine of faction, wielded in both countries against the peace and happiness of Ireland; an engine which had already shaken their government to its foundation, and could not fail to level it with the dust, if they were to continue in a state of separation from the British nation. If after they repealed the test laws, and acts of supremacy and uniformity, they should yield every other point, then some apostle of sedition, in the fullness of human arrogance and presumption, might propose a repeal of God's holy commandment, and proclaim the worship of graven images in their streets and highways. What, said his lordship, was the lesson of peace and good-will inculcated by the successors of him who first invented this revolutionary weapon? "Let me advise you by
 " no means to postpone the consideration of your fortunes until after the
 " war: seize the opportunity of war for fraternal embraces, and great eman-
 " cipation: your physical consequence exists only in a state of separation from
 " England; in a state of separation you are four to one, in a state of union
 " merely one to four: and therefore, though your claims should be attended
 " to after union, you gain nothing; you may as well be units in the street
 " as units in parliament." The whole of the interior mechanism of emancipation was here fairly exposed to view; and he wished every honest member of the community, whether Protestant or Catholic, to decide for himself whether Ireland could ever be at peace until that firebrand was extinguished, and whether a hope existed that it could be extinguished, in their present state of separation from England. If the Catholics of Ireland were not satisfied with the indulgence which they had already experienced, and were determined to press their demands of an unqualified repeal of the test laws and
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act of supremacy, let them be discussed upon their solid merits in the imperial parliament, where the question would not be influenced by passion or prejudice; where no part of the consideration would be, that the Catholics of Ireland might retain their physical consequence for the establishment of a system of periodical rebellion, under the management and direction of Whigs or Tories, or United Irishmen, and where it would be gravely and dispassionately considered, whether a repeal of these laws might be yielded with safety to the British monarchy, or whether, by adopting the French model, in abolishing all religious distinctions as connected with the state, they should lay the corner-stone of revolution and democracy. His unaltered opinion was, that, so long as human nature and the Popish religion continued to be what he knew they were, a conscientious Popish ecclesiastic never would become a well-attached subject to a Protestant state, and that the Popish clergy must always have a commanding influence on every member of that communion. He put this as an abstract state maxim, without regard to the peculiar situation of that country. In private life he never enquired into the religion of any man; if he were honest and a good Christian, it mattered not to him that he might subscribe to articles of faith and discipline, which his reason and understanding rejected; but when he was to frame laws for the safety of the state, he did not feel himself at liberty to act upon the virtues of individuals. Laws must be framed to meet and counteract the vicious propensities of human nature. His lordship then animadverted severely upon the second project for Irish liberty, parliamentary reform; and recapitulated Mr. W. B. Ponsonby's seven resolutions moved in the House of Commons in 1797. He passed by the horrors of the late rebellion, as they had been amply detailed in the reports of the secret committees. He maintained, that the treasonable conspiracies, which had brought that country to the verge of ruin, were the natural offspring of the adjustment of 1782, and that the convulsion in 1789 gave birth to the Whig institution, the reliques of which might be observed in the mask of liberty, inculcating the principles, and adopting the means originally devised by the rebel confederacy of the Irish Union, to abolish the religion and subvert the monarchy of Ireland. He made some other remarks on the conduct of the pretended patrons of liberty, and on the great danger, to which their intrigues exposed their countrymen, and painted a most hideous portrait of his wretched and devoted country. Her financial embarrassments were irretrievable. Her national debt in 1791 did not exceed

2,442,800*l.* and at the time of his speaking, it was 25,662,640*l.* Those financial difficulties did not arise from a French, a Dutch, or a Spanish war, but from a war of faction, a Whig war, and a war of United Irishmen. Even if Great Britain should no longer be at war, the rulers of Ireland would be compelled to maintain a war establishment for defence against their own people.

It had been demanded triumphantly, how were they to be relieved by Union? First, they would be relieved from British and Irish faction, which was the prime source of all their calamities. Next, if they became one people with England, the army of the empire would be employed where it was most wanted for general service; and so long as it should be found necessary to garrison every district in Ireland, for the internal safety of the country, the necessary force might be stationed there, without additional expence in either country.

It had been said, that, by giving up a separate government and separate parliament, they sacrificed national dignity and independence; but when he looked at the squalid misery, and profound ignorance, and barbarous manners, and brutal ferocity, of the mass of the Irish people, he was sickened with the rant of Irish dignity and independence. Were the dignity and independence of Ireland to consist in the continued depression and unredeemed barbarism of the great majority of the people, and the factious contentions of a puny and rapacious oligarchy, who considered the Irish nation as their political inheritance, and were ready to sacrifice the public peace and happiness to their insatiate love of patronage and power? He felt as a true Irishman for the dignity and independence of his country; and would elevate her to her proper station in the rank of civilised nations.* He wished

* These ebullitions of patriotism in the Earl of Clare have always been considered by the greater part of his countrymen as a varnish to gloss over his own private views of self-interest and ambition to which he was considered by them ever to have sacrificed the welfare and happiness of his country. In addition to the acrimonious obloquy upon his country in this speech, I refer the reader to what he said of it in the British house of peers by way of encouraging British capitalists and manufacturers to resort thither.

Upon the third reading of the martial law bill in the Imperial House of Peers on the 23d of March, 1801 (a period not within the range of this history) that noble lord gave the following repulsive and abhorrent portrait of his country: little, it will impartially be allowed, calculated to conciliate

wished to advance her from the degraded post of a mercenary province to the proud station of an integral and governing member of the greatest empire

conciliate the affections and promote the advancement of the spirit of Union in either of the contracting parties to the terms of their recent contract. “ Most of the noble lords then present had “ lived in security and happiness under the British constitution. Conscious of the many blessings that constitution was calculated to confer, they must revolt at the idea of suspending it in “ any part of the empire. Such however was the unfortunate, the melancholy, the degraded state “ of Ireland, that she must either fly for refuge to a military government, or submit to an uncivilized, a savage, and a ferocious democracy. He maintained that there was no other alternative. “ The civil government was unable to support itself, and, if unaided by military force, would “ quickly crumble into atoms. The rebellion that had existed in that country was of a nature “ unparalleled in the history of the world. It did not proceed from mistaken loyalty, religious “ zeal, or party difference. All principle had been corrupted; every laudable feeling had been “ extirpated from the mind; and nothing prevailed but domestic treason, bloody murder, and “ cowardly assassination. Though it had been vanquished in the field, it was not subdued—it had “ existed long before it broke out, and it existed still. Democracy had taken deep root in that “ country, and it would probably be long before a spirit of subordination could be restored. He “ had often asserted, he did then assert, and should always continue to assert, that from the time “ that the appeal of a rebel convention from the Irish parliament had been received in this country “ and sanctioned by authority, democracy had been planted in Ireland, and it had continually “ grown up and flourished since. Now it was greatly too powerful for the civil government; “ and unless its growth was thus checked it would completely gain the ascendant. Martial law “ was indispensable, and could alone give any security to the property, the religion, and the lives “ of the loyal inhabitants. Here the noble lord took occasion to compliment Marquis Cornwallis; “ he had done all that could be done by man, yet Ireland was not in a situation to enjoy the constitution for martial law to be exercised effectually, it was necessary that the king’s courts should “ be completely shut up. His lordship drew a picture of the state of Ireland, the most shocking “ imaginable. Many of his remarks he said he made with pain, and therefore they were not “ reported. Where the contagion was strongest, he observed, it was impossible to know. The “ county of Limerick in which he resided, was almost the only one that remained quiet during “ the rebellion; yet a dangerous insurrection afterwards suddenly broke out in it, and it was begun “ by an atrocious murder being committed under his own roof. One of his own servants was put “ to death with circumstances the most shocking to humanity, merely because he was an Englishman; and, to shew the extreme barbarism, at which the Irish people had arrived, the principal “ assassin was a man who had been his servant, and his father’s servant for upwards of thirty-years, “ and had been uniformly treated by both of them with the greatest possible kindness. He mentioned this to shew that they were not animated by any thing resembling a rational motive, but “ were spurred on merely by a thirst for blood. If the noble earl (Earl Fitzwilliam, to whom he “ addressed himself all along) could find time to visit his estates in the county of Wicklow, he “ would see, that these representations were not exaggerated. He would there behold nothing “ but

empire in the world. He wished to withdraw the higher orders of his countrymen from the narrow and corrupted sphere of Irish politics, and to direct their attention to objects of national importance, to teach them to improve the natural energies and extend the resources of their country, to encourage the skill and ingenuity of manufacturers, open useful channels for commercial enterprise, and, above all, seriously to exert their best endeavours to tame and civilise the lower orders of the people, to inculcate in their minds habits of religion and morality, and industry, and due subordination, to relieve their wants, and correct their excesses. Unless they would civilise their people, it was vain to look for national tranquillity or contentment.

To the objection, that the measure of union was unseasonable, he replied, they were not to await the period of actual bankruptcy, or the issue of a new

“ but traces of desolation and signs of the renewal of these horrors. With the deepest grief he
 “ saw such things, and spoke of them. Happy would he be, if he could go to his bed-chamber
 “ without going as to an armoury, and could close his eyes without apprehensions of having his
 “ throat cut before morning, or seeing his wife and children butchered before him. He should
 “ be inexpressibly happy when he could once more walk out unarmed; for it was a curious fact,
 “ that, when he was in Ireland, his servant brought him his arms as regularly as he brought him
 “ his hat. To think of repressing this spirit by coaxing, concessions, and indulgence, was absurd!
 “ Acts of that kind, though well meant, had already had a mischievous tendency. The rebels had
 “ a system of laws the most severe, and the most promptly executed. This was far more efficient
 “ than the civil code, and could only be met and counteracted by martial law. If this bill were
 “ not renewed, scenes would be exhibited in Ireland, to which there had been nothing resembling
 “ since the year 1641. It was easy for those at a distance from the spot to talk of humanity, and
 “ to rail against measures of vigor. Let noble lords who opposed that bill take a journey to Ire-
 “ land. He engaged to give any six of them a villa, and a small farm each, if they would consent
 “ to reside in it. After they had tasted for a twelvemonth the sweets of an Irish life, let them
 “ come over (if they survived) and declaim in favor of the rights of the Irish. The noble lord
 “ concluded by adverting to the report that he was an advocate of torture. The foundation for
 “ that report, he said, he recollected well, and should state to the house. A blacksmith had been
 “ apprehended, who, there was the greatest reason to believe, had been engaged in framing pike-
 “ heads. After various means being tried, in vain, to force him to confess where he had concealed
 “ them, he was placed upon the piquet. There he had not remained half a minute, when he told
 “ where about 500 might be found, and there they were found accordingly. In answer to what
 “ had fallen from a noble lord opposite (Earl Moira), he had said it should be maturely considered,
 “ whether society would suffer most from the murder of two or three hundred loyal and well-dis-
 “ posed men, which was probably thus prevented, or from a rebel blacksmith being placed half
 “ a minute on the piquet. What he had said then, he now repeated; and if there were any who,
 “ regardless of the two or three hundred loyal and well-disposed inhabitants, pitied only the rebel
 “ blacksmith, he did not envy them their feelings.”

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rebellion, that Great Britain might be enabled to dictate the terms on which Ireland should listen to the proposition? That was a period of all others the most auspicious for Ireland to set on foot such a treaty. The late rebellion had been so far put down, that she was enabled to treat on fair and equal terms.

The evil of emigration could never be greater than at that day. If they were to live in a perpetual storm there; if it were to remain at the discretion of every adventurer, of feeble and ostentatious talents, ungoverned by a particle of judgment or discretion, to dress up fictitious grievances for popular delusion, and let loose a savage and barbarous people upon the property and respect of the Irish nation, what gentleman, who had the means of living out of that country, would be induced to remain in it? His lordship most solemnly declared, that no earthly consideration short of a strong sense of duty should have induced him to remain an eye-witness of the scenes of folly and madness, and horrors of every description, in which he had lived for some years past; and that he would rather give up every prospect which remained to him in that country, and begin a new course in his old age, than submit to the same misery and disgust for the remnant of his life.

When it was first known, that Great Britain was ready to receive her sister kingdom into the communion of her liberty, wealth, industry and happiness, the offer was treated, by some who called themselves friends of liberty and the Irish constitution, with a degree of intemperance, which resembled the fury of wild beasts alarmed at an attack upon their prey. The flame of discontent spread with rapidity; and appeals of the most virulent and inflammatory tendency were made by these friends of liberty to the deluded barbarians, who had been so recently consigned by them to indiscriminate extirpation. When the measure was proposed, the *friends of liberty* would not suffer it to be discussed; and when it was relinquished for a time, they endeavoured to force the premature discussion of it, in the hope of precluding a fair investigation of its merits. Persons of high rank had not scrupled to propagate sedition during the recess of parliament, and to canvas popular clamor against the measure, by the most shameless impositions on the ignorance and credulity of every man, who would listen to them. His lordship then animadverted on the assumption of a consular authority by two peers and a commoner, who issued "a letter missive" through the realm, promoting strong petitions against the Union. He made a very severe address

drefs to the young Earl of Charlemont, and called upon him publicly to difavow all knowlege of the exiftence of fuch a fund, or, if he could not difavow it, to ftate explicitly any honeft purpofe, to which it could be applied. He propofed to that grave affembly an entire and perfect union of the kingdom of Ireland with Great Britain, which, if he lived to fee completed, to his lateft hour he fhould feel an honorable pride in reflecting on the fhare he might have had in contributing to effect it.*

The Earl of Charlemont denied that he had oppofed the Union by bribery, but allowed that he had endeavoured to procure petitions to counteract thofe addreffes, which were promoted by all the influence of government. He thought it his duty to purfue all constitutional means for the defeat of a project, which appeared to him to be full of detriment and injury to Ireland, and of danger to the Britifh empire.

The Marquis of Downfhire rofe to repel the chancellor's accusation, and ftate his objections to the union. He had heard of an anti-union fubfcription; but he did not believe the information. If fuch a fund exifted, he could honeftly affert, that he had never fubfcribed to it, and had not even been defired to contribute to it.

He differed from the noble lord in many points. He confidered the rebellion to have been principally occafioned by the inconfiftent conduct of the government. At one time he had been requested, as a friend to that government, to fign a ftrong declaration in fupport of the Proteftant afcendancy; but, if he could have forefeen the confequences, he would fooner have fuffered an amputation of the hand that figned it, than have put his name to it; not but that he was a true and zealous Proteftant, and a fincere friend to the eftablifhed church of Ireland. A few months afterwards, he had been called upon by the fame government to vote for the emancipation of the Catholics, to which, though he were not of an intolerant difpofition, he could not accede. This contradictory policy muft have had a tendency to irritate the public mind, and feemed to have led to thofe

* Notwithstanding this declaration, it is reported, that this noble lord felt fo fenfibly, after the Union, the lofs of his own power and confequence, of which he was inordinately fond, that it preyed upon his fpirits, and contributed to haften his diffolution; and he is faid to have avowed in his laft illnefs, that of all the political actions of his life he moft repented of his exertions to bring about the Union. His ambition afpired to rule the Britifh councils, as he had fo long directed thofe of Ireland. There he failed.

evils which now, in subserviency to the ministerial project, were ascribed to other causes.

The noble marquis felt inexpressible uneasiness at being branded as a factious man, after he had sacrificed his youth, his health, and his fortune, in the support of the king and the government of Ireland. Was it just or candid to impute seditious views to one who had pursued an opposite course, and who had studiously cherished the soundest principles of loyalty. In putting his signature to the *letter missive* he had acted as an independent gentleman of Ireland, as a man of large possessions, acquainted with the state of the country, and deeply interested in its welfare. As it had been confidently asserted, that the Unionists had a greater extent of property than their opponents, it was incumbent on those, who had a better knowledge of the opinion of the public to call for a constitutional declaration of sentiment, not from the dregs of the people, but from the more respectable part of the community, that the minister and his friends might be convinced of their error.

Lord Glentworth declared his firm conviction that an union alone could quiet the country and secure the empire. In the present state of Ireland, there was no medium between close union and total separation. He mingled with his arguments severe strictures upon the triumvirate, and asserted the notoriety of the existence of the treasury mentioned by the chancellor.

Viscount Dillon was apprehensive that disloyalty would not be checked by the Union, and that it would not promote the security of the country. Lord Donoghmore reasoned chiefly on the subject of the Catholic claims, which, he thought, might be more safely and effectually adjusted after a consolidation of the legislatures. Viscount Powerscourt denied the competency of the parliament to adopt the measure. Viscount Carleton not only defended that point, but supported the particular provisions of the plan; and the Archbishop of Cashel also argued in favor of the competency. The Earl of Farnham objected to the inconvenient distance of the united parliament from Ireland, and dreaded the provincial subjection of that country to Britain. The Earl of Glendore was an advocate for the Union, as were the Chief Justice Kilwarden, and Lord Sunderlin; the Earl of Bellamont strongly declaimed against it. The first resolution passed the house by a majority of 49, the numbers being 75 for and 26 against it.

On the 24th of February, it was resolved in the lords, that the house should

be put into a committee again to take the said message into further consideration on Monday the 11th of March, and the lords to be summoned.*

The general principles of the Union having been amply discussed in both houses, it was moved, on the 14th of February in the commons, that a general committee should proceed to the consideration of the particular terms of the Union, when Colonel Vereker congratulated the house on what he termed the defeat of the ministry, in obtaining such a paltry majority at the last meeting, and hoped either that the project would be abandoned, or that ample time would be allowed for ascertaining the sense of the people on the subject.

A warm debate ensued, in which the honorable George Knox observed, that though an Union might not be an innovation upon words or names, it would be an innovation upon the spirit and substance of the constitution. If the parliament should be removed to Madras, it might be said that the Irish would retain their former constitution; but he deemed it an essential part of the system, that there should be a free, constant, and immediate communication between the legislature and the nation for which it acted.

Many gentlemen spoke to the question, and most of them for delay. Mr. Gould entered at large into the whole subject. He said, that the records of the whole world did not exhibit a scene so singular as that of a minister desiring a parliament to extinguish itself on account of its crimes or its legislative impotency.

A motion for adjournment having been made, with a view to the production of additional documents requisite for the accurate comprehension of some of the detailed articles, 89 members voted for it, and 126 against it: it was then moved, that the debate should be adjourned to the 17th, which the secretary, though he negatived the motion by a majority of 47, assented should take place.

* 8 Lords Journ. p. 343.

Dissentient.

Leinster	Charlemont	Enniskillen
Downshire	Meath	Granard
Bellamont	Mount Cashell	Farnham
Dillon	Strangford	Powercourt
William Down & Connor	Rich. Waterford & Lismore	Dunfany
Louth	Blaney	Lismore
Sunderlin		

On the appointed day, the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Corry, retraced his old ground of argument, which he interspersed with much personal acrimony and abuse, directed particularly to Mr. Grattan, who vindicated himself in strong language, and retorted upon his opponent the insinuations of unconstitutional and treasonable conduct. Mr. Corry replied with redoubled severity; and Mr. Grattan rejoined with such increased power of censure, as threw the *onus* of resentment completely on Mr. Corry.*

General Hutchinson ridiculed the fears or the pretences of those members, who alleged, that the measure would subvert the independence of Ireland, and enslave her to a foreign parliament. To the control of that legislature, he said, the Irish were already subject in all questions of external legislation. The co-equality of their parliament with that of Great Britain was the dream of fancy, which never could be realised; it would be better to be a component part of a free and flourishing empire, than to be a weak and petty state, convulsed with faction, or the deluded victim of treacherous allies and unfeeling despots.

* The house saw the inevitable consequences. The speaker (the house was in committee) sent for Mr. Grattan into his chamber, and pressed his interposition for an amicable adjustment, which Mr. Grattan positively refused, saying, he saw, and had been some time aware of a set made at him, to *pistol him off* on that question; therefore it was as well the experiment were tried then as at any other time. Both parties had instantly left the house upon Mr. Grattan's finishing his philippic. Matters having been speedily adjusted by the seconds, they proceeded in hackney coaches to a field on the Ball's Bridge road, which they reached in the twilight. It was agreed they should level and fire at their own option. The first shot on both sides did no mischief; Mr. Grattan's passed through Mr. Corry's coat. On the second level there was much science and pistol play. Mr. Grattan, whose nerves were as firm as a rock, kept his man accurately covered, reserved his shot to make it the more secure, which Mr. Corry perceiving, called to his second, and it was settled upon the honour of the parties, that both should fire together. Mr. Corry missed his aim, and Mr. Grattan's ball hit his antagonist on the knuckle of his left hand, which he had extended across his breast to protect his right side, and taking a direction along his wrist, did no other injury.

The populace, notwithstanding the quickness and secrecy with which the business was conducted, followed the parties to the ground, and there was reason to fear, had Mr. Grattan fallen, that his antagonist would have been sacrificed on the spot to the resentment of the populace, so enthusiastically were they devoted to their favorite. The issue of this affair reached the House of Commons whilst they were still in debate at half past eight in the morning. Before Mr. Grattan went to the ground, a most affecting and truly Roman meeting took place between him and Mrs. Grattan. That gentleman was as eminent for the endearments of domestic felicity as he was conspicuous for his exertions in the cause of the people.

Great Britain could not be false to Ireland, and at the same time true to herself. Her capacious wisdom had long since taught her, that the prosperity of each island was necessary to the other.

The experience of two centuries tended to destroy the hope of the stability of the present constitution of the Hibernian parliament. Its failure was manifest; it had weakened the empire without strengthening Ireland. Formed for the infancy of a foreign and a small colony, it had sunk before the manhood of a great nation, and had become private property instead of public right. The national tranquillity could not be secured by such a parliament, amidst the disorders and tumults of Europe. If within every thing were hollow, if without every thing menacing, where was the remedy against internal distraction? Where the shield against foreign invasion? What was property without security? What liberty when life was in danger, and when the house of a country gentleman must either be his garriſon or his tomb?

All the arguments which he had heard against the Union, were addreſſes to the pride, the paſſions, the prejudices of an irritable nation, more accuſtomed to act from the impulſe of quick feelings, than from the dictates of found diſcretion and ſober reaſon. He admitted the neceſſity of endeavouring to preſerve a ſenſe of national dignity: it was the ſource of all pre-eminence, of all power, ſtrength, and greatneſs. He wiſhed that Ireland had ſomething to nourish this noble paſſion; but for the laſt fix centuries, ſhe had exhibited the melancholy picture of ſavage acrimony and barbarous diſcord, of party zeal and ſectarian ſtruggle; of a fugitive government without fixed principles; a miniſter without reſponſibility; a parliament fearless of the people, from whom it did not derive its origin; a triumphant ariſtocracy, and a deluded nation. For eighty years of this century, the government had been the moſt arbitrary and oppreſſive of any in Europe. The treatment of the Catholics, in particular, had been brutally inhuman; and, though ſome of the laws againſt that ſect had been repealed, the conſequences of a barbarous code were ſtill evident. Under ſuch a mode of adminiſtration, it was impoſſible to hope for love of the laws, zeal for the conſtitution, or attachment to the government. That pure, unſullied, unalloyed allegiance, the vital principle of ſtates, the only ſolid foundation of legitimate rule, which would not yield to the clumsy chain of force, but was created by benefits, acknowledged by gratitude, and nourished by hope, could only be expected by a good and beneficent government from a happy and contented people. The powers of
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the earth would at length learn this salutary truth, that government must ever be in danger when the subject had nothing to lose.

In a country where equal law and equal liberty were unknown, the progress of French principles, to which he chiefly attributed the late rebellion, would be more rapid than in other states. An island thus misgoverned was a prepared soil for the reception of Jacobin principles; and they had flourished in it with all the growth of rank luxuriancy. He concluded a most impressive, constitutional, and elegant speech by declaring, that no popular delusion, no idle clamor or misrepresentation, should ever induce him to depart from what he considered as a great fundamental truth, that the best government for these countries would be one executive and one legislative, a connected people and an united parliament.

After several members had taken part in the debate, Mr. Foster affirmed, that the boasted terms, instead of offering great benefits, were replete with injury; that every point to which they tended might be as well secured by a separate parliament; that all contained the seeds of constant jealousy, and avowed distinct interests, the continuance of which they ensured, and therefore must promote separation. He entered into the detail of the proposed plan of future finance, revenue, and commerce, in which there was not one article, to which an Irish parliament was incompetent, or one to which an united parliament was not less adequate, inasmuch as the regulation of duties and of trade between the kingdoms required a quick and ready knowledge of the local circumstances of Ireland, which could be effectually obtained by a resident legislature alone.

As to the constitutional effects of the scheme, he observed, that the upper house created a sort of mongrel peer, half lord, half commoner, neither the one nor the other complete, and yet enough of each to remind you of the motley mixture. Every body knew, or should know, that, by the original and uninterrupted constitution of parliament, a lord could not interfere in the election of a commoner; yet here he was not only to interfere, but might be a candidate, and might sit and act as a commoner. The twenty-eight chosen lords were to sit for life, though they were only representatives; thus counteracting one great principle, that representatives shall only act for a time limited, acknowledged by the septennial and octennial bills, and by the articles of the Scotch Union in respect to the lords. With this feat for life to the chosen lords, what was to become of the remaining peers, perhaps

haps nearer 200 than 100 in number? They then were legislators : pass these articles, they would instantly cease to be so ; they would be the only subjects in Ireland incapable of acting as legislators ; a degradation ruinous to the nobility. This fatal measure of election for life would leave so little hope and so little chance, that all inducement to improvement, to education, to study the interests of his country, would be done away. It would depress the spirit, and enervate the exertions of all the rising nobility of the land. Further, by a strange sort of absurdity, the measure, in suffering him as a commoner to take a British seat, and refusing to allow him an Irish one, admitted this monstrous position, that in the country where his property, his connexions, and residence were, he should not be chosen a legislator, but where he was wholly a stranger, he might ; the certain consequence of which was, that it would induce a residence of the Irish nobility in Britain, where they might be elected commoners, and must of course solicit interest ; thereby increasing the number of Irish absentees, and gradually weaning the men of largest fortune from an acquaintance or a connexion with their native country.

As to the commons, this fatal Union would not be less unconstitutional. It reduced their number from 300 to 100. One great principle was, that in the House of Commons every species of property was represented, and the wisdom of the whole increased by a mixture of country gentlemen, merchants, lawyers, and men of all professions. But that measure shut the door against commercial men and against the professors of the law, who could not desert their business to attend parliament in another country.

In controverted elections the impracticability, expence, and difficulties in bringing over evidence, must necessarily leave the nomination with the sheriff.

After some other observations and several repetitions of remark, he spoke of the tendency of the measure to an augmentation of the influence of the crown ; censured the unconstitutional use, to which the place bill had been perverted by the minister and his friends, the appeal nominal, to which they had resorted against the decision of parliament, and the monstrous proposal of applying the public money to the purchase of public rights from private individuals, and finally moved for a dereliction of the project.

Lord Castlereagh blamed the want of foresight in the speaker, who, without reflecting on the distractions and evils of Ireland, opposed the idea of settlement, and would leave the country open to a renewal of disorder and mischief,

chief, to a fresh gradation from jealousy to discontent, from discontent to faction, from faction to conspiracy, from conspiracy to rebellion.

Mr. William Johnson indignantly reprobated the insinuations of corrupt influence, thrown out against those who favored the Union. The question had been forced upon them by the prevailing calamities; and he had examined it from no other motive or impulse than an anxious desire of meeting the peculiar evils of the country, which he viewed under three aspects, constitution, internal quiet, and commerce.

After several speeches of less moment, Mr. William Smith in reply to some strictures on the proposed regulations of the peerage observed, that the alterations would not diminish the real dignity of the peers, or injure the essence of their privileges, and would materially conduce to the benefit of the country. Though only a part would be admitted to a seat in the imperial House of Lords, a great number, he said, would have an opportunity of constituting a portion of the assembly of the commons, and would thus maintain and strengthen the interests of Ireland in the united legislature. The minister carried the question by a majority of 46.

When Lord Castlereagh, on the 21st of February, moved for the assent of the committee to the first article of the plan, Mr. O'Hara deprecated his obstinate persistence in the fatal measure. His lordship's avowal, that the question resolved itself into this, whether Ireland were to be a magazine of strength and resources to Great Britain, or of wealth for the grasp of France, sufficiently proved, that the object was the sacrifice of one country to the necessities of the other; an illiberal principle, which the Irish ought to resist with indignant warmth.

Mr. O'Donel, Mr. Tighe, Lord Corry, Mr. W. B. Ponsonby, and Mr. J. C. Beresford were against the terms as well as the principle.

Mr. Saurin called the attention of the committee to the means by which the minister had procured his parliamentary majority, namely, the undue exercise of the patronage of the crown, promises of office and emolument, the abuse of the place bill, the project of pecuniary compensation for what was not the fair or legal subject of pecuniary estimation, and the encouragement of indigent adventurers from the bar and the British army. If the nation should view the majority in such a light, on what foundation would the Union stand?

The terms he considered as refutations of the pretended excellence, and
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libels on the principle of the measure. Identity was promised as the grand object; yet every thing spoke distinctness. Another feature struck him in the ministerial arrangement. The general parliament, it was supposed, would be a paragon of purity and worth; yet the minister acknowledged that it ought not to be trusted; and he therefore shackled and restrained its omnipotence. Mr. Saurin conceived the measure fatal to the interests of Ireland, and disclaimed any responsibility in the calamitous consequences.

The Attorney General re-affirmed the necessity of an Union, which was also supported by Mr. Monck Mason and Mr. Ormsby. Mr. Serjeant Stanley on the same side panegyriced the British minister for boldly striking at the root, from which the disorders and calamities of Ireland had sprung, and bringing forward that great measure of imperial policy, which the best friends of this country had long anxiously desired rather than confidently expected.

The question was then put on the motion of adjournment, which being rejected, the first day of the following January was fixed for the commencement of the Union of the kingdoms, and the article which related to the settlement of the crown was also voted by the committee.

On the 24th of February, Mr. Shaw having warmly opposed the prosecution of the scheme, a division took place, when there appeared 56 for the speaker's leaving the chair, and 48 against it.

Some further conversations, in which nothing new occurred, took place, and in compliance with some of the petitions against the measure, several gentlemen of the law appeared at the bar to oppose various parts of the commercial scheme, and witnesses were brought forward to give evidence against it. On the 4th of March Mr. G. Ponsonby alleging, that the sovereign would not have persisted in recommending the present measure, unless he had firmly believed, that the sentiments of the public on the subject had undergone a great change, urged the house to remove so injurious a delusion by an intimation of the truth. A knowledge of the number of anti-union petitions would, he said, correct that error; and he therefore proposed an address, stating, that in conformity with the constitutional rights of the people, petitions against a Legislative Union had been presented to the parliament from twenty-six counties, and from various cities and towns.

Lord Castlereagh affirmed, that the public opinion had really undergone a change friendly to the measure, and that seventy-four declarations, nineteen of which were of those counties, had been presented in its favor. Even

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if this were not the case, he would oppose a motion, which derogated from the deliberative power of parliament, and tended to encourage a popular interference pregnant in these critical times with danger and alarm.

Mr. Saurin and several other gentlemen of the bar maintained the constitutionality of such appeals to the people; and the Lords Corry and Cole and some others supported the question, which was met by a motion for adjournment. On the opposite side spoke Lord Charles Fitzgerald, Mr. Fox, Mr. Ormsby, and several other members; between seven and eight in the morning the house divided on the question of adjournment, ayes 155, noes 107.

On the 10th of March, the subject of parliamentary representation was discussed, and carried by a majority of 19.

A conversation then arose on the topic of compensation for the loss of the patronage of boroughs. Lord Castlereagh persisted in the intention of proposing a recompence, though Messrs. Plunket and Goold inveighed with great warmth against the idea of rewarding the profligate invaders of the rights of the people, and expressed their astonishment at the shameless inconsistency and absurdity of those, who could assert the omnipotence of parliament, when the members had once been chosen by the people, yet avowed that the majority were not the fair representatives of the nation, but merely the creatures of borough proprietors.

To disprove the assertion that Cork favored the Union, Sir John Freke presented a petition against it from eighteen hundred of the inhabitants of that city; but General Hutchinson affirmed, that this was not the sense of the majority of the traders or freemen of Cork. Colonel Longfield and Mr. May concurred in that declaration. Sir John Parnell again recommended a dissolution of the parliament, that the opinions of the people might be more certainly known; but Mr. Corry reprobated that appeal as unnecessary and imprudent.

The discussion was renewed on the 13th of March, when Sir John Parnell moved in form, that the king should be addressed to convoke a new parliament before any final arrangement of Union should be adopted. Mr. A. Moore seconded this proposal as wise and honest; and Sir Laurence Parsons, though sensible of the great influence of the crown in the choice of members, declared his willingness to put the fate of the question on the election of a new parliament. Mr. Alexander opposed the motion; but Major Osborne was zealous in its support, as was also Mr. Saurin, who urged the expediency

of attending to the sense of the nation, and maintained, that if laws should be enacted in opposition to the public will, constitutionally expressed, they would not be obligatory, and the right of resistance would revert to the people. The solicitor general could not hear such doctrine without horror; and he accused the *father of the bar* of unfurling the bloody flag of rebellion; but Mr. Egan hinted, that the ministry had unfurled the flag of prostitution and corruption. Mr. Saurin's opinions were strongly combated by Dr. Duigenan, as unconstitutional and mischievous. Mr. Serjeant Stanley, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. May, and Sir John Blaquiere declaimed against the proposal of appealing to the public, and urged the house to stigmatize with decisive effect the alarming invitation to popular resistance. Mr. Grattan, on the other hand, vindicated the sentiments of the barrister, and recommended the appeal, not as a reference to the mere multitude, but to the constituent body. On a division for the address, there appeared 150 votes against the motion, and only 104 for it. The house adjourned at four o'clock in the morning.

On the following day, the prime serjeant stated the expediency of an identification of the churches as well as of the parliaments of the two countries; and observed, that whatever indulgence after that might be extended to the Catholics, there would then be no danger of the subversion of the Protestant church of Ireland. This article was quickly voted, and that which respected the existing laws and courts of both countries passed without opposition.

The sixth article, which had been postponed on account of the complexity of the subject, was brought forward on the 19th of March by the right honorable Mr. Beresford, who entered very ably into all the calculations, estimates, and revolutions upon this commercial article, which without any opposition received the assent of the committee.

When it was proposed that the house should be resumed for the reception of the report, Mr. O'Hara stated some objections to the assigned rate of contribution for Ireland, which he deemed too high; and Mr. Grattan again expatiated on the impolicy and injustice of the Union.

Mr. Foster and Lord Castlereagh both spoke with great animosity. Mr. G. Ponsonby, Mr. Saurin, and some others warmly opposed the report of the resolutions, but it was carried by a similar majority as the former questions. When the report was presented to the house on the 21st, Sir Laurence Parsons

fons then expressed his hope, that when the scheme should appear in the form of a bill, those gentlemen who had no nobly stood forward in defence of the country would again assail it with the most determined energy. Sir John Freke represented the terms as so disadvantageous, that they had not made a convert of a single member, who had censured the principle of the measure. After some desultory conversation, the resolutions received the sanction of the house.

A message was then sent to the House of Lords, importing that the commons had agreed to the articles* of the Union; and on the 27th, the peers intimated to the other house, that they had adopted them with some alterations and additions. These amendments were readily approved by the commons; and Lord Castlereagh immediately proposed an address to his majesty, in which both houses concurred. In this address they declared, that they cordially embraced the principle of incorporating Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, by a complete and entire Union of their legislatures; that they considered the resolutions of the British parliament as wisely calculated to form the basis of such a settlement; that by those propositions they had been guided in their proceedings; and that the resolutions now offered were those articles which, if approved by the lords and commons of Great Britain, they were ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the same might be established for ever by the mutual consent of both parliaments.

On the day (the 22d of March) on which the articles were carried up to the lords, Lord Farnham opposed the fourth article, alleging, that the representation of the Irish peerage was a mere mockery to cover the folly and injustice of the Union. Lord Chief Baron Yelverton in favor of the Union entered very fully into the subject. The great value, he said, of the arrangement of 1782, which he had assisted in forming, was, that it placed the Irish on a proud footing of legislative independence, and enabled them to say upon what terms they were willing to unite; whereas, if that adjustment had not occurred, they would perhaps before this time have yielded to an union of subjection, not an union of equality. Their independence had never since been violated, and they were not now desired to give up their legislative rights, but to perpetuate them by Union: their liberties would not be annihilated, but would be rendered immortal, by being placed on the same broad

* These articles are to be seen in the Appendix, No. CXIX.

base with those of Great Britain. The Hibernian parliament would so far be annihilated, as to be no longer a distinct legislature, and so would that of Great Britain be extinguished; but out of the two a third would arise, neither British nor Irish, but a compound body, more competent than either to promote and secure the freedom, the prosperity, and the happiness of the whole.

If an idle fondness for independence had prevailed from the beginning, no political association could ever have been framed, and mankind must have remained in a state of nature. But prudence and policy taught two or more families to form a society, societies to form a nation, and small nations to form a great one, by sacrificing distinct independence to common security.

His lordship combated the conclusion drawn against the Union from the interposition of the sea as a physical barrier between Ireland and Britain, by alleging, that the commercial utility of the sea was rather an argument for an Union. He then asserted the competence of the two parliaments to enact the proposed measure, saying, that union was only a law common to two states, and that to doubt the competency of two legislatures to frame such a law was to doubt their competency to answer the ends of their institution.

Then the question, whether twenty-eight temporal and four spiritual peers should represent Ireland in the imperial parliament, was carried by a majority of thirty-four. Two amendments were proposed by the Earl of Clare, and adopted; importing, that on the extinction of three Irish peerages one might be created, till the number should be reduced to 100, and afterwards one for every failure; and that the qualifications of the Irish for the imperial parliament should be the same in point of property with those of the British members.

All the articles having been consented to in the committee, the report was offered on the 26th of March, and confirmed by the house. A message to the commons was then proposed, when the Earl of Bellamont renewed his opposition to the general measure.

The Earl of Desart thought the propositions too advantageous to Ireland to justify refusal. Viscount Powercourt considered them in an opposite light: and the Duke of Leinster apprehended, that disunion and perpetual separation would be the ultimate result of the projected scheme. A motion for delay was put by the Anti-unionists, and negatived by 47 against 18 votes.

The

The original motion was carried by 72 against 22. The plan of the Union was then left to the final consideration of the British legislature.

The articles of Union thus passed through the Irish parliament as they had been originally framed by the British ministry, having received no other alterations in their progress than such as were dictated by the court. They were now brought forward as terms proposed by the lords and commons of Ireland in the form of resolutions. And on the 2d day of April 1800 the Duke of Portland communicated to the House of Lords a message from the king, and at the same time presented to them as documents a copy of the Irish address with the resolutions.*

Lord

* As these resolutions contain merely the substance of the articles, they are not given. The following was the address of the Irish peers and commons and the king's message to the British peers.

GEORGE R.

IT is with the most sincere satisfaction that his majesty finds himself enabled to communicate to this house the joint address of his lords and commons of Ireland, laying before his majesty certain resolutions, which contain the terms proposed by them for an entire Union between the two kingdoms. His majesty is persuaded that this house will participate in the pleasure, with which his majesty observes the conformity of sentiment manifested in the proceedings of his two parliaments, after long and careful deliberation on this most important subject; and he earnestly recommends to this house, to take all such further steps as may best tend to the speedy and complete execution of a work so happily begun, and so interesting to the security and happiness of his majesty's subjects, and to the general strength and prosperity of the British empire.

His grace then presented, by command of his majesty, the documents referred to in his majesty's message; which were as follows, viz.

“ To the King's Most Excellent Majesty,

The humble address of the lords spiritual and temporal, and knights, citizens, and burghesses, in parliament assembled.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled, beg leave to acquaint your majesty, that we have taken into our most serious and deliberate consideration the great and important subject of a legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, which was laid before us in his excellency the lord lieutenant's message to both houses of parliament on the 5th day of February last, accompanied by the resolutions of the two houses of the parliament of Great Britain, proposing that great measure, and the earnest and solemn recommendation of your majesty.

Deeply impressed with the necessity of rendering the connection of Great Britain and this kingdom indissoluble, and truly sensible of the repeated efforts, which have been made by foreign and domestic enemies, to shake that connection, and to effect their entire separation, we fully approve and cordially

Lord Grenville then moved an address to his majesty, that the documents should be printed and their lordships summoned for the 21st: on which day Earl Fitzwilliam recommended to the peers a longer delay, that the commons might previously reinvestigate the subject; but, finding that Lord Grenville only intended to move at that time for the adoption of the three first resolutions, he was satisfied with the postponement of the rest.

Lord Holland affirmed, that, since the question had been last discussed, nothing had occurred to induce him to approve the measure. Some of the arguments used by its advocates appeared to him to be drawn from the principles of Messieurs Robespierre and Barrère, who had contended for an empire one and indivisible, in preference to the union of its parts by federalism. It would not operate as a remedy for the discontent of the various descriptions of the Hibernian community. It would not ensure a redress of grievances, but would increase that influence, which was already the object of general complaint. It was evidently offensive to the great body of the Irish; and, if it should be carried into effect against the sense of the people, it would endanger the connexion between the countries, and might produce irreparable mischief. He should oppose the motion for a committee.

Lord Grenville thought it unnecessary to debate the principles of an Union,

cordially embrace the principle of incorporating Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom under your majesty's auspicious government, by a complete and entire Union of their legislatures.

We do consider the resolutions of the two houses of the British parliament as wisely calculated to form the basis of such a settlement, we have adopted them as our guide, in the measures we have pursued, and we now feel it our duty to lay before your majesty the resolutions to which we have agreed; which resolutions we humbly submit to your majesty may form the articles of Union between Great Britain and Ireland, and which, if they shall be approved by the two houses of the parliament of Great Britain, we are ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the same may be established for ever by the mutual consent of both parliaments.

We doubt not that your majesty, and your parliament of Great Britain, will consider these resolutions as the most unequivocal testimony of our zealous loyalty to your majesty's sacred person, family, and government, and as an unalterable pledge of our attachment to the British empire: we offer them in the full conviction, that, by incorporating the legislatures, and by consolidating the resources of the two kingdoms, we shall increase the power and stability of that empire, and that, by uniting ourselves with your majesty's subjects of Great Britain under one parliament, and under one government, we shall most effectually provide for the improvement of our commerce, the security of our religion, and the preservation of our liberties.

JOHN GYER, D. C. P.
G. F. HILL, C. D. C."

as no question, in the course of his parliamentary experience, had ever been more amply or ably discussed. In reply to some of the arguments of the noble lord, he said, he was convinced, that the measure would extinguish rather than produce evil. He did not think that British influence would improperly or injuriously predominate. The Irish would enjoy a fair proportion of legislative power; and their interests would be as much regarded as those of their British neighbours. That the English constitution would be endangered by the introduction of Irish members, there was no reason to apprehend; for the mode of electing the representatives of the commons would not lead them into subserviency to the crown; and the peers, retaining their seats for life, would be as independent as any of the English nobility.

On a division, only three peers (the Earl of Derby and the Lords Holland and King) voted against, and 82 supported the motion for going into a committee. The three first articles were then proposed in the committee, and received the assent of the peers.

In the House of Commons, on the same day, 21st of April, Mr. Chancellor Pitt moved the order of the day for the house to resolve itself into a committee to consider of his majesty's most gracious message relative to the propositions of the Irish parliament for an incorporating Union with Great Britain.

Previous to the speaker's leaving the chair, he also moved, that the resolutions of both houses of parliament agreed to last sessions, relating to the Union with Ireland, with the address thereon to his majesty, be referred to the said committee.

Mr. Jones rose; but the speaker informed him, that if he had any objections to urge, the proper stage would be upon the question for going into a committee.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt expressed his regret at observing a disposition on the part of the honorable gentleman to oppose the speaker's leaving the chair. He wished that honorable gentleman, and the house in general, to recollect that the present question was, whether it were proper to proceed to the consideration of a message of his majesty, recommending a measure which had been the result of an address of the house? He moved "that the speaker do leave the chair."

Mr. Jones said, that, inasmuch as he considered the measure, it went in its operation to annihilate the parliament and representation of Ireland, and to eradicate

eradicate and tear up root and branch the British constitution, he felt himself bounden to give it every opposition in his power. After the firm, determined, and manly manner, in which Ireland had revolted at the projected slavery holden out by the present measure, he should have thought it consistent with the prudence, discretion, and moderation of his majesty's ministers to have abandoned it till a season when the feelings of the people of Ireland were less inimical to it. But his majesty's ministers, he was sorry to observe, were resolved to effect their purpose. To attain which, they first applied to the virtues of the people of Ireland, recommending the measure as one calculated to insure the prosperity of their country. Their virtues determined them to reject propositions so adverse to their liberties. He feared that a different mode had since been adopted; that an appeal had been made to their vices; that corruption had been resorted to, and no means had been left untried by his majesty's ministers to accomplish their object. Their motto had been

"Flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta movebo."

He referred them to one of the speeches of Mr. Foster expressive of his disapprobation of the conduct of his majesty's ministers, in not being induced by the general indignation of the people of Ireland to abandon their intention of carrying the Union into effect.*

He called upon the country gentlemen in particular to exert themselves upon the present momentous occasion. "Sir," said he, "I shall give as decided a vote against your leaving the chair as ever proceeded from the mouth of man."

* "But if I dislike the whole of the measure for its mischief and imperfections, I reprobate still more the means proposed for effecting it. When the noble lord mentioned compensation for the boroughs, he saw the feelings of the house; and I was happy to observe that in his printed speech (which he has mentioned) it was omitted. I thought the indignation which appeared had induced him to abandon it; but I now find from his right honorable friend, that it is not given up. Were I speaking in another parliament, I should impute the hardness which mentioned such a base and humiliating bribe, to a previous knowledge that it had received the approbation of many members. What is the plain language of it? I am to propose a measure by which two hundred of you are to lose your seats; many of you have bought them; and others claim a right to them; you shall not suffer; the public shall pay you for selling yourselves and your constituents; and the price you receive shall become the purchase money for your selling your country afterwards. It is a most monstrous unconstitutional offer. Do you publicly avow that borough representation is a private property, and do you confirm that avowal by the government becoming the purchasers?"

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The motion was then agreed to, and the house resolved itself into a committee, Mr. Sylvester Douglas in the chair.

As soon as a committee was formed, Mr. Pitt assuming the sense of the house to be determinately favorable to the principle of Union entered upon the discussion of the particular mode of carrying it into effect. As to the propriety of allowing one hundred members to sit for Ireland in the imperial House of Commons, he was sensible of the difficulty of finding a precise ground, upon which a just estimate of that point might be formed; but he was the less anxious about it, as the particular number was not very important. If there should be a sufficient number of representatives to make known the local wants, state the interests, and convey the sentiments, of that part of the empire, the impartiality and collective wisdom of the united parliament would ensure a due attention to the general security and welfare. Population alone would not form a good *criterion*; but, if it should be combined with the idea of the proportional contributions of the two countries to the public exigencies, the result might be fairly applied to the present occasion. It would allow more than five for Great Britain to one for Ireland; and thus 100 members might be deemed a satisfactory number for the latter country. The mode of selection was the next point of consideration. It was not his wish to augment by this arrangement the influence of the crown: the selection adopted by the parliament of Ireland might rather be thought favorable to the popular interest. The members for counties and the principal cities would be sixty-eight; the rest would be deputed by towns the most considerable in population and wealth. Thus the choice would provide both for the security of the landed interest and for the convenience of local information; and, as the proposed addition would not be accompanied with any change in the internal form of British representation, it would not alarm the enemies of innovation. Whatever were the opinions which he formerly entertained on the subject of parliamentary reform, he was not ashamed to acknowledge that he now thought it imprudent and hazardous to make any attempt of that kind. When he reflected, that the spirit of reform had led to mischievous changes and dangerous subversions, he dreaded the effects of political experiment. When he considered also, that, amidst the late fiery trials, the constitution of this country had remained pure, untouched in its vital principles; that it had supported itself against open attacks as well as against insidious machinations; that it had disappointed the hopes of France, and baffled the efforts of Jacobinism;

and that, during the whole contest, it had retained the confidence of the nation; he should deserve the strongest censure, should he attempt, in the vain hope of improvement, to disturb a system, which had been found sufficient, in the most perilous of times, to protect the general interest and to maintain the public security and happiness.

As it might be wished that very few of the members thus sent from Ireland should hold places under the crown, he proposed that the number, for the present, should be limited to twenty, and that the imperial parliament should afterwards regulate this point as circumstances might suggest.

The number of peers, who should represent the whole body of the Irish nobility, might, he said, be properly fixed at thirty-two. Four would suffice to inform the parliament of the state of the church; and the rest would form a fair proportion, considered with reference to the case of Scotland and to the number of delegates from the commons of Ireland. The election of the temporal peers for life he recommended as a mode more conformable to the general spirit of the establishment of nobles, than that which was settled at the Scottish union. The right reserved for Irish peers to sit in the House of Commons as representatives of the counties or towns of Great Britain, he was likewise disposed to approve, as, without violating the constitution, it would furnish them with opportunities of acquiring political and legislative experience, which certainly would not render them less qualified for serving their country in a higher parliamentary assembly. The permission of creating new peers of Ireland he also justified; for, though in Scotland the peerage might maintain itself for a very long course of time without any accession, from the great extent of inheritance allowed by the generality of the patents, there was a risque of such a diminution of the number of Hibernian peers, from the limitation of the right of succession, as might at no very distant period render the election individual.

In the article respecting the church, he noticed the clause introduced by the parliament of Ireland, providing for the presence of the clergy of that country at convocations which might be holden in this island. This he pronounced a reasonable addition; and the propriety of leaving to the imperial legislature the discussion of the claims of the Catholics, would at the same time be generally allowed.

The next article, he said, would grant a general freedom of trade, with only such exceptions as might secure vested capital, and prevent a great shock

to

to any particular manufacture, or to popular prejudice. It was stipulated that almost all prohibitions should be repealed, and that only protecting duties to a small amount should be imposed on some few articles. If the British manufacturers should sustain partial loss in consequence of any of the new regulations, their liberality would induce them to consider it as compensated by general advantage.

His arguments in support of the intended regulations of finance between the countries, were similar to those of Lord Castlereagh: he concluded his speech in the following words: “ The ample discussion, which every part of
 “ this subject has met with, (so ample that nothing like its deliberation was
 “ ever known before in any legislature) has silenced clamor, has rooted out
 “ prejudice, has over-ruled objections, has answered all arguments, has refuted
 “ all cavils, and caused the plan to be entirely esteemed. Both branches of
 “ the legislature, after long discussion, mature deliberation, and laborious
 “ enquiry, have expressed themselves clearly and decidedly in its favor.
 “ The opinion of the people, who, from their means of information, were
 “ most likely, because best enabled to form a correct judgment, is decidedly
 “ in its favor. Let me not say, for I do not intend it, that there were among
 “ the intelligent part of the public, none who were against the measure; I
 “ know there were; and I know too, that in a question involving so many
 “ interests, the same thing will, to different individuals, appear in different
 “ points of view: hence arises a diversity of opinion. That has been the
 “ case in almost every thing that ever was argued, and must be so in every
 “ thing that is contested; but after all, it is clear that the parliament was in
 “ a situation, that the people of Ireland was in a situation to judge of this
 “ measure: it was not because the measure was not vigorously opposed; the
 “ friends of the measure have had to stand against the threats of popular vi-
 “ olence, against the enemies of the government under the lead of Protestants,
 “ against the violent and inflamed spirit and fierce attack of the Irish Catho-
 “ lics, and against the aggregate of all evils, the spirit of all mischief, the im-
 “ placable opposition and determined hostility of furious Jacobinism; they
 “ had to meet the inflamed passions of disappointed ambition, which, under
 “ the name and pretext of superior patriotism, under color of jealousy for
 “ others freedom, under affected tenderness for landed interest, affected care
 “ for commercial welfare, would reduce the state to ruin, because they were
 “ not its rulers. Notwithstanding all this opposition, the parties engaged in

“ it have not been able to prove any thing, but that their own fury was ungovernable, their predictions chimerical, and their hopes delusive. The friends of the measure have had to stand against the principles which fomented and unhappily inflamed the late Irish rebellion; they had to contend against the active but mischievous efforts of the friends and champions of Jacobinism, to whom it was enough to make them hate the Union, that it had a tendency to preserve order, because any thing like order was an extinction of their hopes. We have seen, that the wisdom of parliament and the good sense of the people of Ireland have prevailed over this mighty host of foes; we have seen the friends who supported, and the enemies who opposed this great national object; and are enabled, by all that has happened, to judge pretty accurately of the sentiments of both, with their tendency or effect on the fate of the British empire. It is under that confidence that I do what I am now doing, and will continue to do whatever may depend on me, to submit to the committee all necessary measures to carry this great and important work to its full, and, I trust, speedy accomplishment.”

Mr. Grey was not disposed to analyse the articles, as he had insuperable objections to the principle of the measure, to the time in which it was brought forward, and to the means used for its accomplishment. The assent of the people was requisite to give it full sanction and complete effect. It was said, that the public voice was in its favor, after a fair appeal to the unbiassed sense of the nation. Nineteen counties were said to have signified a wish for its adoption; and he believed that addresses had really been presented from that number of shires: but by whom they were signed he did not exactly know, though it had been understood they were procured at meetings not regularly convened, and promoted by the personal exertions of a governor, who to the powerful influence of the crown added the terrors of martial law. To speak of the uncontrolled opinion of the community, in such a case, reminded him of the Duke of Buckingham's account to Richard III. of the manner, in which the citizens of London had agreed to his claim of the crown.* Against the Union

* Some followers of mine own

At lowest end o' the hall hurl'd up their caps,
And some ten voices cried, God save King Richard.
And thus I took the 'vantage of those few——

Thanks,

Union the petitions were very numerous; and they were more honorably voted, and more respectable from the signatures, than the ministerial addresses. They were the produce of twenty-seven counties; and the chief towns of the kingdom had furnished many of the number. From a comparison of these with the addresses, and an unprejudiced observation of the state of affairs in Ireland, it might be fairly concluded, that the greater part of the nation disapproved the scheme. The parliamentary majority, of which the courtiers boasted, would not have been obtained, if placemen had been debarred from voting, and if all undue influence, abuse of authority, and the supply of forced vacancies in the House of Commons with dependent voters, had been avoided.*

Mr. Grey spoke very largely as to the Union with Scotland. The opposition of the Scots, perhaps, equalled in violence that of the Irish; and this seemed to be the only point of resemblance. There was no physical impediment to the northern Union. The two countries were so situated as to require only one executive administration; and a complete identification was also practicable in financial arrangements. But such an identity of regula-

Thanks, gentle citizens and friends, quoth I:

This general applause and cheerful shout;

Argues your wisdom and your love to Richard.

* Mr. Grey here said, he did not mean to speak disrespectfully of the Irish parliament. But the facts were notorious. 11 *Parl. Reg.* p. 282. “ There are 300 members in all, and 120 of these
“ strenuously opposed the measure, among whom were two-thirds of the county members, the
“ representatives of the city of Dublin, and of almost all the towns which it is proposed shall send
“ members to the imperial parliament. 162 voted in favor of the Union; of those 116 were
“ placemen, some of them were English generals on the staff, without one foot of ground in Ire-
“ land, and completely dependent upon government. Is there any ground then to presume, that
“ even the parliament of Ireland thinks as the right honorable gentleman supposes; or that, acting
“ only from a regard to the good of their country, the members would not have reprobated the
“ measure as strongly and unanimously as the rest of the people? But this is not all? let us reflect
“ upon the arts which have been used since the last session of the Irish parliament to pack a ma-
“ jority in the House of Commons. All holding offices under government, even the most intimate
“ friends of the minister, who had uniformly supported his administration till the present occasion,
“ if they hesitated to vote as directed, were dismissed from office, and stripped of all their employ-
“ ments. Even this step was found ineffectual, and other arts were had recourse to, which,
“ though I cannot name in this place, all will easily conjecture. A bill for preserving the purity
“ of parliament was likewise abused, and no less than sixty-three seats were vacated by their holders
“ having received nominal offices. I will not press this subject farther upon the attention of the
“ committee. I defy any man to lay his hand upon his heart and say, that he believes the parlia-
“ ment of Ireland was sincerely in favor of the measure.”

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tion could not take place between Ireland and Great Britain. There must still be a separate government and a distinct treasury; and there could be no security for the forbearance of oppression with regard to Ireland, as she would be at the mercy of Britain, whose attention to her own interest might sometimes prompt her to make an ill use of her power.

The parliaments of Scotland and England were at open variance. The former prohibited the importation of English commodities, and enacted, that the crown should not descend to the same person, who should occupy the English throne, unless various demands should be granted. The latter ordained, that the Scots should be treated as aliens, and that all trade with them should be suspended. Preparations were even made for hostility; but the English ministry, unwilling to proceed to sanguinary extremities, proposed to the Scots an incorporative Union. The means used to promote the acceptance of this offer were not strictly justifiable; but acquiescence was at length obtained. It excited the indignation of every honest man to observe, that under very different circumstances more unjustifiable arts had been used to accomplish this measure altogether unnecessary. Had Ireland checked or prohibited British trade, or had she refused to adopt the same rules of regal succession? On the contrary, did there not exist between the countries an amity, which nothing but the folly of ministers could diminish or derange, an affection, which nothing but their violence could destroy.

It was affirmed, that the Union had been productive of extraordinary benefit to Scotland; but it was reasonable to suppose, that North Britain would have made equal progress in prosperity without the aid of an incorporation with England and Wales. The Union was so far from promoting its improvement in point of trade and industry, that the linen manufacture declined after that event. Indeed, little advance was made before the rebellion of the year 1745. The abolition of the heritable jurisdictions was the first measure, that gave a strong impulse to the spirit of manufacturing exertion and commercial enterprise in Scotland. From that time the prosperity of the country had increased, but not in so great a degree, as that of Ireland during the same period.

That the Union soon became popular among the Scots, had been asserted in a former debate. The alleged instance was drawn from the year 1715, when the pretender found it expedient to suppress that part of his manifesto in which he had promised to re-establish the Scottish parliament. This was
affirmed

affirmed on the authority of a manuscript left by Sir John Clerk; but it ought to be considered, that it was unsupported by other testimony, and that Sir John was connected by marriage with the Duke of Queensbury, the chief of the Scottish Unionists: it was therefore no more surprising, that such a man should represent the measure as popular, than that Lord Castlereagh or some of his friends and relatives should speak of the new project of Union as being supported by the general voice of Ireland.

That the Union was not popular in Scotland, appeared from a series of the most indisputable facts, as well as the most unquestionable documents. In the year 1713, a motion was made by the Earl of Findlater to dissolve the Union, and that motion was supported by the Whig party, by Lord Sunderland and several others, who had been commissioners in adjusting the transaction. Upon that occasion there was an equality of votes, there being fifty-four on each side; and it was decided in favor of an Union, only by a majority of four upon the proxies. There were several proofs extant from letters written by friends to the measure, and decided foes to jacobitism, that the Union was very unpopular in Scotland. In 1715, when the Earl of Mar took the field in the cause of the house of Stuart, he announced the design to restore the old constitution of Scotland, and a declaration was a few days after issued by a number of the principal persons on the same side, in which the Union was particularly reprobated as a grievance. Thus it was clear, that the friends of the Pretender considered Union unpopular, and thought that it would be favorable to their cause to encourage the hope of its repeal. The Pretender himself, on his landing, issued a proclamation in the same spirit to conciliate the support of the people, who viewed the Union as the extinction of their national independence, and the introduction of a foreign yoke.

From the whole history of these periods, it was evident that the effect of the Union had been unfavorable to the repose and tranquillity of the state. It was an additional subject of discontent to a people already labouring under many disadvantages of internal government and regulation, and till the real cause of the evil was removed, till the grievances were remedied, no progress was made towards establishment of tranquillity, and to the advancement of commerce and manufactures.

A wise and conciliatory system, he said, would tend more effectually to allay the distractions of the country, and dissipate the dangers, with which it was threatened from foreign or domestic enemies, than any attempt to incorporate

porate its legislature with that of Great Britain. The Catholics, of whose pretensions so much had been said, might in his opinion be relieved from all remaining disabilities by a separate parliament, without the risk of the prevalence of their party.

If this projected Union should succeed, it would place at the disposal of the crown a number of abject instruments that might be employed against the privileges of their fellow-subjects. "I rejoice," said the late Earl of Chatham, "that the Americans have resisted; for three millions of slaves in America would have been fit tools to overthrow the liberties of Britain." For the same reason he rejoiced, that the Irish had shewn a firm determination to preserve their constitutional rights and liberties; and he trusted, that ministers would not be able by undue means to triumph over their spirited opposition. He then moved an address to his majesty, praying him to direct his ministers to suspend all proceedings on the Union, till the sentiments of the people of Ireland respecting that measure should have been ascertained.

Mr. Johnstone in a maiden speech spoke strongly for an Union. Mr. Nicholl, though not accustomed to give his support to the statesman, who had planned the Union, spoke warmly in its favor. Sir Gregory Page Turner and Major General Loftus* were also advocates for the measure. Dr. Lawrence opposed it as unjust and impolitic under the existing circumstances of Ireland; and Mr. Sheridan, on the supposition of a strong dissent of the Hibernian nation, deprecated the prosecution of a measure, which, if it should be carried into effect by corruption or violence, would become the fatal source of discontent and rebellion. That the Union had the general approbation and independent assent of the Irish nation, a number of addresses and declarations were mentioned as a proof; but where were these addresses? The addresses against it were easy to be found. Twenty-seven of the counties had openly declared against it; and with these would have united Antrim and Sligo, if martial law had not been proclaimed, and prevented the intended meetings. If the measure were thus to be carried, he had no hesitation in saying, that it would be an act of tyranny and oppression, and must become the fatal

* This gentleman corrected what Mr. Grey had said relative to the introduction of military British officers into the Irish parliament: he instanced General Craddock and some others, who came into the Irish parliament upon independent grounds. Mr. Grey thanked him for the correction, and said he had chiefly in his eye General Lake, whom from a variety of circumstances, he thought little entitled to sit as an Irish legislator.

source of new discontents and future rebellions ; and the only standard round which the pride, the passions, and the prejudices of Irishmen would rally, would be that, which would lead them to the recovery of a constitution that would have been thus foully and oppressively wrested from them. No attempt had been made to deny the notorious fact, that sixty-five seats had been vacated to make places for men, whose obsequiousness would not permit them to oppose the measure ; and it was equally notorious, that no art or influence which the policy of corruption and intimidation could put in play had been left untried, to gain over partizans to the Union. In this assertion every gentleman must acquiesce, who would consult his heart and his honor, and for a proof of it he would refer them to what had befallen Sir John Parnell ; his fate was no unimpressive warning to those, who might be tempted to follow his example. Thus was intimidation holden out every where, without room any where for the expression of a free will and unbiassed judgment. Martial law, spies, informers, &c. &c. were on all sides marshalled against the opposers of the Union ; and it was only to be wondered how any set of men, under such a system of terror, could have dared so boldly and manfully to express their abhorrence of it.

Mr. Dundas would not admit that the Irish in general dissented from the scheme ; but Mr. Tierney was convinced of their repugnance. Lord Carysfort affirmed, that the Unionists in the Irish parliament had a much greater extent of property than their adversaries, in the lords ten to one, and that the judging portion of the people approved the project. Mr. Pitt, however, indignantly scouted the idea of appealing to a community so influenced by factious leaders ; he was satisfied with the constitutional assent of parliament.

Mr. Grey's motion having been supported only by 30, and negatived by 236, the three first articles were voted. On the succeeding day, the examination of the three next articles being postponed, the seventh was brought forward. Dr. Lawrence offered some ineffectual opposition. When the other articles, particularly those concerning the peerage and popular representation, were submitted to the committees in both houses, some warm debates arose upon them, but they comprised nothing new or peculiarly relevant to Ireland. The majorities upon each division were uniformly in the same proportion.

Lord Hawkesbury made a very able speech upon the general nature of our popular representation in parliament.

Lord Grenville, on the 28th of April, when the house was in a committee

upon the fourth article, drew their attention to three points of difference, which would be found between the Irish and Scottish peers. The former, when chosen, would hold their seats till death, except the spiritual peers, who, if they should be deputed for life, would be too long absent from their sees. This permanence of the elected noblemen seemed better calculated than a temporary delegation to guard against the effects of undue influence and control. The second point was the eligibility of the peers of Ireland to a seat among the commons of the empire. A considerable number of those peers had so little property or influence in that country, as to have scarcely any chance of being deputed to a representation of the peerage; and the election of such individuals as commoners would strengthen the connexion of classes, and constitute a desirable Union of feeling and interest between the houses of parliament. The third point, the eventual creation of new Irish peers, would be necessary for the prevention of too rapid a progress towards the extinction of the peerages.

Lord Mulgrave moved for the omission of that clause, which allowed the Hibernian peers to sit in the House of Commons for any of the shires and boroughs of Great Britain, with a proviso that they should cease to enjoy during that time the privileges of the peerage. Such a regulation, he said, would tend to break down the bulwark between the peers and the commons, and consequently the barrier between the crown and the people; to introduce a confusion of ranks, and promote democratic disorder.

The chancellor defended the clause as reasonable and constitutional. Why, he asked, would it be more degrading for an Irish peer than for the eldest son of the first peer of this kingdom to be tried as a commoner; and would it not be a great hardship for a number of the peers of Ireland to be deprived of the chance of becoming legislators?

The Earl of Caernarvon opposed the clause, because it seemed to have a Jacobinical tendency; and the Earl of Darnley recommended, in this respect, an adherence to the stipulations of the Scottish Union.

Lord Mulgrave's motion for omitting a part of the article was negatived by 50 against 7.

On the 30th of April, a debate arose from a motion of Lord Holland, tending to give the Catholics a pledge or prospect of the abolition of the disabilities, to which they were still subject both in Ireland and in Great Britain. In this country, a regard to justice dictated such relief: in the other, it was not only

only a matter of justice, but was essential to public tranquillity, and would contribute to reconcile the minds of the majority of that people to the new project. Notwithstanding he considered the policy of the Union doubtful, and some of its provisions, particularly with regard to representation, alarming innovations, yet if he thought that the emancipation of the Catholics were to accompany the Union, it would soften much of its hostility to the project. If he himself then considered the restoration of the rights of the Catholics so strong a recommendation, what must be the feelings of those, who were so much more nearly interested in it? It had been said, indeed, that it was not worth while to attempt reclaiming those, who were disaffected in Ireland. If any minister did not think it worth while by wise and liberal measures, to conciliate those who were disaffected, and to bring them back to their duty, such a minister would be unfit to be trusted with the conduct of public affairs: it was an object of the highest importance to strengthen his majesty's government by conciliating the affections of all his subjects. But it might be said it would be better to wait. He, on the contrary, thought that the present was the moment to remove all the doubts, which the Catholics might entertain, and to render them friendly to the measure, by shewing them candidly the advantages they would gain. It would thus tend to confirm those who hesitated in their opinion, and to reconcile those who might be hostile to the Union. It had been said, that the emancipation was a mere pretext employed to delude the people of Ireland; but its being successful as a pretext, was a proof of how much importance it was to take it away. In the late rebellion, which however he never would be induced to call a Catholic rebellion, so many would not have been led away by it, had not the restraints, under which the Catholics laboured been considered as grievances. It was a grievance to be estimated in its operation on men's minds; not by the injury it did, but by the insult which it supposed.

Lord Borington thought the agitation of that question was unseasonable, and therefore moved the previous question.

The Marquis of Landsdown did not disapprove the motion, though he differed from the mover on the subject of the Union. After a frequent and close deliberation, he was convinced of the wisdom and policy of the general measure, and thought it highly honorable to the projectors. The chief blemishes, he thought, were to be found in the confined mode of election for some of the boroughs; but these were specks in a brilliant sun.

Earl Fitzwilliam justified the motion as conciliatory and highly expedient : but Lord Mulgrave said, that, as the parliaments of both kingdoms had already agreed to the postponement of the Catholic question, which, they conceived, would be more temperately and wisely discussed after an Union, it was unnecessary and improper to prejudge the topic. Lord Hobart and the Earl of Liverpool were for the previous question.

The Earl of Moira declared that the objections, which he had urged to an Union were in a great measure superseded by the late determination of the Irish parliament ; and he was ready to admit that the points of detail were founded, for the most part, on just and equitable principles. Apprehending that the present motion might obstruct the success of the scheme, he wished it to be withdrawn or discountenanced.

Lord Grenville was of opinion, that the question would be best determined by the united parliament, and that the decision of that legislature, even if it should be erroneous, would be attended with much less inconvenience than a similar decision would produce, if pronounced by the two parliaments under the present system.

The motion was then superseded by the previous question.

As the woollen-manufacturers of Great Britain were alarmed at the prospect of great loss and injury, if a free exportation of the raw material to Ireland should be allowed, petitions were presented to both houses against that part of the commercial article ; and witnesses were examined at the bar in support of the allegations of the petitions. The minister notwithstanding, on the 1st of May, urged the committee to adopt the resolution, which was done accordingly.

Mr. Peel and Mr. Wilberforce spoke in favor of the petitions.

Mr. Pitt maintained, that, if any transfer of manufacture should result from the permission of exporting wool, it would be gradual and inconsiderable ; that any void, which it might occasion, would be much more than filled up by the great increase of our trade in this article ; that we had no reason to apprehend a scarcity of the commodity, or dread the rivalry of the Irish in the manufacture ; and that his friend's proposal would be an unnecessary deviation from that liberal principle of a free intercourse, which was the intended basis of the Union.

When the report was brought up on the 2d of May, Dr. Laurence vehemently opposed it : but upon no new grounds.

The

The means of promoting the measure were not, in his opinion, the most laudable or constitutional; and the boasted majority did not include the most respectable portion of the parliament. A considerable number of those, who had voted for the scheme were palpably influenced by the crown; and the freedom of deliberation was checked by the presence of the army. He moved that the business should be postponed for three months.

Mr. Morrit rested his confidence of success on the happiness to both countries which followed the Union with Scotland.

The Honorable Mr. Ryder admitted, that a complete or perfect Union could not at first be expected; but he did not consider this objection as a sufficient reason for desisting from an attempt, which might be in some degree successful; still less did he think it prudent finally to relinquish it.

Mr. Bankes was still of opinion, that the scheme would be inefficacious as a measure of Union, and particularly hazardous from the dissatisfaction with which it would be received by the Catholics, whose views of power it would ultimately disappoint, even though the imperial parliament might accede to their present claims.

Colonel Wood and Sir Richard Car Glyn supported the general principle of the measure. Sir William Young contended that delay would be dangerous, and that nothing but an Union would render the two countries permanently prosperous and happy. He did not believe, that the Irish Catholics were generally adverse to the Union. On the contrary, he stated, on the authority of one of themselves, Lord Kenmare, a nobleman of the greatest virtue and patriotism, that the most respectable classes of them were inclined in its favor. Mr. Nicholl did not approve every part of the plan; but, conceiving that it would enable the government to relieve the Catholics with safety, and that it would thus allay the bitterness of religious dissention, he was willing to promote its success.

The house then ordered the second reading of the reported resolutions: a division took place, in which 26 voted against it, and 208 for it.

On the 5th of May, the scheme was again debated in both houses. Lord Grenville was pleased to find, that only one class of manufacturers complained of the commercial article, and still more pleased to observe, that even their jealousy was ill-founded. The committee adopted the commercial clauses and the remaining regulations.

Various

* Various motions were made in the House of Commons for the supposed improvement of the plan. Dr. Laurence moved for some alterations grounded on his former suggestions relative to the parliamentary article, which were negatived. Mr. Grey proposed clauses calculated to render the Irish members independent of the crown, and to reduce their number in case of a diminution of that of the British representatives. Sir William Dolben moved, that all new peers should entail a sufficient estate to secure the independence of their successors. Mr. Tierney wished for a recommitment of the resolution respecting trade, that the woollen manufacturers of this country might receive an indulgence similar to that which would be granted to the cotton manufacturers of Ireland. All of which were negatived.

An address was voted on the same day, importing that the commons had observed with unspeakable satisfaction the general conformity of the articles transmitted from Ireland with those which they had voted in the preceding year, and that they were now ready to conclude with the Irish parliament an Union upon that foundation. This address was communicated to the peers; and, after a comparison of the resolutions of one house with those of the other. On the 7th, the permission granted to Irish peers to represent British counties or boroughs was again debated. Lord Romney proposed that all who should thus degrade themselves should be obliged to wave for life the privileges of the peerage. The Earls of Caernarvon and Fife, and several other peers, opposed it, as tending to violate the constitution, and produce a confusion of rank and interests; each question was carried by like majorities in favor of the ministry.

When it was moved, that the peers should join in the address, Lord Bolton† spoke decidedly in favor of the Union. He entered fully into the merits of the propositions of 1785, against which, he said, the Irish had conceived an ill-founded prejudice. A similar prejudice existed against the present offers of Great Britain; but he trusted that it would not prevent the accomplishment of a project, which would be advantageous to this country, and highly beneficial to Ireland. Earl Fitzwilliam objected to several of the articles, and maintained that the plan tended to a separation rather than to an Union. Earl Camden and the Marquis Townshend supported the Union. The Earl

* Coote's History of the Union, p. 490.

† Formerly Mr. Orde, secretary to the lord lieutenant in Ireland.

of Westmorland attributed the distractions of Ireland to the then existing system of government, or to the injudicious measures of administration, and was convinced that an Union was the only remedy for the evils under which she had long groaned. The Earl of Darnley concurred with Lord Westmorland. Lord King and Lord Holland maintained, that the measure was more likely to aggravate than cure the existing evils. The Marquis of Downshire (Lord Hillsborough in England) repeated many of the observations, which he had urged in the Irish House of Lords against the measure. The Marquis Townshend observed, that those persons who had opposed the octennial bill, were the very persons, who opposed the measure of Union, and from the same motive; because it would diminish their influence. The house divided on Lord Grenville's motion, which was to insert the words *lords spiritual and temporal* in the blank space left in the address, communicated to their lordships by the commons; when there appeared 54 for and 7 against the motion. On the 9th, the joint address was presented to his majesty. The plan was then transmitted to Ireland; and each parliament proceeded to carry into effect the articles by a bill.

Although the Anti-unionists had been so constantly baffled, they persisted in disputing every inch of the ground. As a separate bill was thought necessary for regulating the election of the representatives of Ireland in the imperial parliament, Lord Castlereagh moved for leave to introduce it before the general bill of Union. Having noticed the inclination, which the house had shewn to various modes of parliamentary representation, in preference to an uniform system, he stated the leading principles, on which the selection of cities and boroughs had been adjusted---namely, a regard to property, and the consideration of political, commercial, and local knowledge; and mentioned the produce of the taxes on hearths and on windows, and the number of houses for which hearth-money was no longer paid, as fair *criteria* of wealth and population. On these grounds, he named the following towns: Waterford, Limerick, Belfast, Drogheda, Carrickfergus, Newry, Kilkenny, Londonderry, Galway, Clonmell, Wexford, Armagh, Youghall, Bandon, Dundalk, Kinsale, Lisburne, Sligo, Catherlogh, Ennis, Dungarvan, Down-Patriek, Coleraine, Mallow, Athlone, New-Ross, Trillick, Cashel, Dungannon, Port-Arlington, and Enniskillen. One member for each of these towns, with four for Dublin and Cork, one for the University, and sixty-four representatives of counties, would, he thought, form the soundest collection of individuals,
that

that could be charged with the concerns of a nation; and Ireland might safely depend upon the wise and patriotic exertions of such legislators, incorporated with an assembly, which had preserved the liberty and happiness, and therefore commanded the esteem and affection of the people of Great Britain.

The motion was opposed, as tending to pledge the house prematurely; but it was carried by a majority of 55. In its progress the bill was warmly opposed; and the whole plan of Union was re-attacked. It passed the House of Commons on the 20th of May. This bill ordained, that, if the king should authorise the present lords and commons of Great Britain to form a part of the first imperial legislature, the sitting members for Dublin and Cork, and for the thirty-two counties of Ireland, should represent the same cities and shires in that parliament; that the written names of the members for the college of the Holy Trinity, for the cities of Waterford and Limerick, and the other towns before-mentioned, should be put into a glass, and successively drawn out by the clerk of the crown; and that, of the two representatives of each of those places, the individual whose name should be first drawn, should serve for the same place in the first united legislature; and that, when a new parliament should be convoked, writs should be sent to the Irish counties, to the University, and to the cities and boroughs above specified, for the election of members in the usual mode, according to the number then adjusted. With reference to the peers, the act provided, that the primate of all Ireland should sit in the first session of the combined parliament, the archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, in the second, third, and fourth; that the bishops of Meath, Kildare, and London-Derry, should take the first turn; the prelates of Raphoe, Limerick, and Dromore, should next sit; those of Elphin, Down, and Waterford, should have the next turn; those of Leighlin, Cloyne, and Cork, should follow; then those of Killaloe, Kilmore, and Clogher; and lastly, those of Offory, Killala, and Clonfert: that the same order should then recommence, and continue for ever; and that, for the election of the twenty-eight temporal peers, each of the Irish nobility should prepare a list of twenty-eight of his brethren, and those who should have a majority of votes in such lists, should be peers of parliament for life.

The resolutions, which had been sent back from England, were referred by the commons to a private committee: a report was soon presented and examined; and, when Sir Lawrence Parsons had in vain moved for a consideration

tion of the articles in a general committee, all the alterations were adopted by the commons, and afterwards by the peers.

The countervailing duties were then adjusted; the resolutions were formed into a bill; and Lord Castlereagh, on the 21st of May, requested permission to produce it. Major Osborne, on this occasion, declared, that he would continue to oppose the Union as an unnecessary and pernicious measure: Mr. Holmes supported it, not only as salutary, but absolutely necessary for the security of Ireland. Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Ogle again assailed it. Mr. Ball spoke warmly, and with some personal acrimony, against the bill and its supporters. Mr. Latouche, Mr. Martin, and Dr. Browne, declared their conviction of the beneficial tendency of the measure; which, on the other hand, was severely reprobated by Sir Lawrence Parsons and Mr. Goold. On a division, the motion for bringing in a bill for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland was carried by 160 against 100. The bill was immediately presented, read *pro forma*, and ordered to be printed. On the 26th, it was again read; and a motion for its commitment followed, which produced another warm, though not very interesting debate. On the 26th of May, Mr. Grattan proposed a delay to the 1st of August, that it might be more fully examined, and that more correct documents might be procured, as foundations of the financial and commercial articles. He again discussed the principle of the measure. It was a breach of a solemn covenant, on whose basis the separate, reciprocal, and conjoint power of the countries relied; an innovation promoted by the influence of martial law; an unauthorized assumption of a competency to destroy the independence of the realm; an unjustifiable attempt to injure the prosperity of the country. The bill would be, *quoad* the constitution, equivalent to a murder, and, *quoad* the government, to a separation. If it should be carried into effect, he foretold its want of permanence, and intimated his apprehensions, that popular discontent, perhaps dangerous commotions, might result from its enforcement.

Lord Castlereagh defended the bill, and censured the inflammatory language of Mr. Grattan. He derided the patriotism of those, who took every occasion of ulcerating the public mind, already too much enflamed: he defied, however, their incentives to treason, and had no doubt of the energy of government in defending the constitution against every attack.

Sir John Parnell indignantly repelled the imputation of any traitorous spirit in the Anti-unionists, and retorted on those, who wished to subvert the constitution on pretence of an Union. A very heated debate ensued, in

which Mr. O'Donel, Mr. Plunket, and Mr. Burrowes spoke against the Union, and Mr. May defended it. Mr. Grattan replied with asperity to the insinuations of Lord Castlereagh, who rejoined with more moderation than he formerly had done.

Mr. Grattan's motion was supported by 87 and negatived by 124. After some further debating the countervailing duties were settled as they had been by the British parliament.

On the 5th of June, the Bill of Union passed through the committee with few remarks, and with little alteration. At the next meeting, Lord Corry moved a long address to his majesty against the completion of the bill.* Mr. Saurin seconded the motion, and repeated his objections to the Union, which he contended had not been answered or refuted. The attorney general answered. Mr. Egan, Mr. J. C. Beresford, and Mr. Goold warmly supported the address, which was negatived by a majority of 58; there being 77 for, and 135 against it. The report was ordered to be read. An amendment proposed by Mr. O'Donel excited a flame in the house, and was withdrawn. The same member, on the 7th of June, moved the third reading of the bill for the 2d of January, when a warm debate followed.

Many of the Anti-unionists retired from the house, that they might not witness the division, by which the bill should be carried. When, on the 9th, an address of both houses to the king, in confirmation of the countervailing duties was proposed, Mr. Dawson, Lord Maxwell, and some other Anti-unionists declared, that, as soon as the bill should become a law, they would give it that support to which it would be entitled by such enactment, but which it did not deserve by its intrinsic merits.

The bill was carried up to the House of Peers by Lord Castlereagh, but the consideration of it was postponed. On its second reading, the Earls of Farnham and Bellamont offered some clauses, which were negatived, and the bill was committed. It passed the committee without amendment, was reported in due form, and, after an uninteresting debate, was read a third time on the 13th of June.† A protest was entered by the Duke of Leinster and the other dissenting peers.

* This address, which is generally attributed to the pen of Mr. Grattan, and was moved for by the Anti-unionists in nature of a protest to posterity against the measure, is to be seen in the Appendix, No. CXX.

† 8 Lords' Journ. p. 463. The division was 41 against 14. The protest is to be seen in the Appendix, No. CXXI.

No part of the plan now remained for the secretary to bring forward, but the scheme of compensation. This he plausibly ushered in upon a principle of justice; he proposed a grant of 1,260,000*l.* for those who should suffer a loss of patronage, and be deprived of a source of wealth, by the disfranchisement of 84 boroughs---at the rate of 15,000*l.* to each. Mr. Saurin, Mr. Claudius Beresford, and Mr. Dawson, maintained, that the grant of compensation to those, who had no right to hold such a species of property, would be an insult to the public and an infringement of the constitution. Mr. Prendergast defended the proposition, alleging, that, though such possessions might have been vicious in their origin, yet, from prescriptive usage, and from having been the subjects of contracts and family settlements, they could not be confiscated, without a breach of honor and propriety. In the House of Peers, this bill was chiefly opposed by the Earl of Farnham; but it passed into law with little opposition in either house; the Anti-unionists having now given up the question as lost.*

Soon after the Union bill had passed through both houses of the Irish parliament, Mr. Pitt brought a bill in the same form into the British House of Commons. It proceeded through the usual stages, without occasioning any important debate; and was sent, on the 24th of June, to the peers. On the 30th, Lord Grenville moved for its third reading, declaring, that he rose for that purpose with greater pleasure than he had ever felt before in making any proposition to their lordships. The Marquis of Downshire merely said, that his opinion of the measure remained unaltered, and that he would therefore give the bill his decided negative. It passed without a division; and, on the 2d of July, it received the royal assent.†

When a prorogation of the last separate parliament of Great Britain was ordered on the 29th of July, his majesty thus addressed the two houses on the subject of the grand work, which had so laudably occupied their deliberations.

“ With peculiar satisfaction I congratulate you on the success of the steps,

* As so much heat and zeal attended this interesting contest throughout, it may be gratifying to the curious reader to see the list of those who voted on the opposite sides. A correct list is also given of the different writs, which issued in the last year of the Irish parliament, viz. in 1800, with a view to parliamentary arrangements in voting for the Union. (Vide Index to the Appendix of 19 Vol. of Com. Journ. Part II. and also a list of the Irish parliamentary annuitants.) All are to be seen in Appendix, No. CXXII.

† A copy of the act is to be in ~~seen~~ the Appendix, No. CXXIII.

“ which you have taken for effecting an entire Union between my kingdoms. This great measure, on which my wishes have been long earnestly bent, I shall ever consider as the happiest event of my reign.”

It was the opinion of one of the Grecian sages, that no man ought to be pronounced happy before his death, or before it could be ascertained, whether his happiness would be durable; and, in this point of view, the royal observation may be deemed premature, as the effect of the applauded scheme had not been tried for a moment; but we hope, and have reason to expect, that the remark will be fully verified.

The royal assent was given in Ireland to the Union bill on the 1st of August, the anniversary of the accession of the House of Brunswick to the thrones of these realms. The next day, the lord lieutenant put an end to the session, with an appropriate speech from the throne.*

The

* His lordship's speech was as follows :

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ THE whole business of this important session being at length happily concluded, it is with the most sincere satisfaction, that I communicate to you by his majesty's express command, his warmest acknowledgments for that ardent zeal and unshaken perseverance, which you have so conspicuously manifested in maturing and completing the great measure of a legislative Union between this kingdom and Great Britain.

“ The proofs you have given on this occasion of your uniform attachment to the real welfare of your country, inseparably connected with the security and prosperity of the empire at large, not only entitle you to the full approbation of your sovereign, and to the applause of your fellow subjects, but must afford you the surest claim to the gratitude of posterity.

“ You will regret with his majesty, the reverse which his majesty's allies have experienced on the Continent; but his majesty is persuaded, that the firmness and public spirit of his subjects will enable him to persevere in that line of conduct, which will best provide for the honor, and the essential interests of his dominions, whose means and resources have now by your wisdom been more closely and intimately combined.

“ GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

“ I AM to thank you, in his majesty's name, for the liberal supplies, which you have cheerfully granted for the various and important branches of the public service in the present year.

“ His majesty has also witnessed with pleasure, that wise liberality, which will enable him to make a just and equitable retribution to those bodies and individuals, whose privileges and interests are affected by the Union, and he has also seen with satisfaction that attention to the internal prosperity of this country, which has been so conspicuously testified by the encouragement you have given to the improvement and extension of its inland navigation.

“ MY

The example of the Scotch Union was followed by Ireland in the formation of their first quota of the imperial parliament. No new election was resorted to, but the most zealous supporters of the measure were, generally, rewarded with seats in the imperial legislature.* In consequence of the proclamations issued in Great Britain and Ireland for the purpose, a selection was made of the persons to represent the boroughs of Ireland in the imperial parliament.

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ I HAVE the happiness to acquaint you, that the country in general has in a great measure returned to its former state of tranquillity. If in some districts, a spirit of plunder and disaffection still exists, those disorders, I believe, will prove to be merely local, and will, I doubt not, be soon effectually terminated.

“ The pressure of scarcity on the poorer classes, though much relieved by private generosity, and by the salutary provisions of the legislature, has been long and unusually severe, but I trust that under the favor of Providence we may draw a pleasing prospect of future plenty from the present appearance of the harvest.

“ I am persuaded, that the great measure, which is now accomplished, could never have been effected but by a decided conviction on your part, that it would tend to restore and to preserve the tranquillity of this country, to increase its commerce and manufactures, to perpetuate its connexion with Great Britain, and to augment the resources of the empire. You will not fail to impress these sentiments on the minds of your fellow-subjects. You will encourage and improve that just confidence, which they have manifested in the result of your deliberations on this arduous question. Above all, you will be studious to inculcate the full conviction, that united with the people of Great Britain into one kingdom, governed by the same sovereign, protected by the same laws, and represented in the same legislature, nothing will be wanting on their part but a spirit of industry and order, to insure to them the full advantages under which the people of Great Britain have enjoyed a greater degree of prosperity, security, and freedom, than has ever yet been experienced by any other nation.

“ I cannot conclude without offering to you and to the nation at large, my personal congratulations on the accomplishment of this great work, which has received the sanction and concurrence of our sovereign on the anniversary of that auspicious day, which placed his illustrious family on the throne of these realms. The empire is now, through your exertions, so completely united, and by Union so strengthened, that it can bid defiance to all the efforts its enemies may make, either to weaken it by division, or to overturn it by force. Under the protection of the Divine Providence, the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland will, I trust, remain in all future ages, the fairest monument of his majesty's reign, already distinguished by so many and such various blessings conferred upon every class and description of his subjects.”

* Not one of the 28 peers, who opposed the Union, was elected. Amongst the 100 commoners, some few of the Anti-unionists appear, such as Mr. Foster, Sir John Parnell, Mr. Ogle, Sir Lawrence Parsons, Mr. W. B. Ponsonby, Mr. J. C. Beresford, Lord Corry, &c.

At

At ten o'clock in the morning, the deputy clerk of the crown and hanaper attended in the place of meeting of the House of Commons, where several members of that house also attending, the names of such members as were to be balloted were written upon slips of paper, and drawn from a glass placed upon the table.*

* The following list will shew the result of the several resignations, and of the ballot. The names of the gentlemen in the second column, shew the present sitting members; those in the third, their late colleagues:—when a drawing took place, the successful is in italics.

	PRESENT MEMBERS.	LATE MEMBERS.
1 Trinity College	Hon. George Knox	Arthur Browne, <i>resigned</i>
2 Waterford, c.	<i>W. Congreve Alcock</i>	Robert S. Carewe
3 Limerick, c.	<i>Henry Deane Grady</i>	Charles Vereker
4 Belfast	Edward May	Richard Congreve, <i>resigned</i>
5 Drogheda	Edward Hardman	John Ball, <i>resigned</i>
6 Carrickfergus	<i>Noah Dalway</i>	Ezekiel D. Wilson
7 Newry	<i>John Moor</i>	Isaac Corry
8 Kilkenny, c.	<i>William Talbot</i>	James Wemyss
9 London-Derry, city	Henry Alexander	Andrew Ferguson, <i>resigned</i>
10 Galway, town	St. George Daly	George Ponsonby, <i>resigned</i>
11 Clonmel	(Both members resigned)	
12 Wexford, town	Francis Leigh	R. Neville, <i>resigned</i>
13 Youghal	<i>John Keane</i>	Robert Uniacke
14 Bandon	<i>Sir B. Chinnery</i>	Hon. W. O'Callagan
15 Armagh, city	<i>P. Duigenan</i>	Gerard Lake
16 Dundalk	(Both members resigned)	
17 Kinsale	<i>William Rowley</i>	S. C. Rowley
18 Lisburn	<i>George Hatton</i>	Stewart Bruce
19 Sligo, town	Owen Wynne	W. Wynne, <i>resigned</i>
20 Carlow	<i>Henry Prittie</i>	John Wolfe
21 Ennis	J. O. Vandeleur	Sir Edward O'Brien
22 Dungarvan	Edward Lee	J. B. Ponsonby
23 Downpatrick	<i>Clotworthy Rowley</i>	Jos. Rowley
24 Coleraine	Walter Jones	James Beresford, <i>resigned</i>
25 Mallow	John Longfield	Denh. Jephson, <i>resigned</i>
26 Mallow	William Handcock	H. Handcock, <i>resigned</i>
27 New Ross	Robert Leigh	C. Tottenham, <i>resigned</i>
28 Trawlee	<i>Arthur Moor</i>	Henry Kemmis
29 Cashell	Richard Bagwell	R. Penefather, <i>resigned</i>
30 Dungannon	Hon. John Knox	James Verner, <i>resigned</i>
31 Portarlinton	Frederick Trench	William Gregory, <i>resigned</i>
32 Enniskillen	Hon. A. C. Hamilton	Lt. Col. G. Cole, <i>resigned</i>

On the 31st of December, 1800, his majesty entered the House of Peers, when the usher of the black rod was sent to desire the attendance of the commons.

Several members of the House of Commons appeared at the bar, preceded by the speaker, who addressed his majesty in a dignified and impressive speech. That part of it which related to Ireland was as follows:

“ These, Sire, the last proceedings of your parliament previous to the great
 “ æra now on the point of commencing, are the indication and result of that
 “ common interest and fellow-feeling with the people, by which it has ever
 “ been actuated, and which are the best safeguard of all that is most valua-
 “ ble in society. To that æra your commons look forward with a confident
 “ expectation, that the consolidated wisdom and authority of the legislature
 “ of Great Britain and Ireland, under the auspicious government of your
 “ majesty, and your illustrious house, will diffuse, throughout every part of
 “ the united kingdom, the full benefits of that constitution, which has been
 “ proved to be favorable, in an unexampled degree, to the enjoyment of ci-
 “ vil liberty and public prosperity; which cannot therefore fail to animate
 “ the zeal and determination of those, who may share its blessings, to cherish
 “ and maintain it during their own times, and to transmit it as the best in-
 “ heritance to their posterity.”

His majesty was then pleased to make the following most gracious speech from the throne to both houses of parliament :

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ I CANNOT suffer this session to close without particu-
 “ lar acknowledgment for the distinguished industry and zeal, with which you
 “ have applied yourselves to the interesting object, which, at the commence-
 “ ment of the session, I most especially recommended to your attention.

“ It has been my earnest wish, that nothing should be omitted, which
 “ could tend to relieve the pressure occasioned by the present dearth of pro-
 “ visions, and to insure a sufficient supply till the produce of the next har-
 “ vest can be brought into use.

“ The diligence, with which your enquiries have been conducted, has af-
 “ forded you the best means of ascertaining the true circumstances of our
 “ present situation; and the extensive measures, which you have wisely
 “ adopted in consequence, for the diminishing the consumption of grain,
 and

“ and procuring an increased supply, will, I doubt not, be found productive
 “ of the most salutary effects.

“ Much, however, must depend on the disposition which will, I am confident, be manifested by all those, who have the means of carrying into
 “ execution my solemn recommendation and injunction, issued at your desire, for the adoption of all practicable œconomy in the use of those articles,
 “ which are necessary to the subsistence of the poorer classes of my subjects.

“ The time fixed for the commencement of the Union of Great Britain
 “ and Ireland necessarily terminates your proceedings on this important subject; but I am persuaded, that the consideration of it will be resumed with
 “ the same zeal and temper on the first meeting of the parliament of the
 “ united kingdom.

“ The early period I have appointed for that meeting will afford a speedy
 “ opportunity of completing whatever you may have necessarily left unfinished, and of considering what measures may tend further to alleviate
 “ the pressure on my people, or to prevent the danger of its recurrence.”

“ GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

“ THE detention of the property of my subjects in the
 “ ports of Russia, contrary to the most solemn treaties, and the imprisonment
 “ of British sailors in that country, have excited in me sentiments, in which
 “ you and all my subjects will, I am sure, participate.

“ I have already taken such steps as this occasion indispensably required,
 “ and it will afford me great satisfaction if they prove effectual. But if it
 “ should become necessary to maintain, against any combination, the honor
 “ and independence of the British empire, and those maritime rights and interests on which both our prosperity and our security must always depend,
 “ I entertain no doubt either of the success of those means, which, in such an
 “ event, I shall be enabled to exert, or of the determination of my parliament and my people to afford me a support proportioned to the importance
 “ of the interests which we have to maintain.”

Afterwards the lord chancellor, by his majesty's command, said,

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ IT is his majesty's command, that the proclamation,
 “ declaring his majesty's most gracious intention, should be read to the members of the parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland
 “ on the part of Great Britain, and that the said parliament should be assembled

“ bled

“ bled on the 22d day of January next, be delivered in full parliament, and
 “ now read, which closes the present session.”

And the said proclamation was read by the clerk at the table, as follows,
 viz.

“ GEORGE R.

“ WHEREAS, by the fourth article of the articles of the
 “ Union of Great Britain and Ireland, as the same are ratified and confirmed
 “ by two acts of parliament, the one passed in the parliament of Great Bri-
 “ tain, intituled, An Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, to have
 “ force and effect from the first day of January one thousand eight hundred
 “ and one, it is provided, That if we, on or before the said first day of Ja-
 “ nuary, one thousand eight hundred and one, on which day the Union is
 “ to take place as aforesaid, should declare, under the great seal of Great
 “ Britain, that it is expedient, that the lords and commons of the present par-
 “ liament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of
 “ the first parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on
 “ the part of Great Britain: then the said lords and commons of the present
 “ parliament of Great Britain should accordingly be the members of the
 “ respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom, on the part
 “ of Great Britain: And whereas it is our intention to appoint Thursday,
 “ the twenty-second day of January next ensuing, for the assembling of the
 “ parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by pro-
 “ clamation under the great seal of the united kingdom; we do judge it to
 “ be expedient, that the lords and commons of the present parliament of
 “ Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first
 “ parliament of the united kingdom, on the part of Great Britain: And we
 “ do, pursuant to the said articles of Union, and to the acts of parliament
 “ ratifying and confirming the same, hereby declare, under the great seal of
 “ Great Britain, that it is expedient, that the lords and commons of the
 “ present parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective
 “ houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and
 “ Ireland, on the part of Great Britain; and the lords and commons of the
 “ present parliament of Great Britain are accordingly to be the members of
 “ the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom of Great
 “ Britain and Ireland, on the part of Great Britain; and the said lords,
 “ spiritual and temporal, and commons, are hereby required and commanded

“ to take notice hereof, and to give their attendance accordingly, at Westminster, on the said twenty-second day of January next ensuing.

“ Given at our court at St. James’s, the fifth day of November, one thousand eight hundred, in the forty-first year of our reign.

“ GOD save the KING.”

Immediately after his majesty had left the house, he held a grand council, in which several arrangements required by that great event were settled. In honor of the Union many promotions were made, and several new titles created. And on the next day, viz. the first of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, the incorporate Union of Great Britain and Ireland was formally announced in the following proclamation.

“ GEORGE R.

“ WHEREAS by the first article of the articles of Union of Great Britain and Ireland, ratified and confirmed by two acts of parliament, the one passed in the parliament of Great Britain, and the other in the parliament of Ireland, and respectively intitled, ‘ An Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland,’ the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland should upon this day, being the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, forever after be united into one kingdom, by the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and that the royal style and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the united kingdom and its dependencies, and also the ensigns, armorial flags, and banners thereof, should be such as we, by our royal proclamation under the great seal of the said united kingdom, should appoint: We have thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to appoint and declare, that our royal style and titles shall henceforth be accepted, taken, and used as the same are set forth in manner and form following; that is to say, the same shall be expressed in the Latin tongue, *Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor*; and in the English tongue by these words, *George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith*. And the arms or ensigns armorial of the said united kingdom shall be quarterly, first and fourth England; second, Scotland; third, Ireland; and it is our will and pleasure, that there shall be borne therewith, on an escutcheon of pretence, the arms of our dominions in Germany ensigned with the Electoral bonnet. And it is our will and pleasure, that the standard of the united kingdom shall be the same quartering as are hereinbefore

“ inbefore declared to be the arms or ensigns armorial of the said united
“ kingdom, with the escutcheon of pretence thereon hereinbefore described ;
“ and that the union flag shall be azure, the crosses, saltires of St. Andrew,
“ and St. Patrick quarterly per saltire, counterchanged, argent and gules ;
“ the latter imbriated of the second, surmounted by the cross of St. George
“ of the third, as the saltire. And our will and pleasure further is, that the
“ style and titles aforesaid, and also the arms or ensigns armorial aforesaid,
“ shall be used henceforth, as far as conveniently may be, on all occasions
“ wherein our royal style and title, and arms or ensigns armorial, ought to be
“ used. But, nevertheless, it is our will and pleasure, that all such gold, silver,
“ and copper monies as, on the day before this first day of January, one thousand
“ eight hundred and one, were current and lawful monies of Great
“ Britain, and all such gold, silver, and copper monies as shall, on or after
“ this day, be coined by our authority, with the like impressions, until our
“ will and pleasure shall be otherwise declared, shall be deemed and taken
“ to be current and lawful monies of the united kingdom in Great Britain :
“ and that all such gold, silver, and copper monies as, on the day before this
“ first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, were current
“ and lawful monies of Ireland, and also all such gold and silver and copper
“ monies as shall, on or after this day, be coined by our authority with the
“ like impressions, until our will and pleasure shall be otherwise declared, shall
“ be deemed and taken to be current and lawful monies of the said united
“ kingdom in Ireland ; and all such monies as shall have been coined for
“ and issued in any of the dominions of the said united kingdom, and declared
“ by our proclamation to be current and lawful money of such dominions
“ respectively, bearing our style, or titles, or arms, or ensigns armorial,
“ or any part or parts thereof, and all monies which shall hereafter be coined
“ and issued according to such proclamations, shall continue to be lawful
“ and current money of such dominions respectively, notwithstanding such
“ change in our style, titles, and arms, or armorial bearings respectively as
“ aforesaid, until our pleasure shall be further declared thereupon. And all
“ and every such monies as aforesaid shall be received and taken in payment
“ in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, and in the dominions thereunto
“ belonging after the date of this our proclamation, in such manner, and
“ of the like value and denomination as the same were received and taken
“ before the date hereof. And it is also our will and pleasure, that the several
“ dies

“ dies and marks, which have been used to denote the stamp duties, and all
“ other stamps and marks and instruments, which, before the issuing of this
“ our proclamation, shall have been in actual use for any public purpose, and
“ in which our royal style and titles, or our arms or ensigns armorial, or any
“ parts or part thereof respectively, may be expressed, shall not, by reason
“ of this or any other proclamation, or any thing therein contained, be
“ changed or altered, until the same may be conveniently so changed or
“ altered, or until our pleasure shall be further declared thereupon; but
“ that all such dies, stamps, marks, and instruments respectively, bearing our
“ royal style and titles, or arms or ensigns armorial, used before this first day
“ of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, or any parts or part of
“ such style, titles, or such arms or ensigns armorial, shall have the like force
“ and effect as the same had before the said first day of January instant.

“ Given at our court at St. James’s, the first day of January, one thousand
“ eight hundred and one, in the forty-first year of our reign.

“ GOD save the KING.”*

Thus was accomplished the incorporate Union of Great Britain and Ireland, an event dreaded by our enemies, and therefore to be cherished by every true and loyal subject of his majesty, as affording the sure means of conciliating the affections, consolidating the energies, and promoting the prosperity of every part of the British empire.

* On the same day was published another proclamation, declaring what ensigns and colours should be borne at sea, in merchants ships or vessels belonging to his majesty’s subjects of the united kingdom, for which see Appendix, No. CXXIV.

FINIS.

APPENDIX
TO THE
SECOND VOLUME.

No. LXX.

The Difference between Messrs. Flood and Grattan : from the Debates in the Irish House of Commons, 2 Vol. p. 35 to 61, &c.

(HISTORICAL REVIEW, &c. P. 48.)

MR. FLOOD.—I find myself little capable of speaking to this question, oppressed with sickness as I am; not in the least degree expecting such a question this night, and more astonished than ever I was in my life, to find the least symptom of opposition arising on the other side of the house. The opposition to it should originate here, for the resolution does not go as far as it ought to do. In Lord Townshend's administration, a resolution was proposed, "that the condition of this country required every practicable re-
"trenchment to be made in its expences;" and the administration of that day thought they had done enough, and allowed themselves latitude sufficient, by amending it with the words—consistent with the welfare thereof, and the honorable support of his majesty's government; though the resolution so amended, stood then exactly like the present motion. (Here the clerk, at Mr. Flood's desire, read the former resolution.) But I think this motion still allows too great an inlet to public profusion. Some men will think of their own welfare, when the welfare of the country is the object, and include their own support within the honorable support of his majesty's government; I did not, therefore, think any man on the side of administration would have opposed the motion; I rather supposed they would have called out in triumph to let it pass; they would have exulted to see "the new commons,

“ the new country,” Ireland, in its emancipated and dignified state, tolerate the nonsense that was current in Lord Townshend’s administration.

I am as willing as any man to pay compliment to ministry, both here and in England, to allow them every degree of credit for their honorable intentions; I have not the smallest ground of animosity or resentment to them, and when I hear œconomy recommended from the throne, almost in the words of the honorable baronet, I am astonished at an opposition to his motion. Indeed, I believe the words of that recommendation were by some accident misplaced, or that government has not digested the plan of retrenchment; they should not have followed immediately the mention of the Genevan colony, a body of virtuous men, who to avoid the most ignominious slavery, have fought an asylum in the arms of this country. It was not the proper place to use the word œconomy: it there disgraces the virtuous and generous act of men, who have just recovered their own liberty; by placing it there, we may lose a great deal of honor, but can save very little money. But it is not to such little things we are to look for relief; our retrenchments should reach establishments, and not like England plunge deeper each day in ruin. Ministry both here and in that kingdom, have been often warned of the fatal consequences that must follow, but these warnings have been treated as the visions of speculative men. England, that great and mighty country, now staggers under a load of debt, distressed and dismembered, her expences overwhelm her; and where is the man who will say, she shall be redeemed? Where is the man who will say, I will redeem her, and will say how? Though every little minister, or every little man who imagines he is a minister, is ready to undertake the management of her affairs: where is the man who will say, that Ireland ought to have a peace establishment of 15,000 men? When the augmentation took place in Lord Townshend’s administration, this country was unable to bear it, and since that day we have been involving her deeper and deeper, because we at first engaged her in an undertaking beyond her strength. When all the world united against Britain, and she was surrounded with enemies on every side, we gave way to the feelings of our hearts and spared her 4000 men; and some time after in the moment *de flagrante bello*, we granted her more than half our remaining troops: if then in time of war the country could subsist without troops, will any man say, that in time of profound peace she ought to support 15,000 men? No, now is the time for reducing your military establishment; let your intention be known
this

this day, that the right honorable secretary may have time to communicate with England: if you neglect the present opportunity, no minister hereafter will have even a pretence for restoring the finances of this country.

I am no partizan either here or in England, I can gain nothing by it; I am ready in either place, like a man, to support ministers while they are right; and whenever they are wrong, to oppose them, and resist their measures. At present I hope my honorable friend will allow me to alter his motion, and state a precise idea; I would have it run thus: “*Resolved*, That the condition of this country requires every practicable retrenchment, &c. and that the military establishment in its present state, affords room for effectual retrenchment.”

I love the army as a body of brave and worthy men, but I would not sacrifice the kingdom to their benefit. Now, Sir, if ministers really mean œconomy, they will agree with this amendment of mine; if not, they will amuse us with the words only.

Mr. George Ponsonby.—Sir, I can see as plainly as any man the intent of the reflections thrown upon your predecessor in the chair; and I must say, as to the mover of this resolution, that no disapprobation of his gives me any but a pleasurable sensation, and I do at all times feel that supreme contempt for his disapprobation and opinion, which I now take the liberty to declare. Mr. Ponsonby then entered into a defence of his father’s (the late speaker) conduct; he recited the history of that time. He said, that Mr. Flood had exerted himself to support his father’s interest against Lord Townshend’s attacks; and asked, why, when virtue in the shape of Lord Townshend had overturned interest, the alleged system of profusion had not been overturned also? He declared his firm reliance on the Duke of Portland and his friends, that they intended an effectual and satisfactory reform; and concluded, that if the honorable baronet thought the circle in which he sat was composed of men grown old in iniquity, it would be but charitable for him to come amongst them, as only from his virtuous contact and indefatigable labours, they could hope to be brought into the road of righteousness.

Mr. Flood said, he had not supported Mr. Ponsonby’s interest, but he had opposed Lord Townshend’s administration: he said this to exculpate Mr. Ponsonby from the charge of ingratitude, for when he had felt the hand of power, Mr. Ponsonby had not supported him; but he never looked at such little things as the interest of particular men of parties: they appeared great

indeed to the men who were engaged in them, but in the eyes of the man who contemplates the public welfare, they vanish into nothing. Had I, said he, been his father's supporter, the honorable gentleman but ill requited me; when in his loudest tone, he cried out to have me dismissed, and seemed to reproach ministers with pusillanimity for delaying the sentence. He declared, indeed, that he had no personal dislike to me, but it was only to oblige one or two particular friends; yet the gentleman boasts of Whig principles, Whig connexions; Whig friends he may justly boast, but such conduct was a manifestation of Whig apostacy. God and Nature have established this limit to power, it cannot long subsist divested of rectitude. Do we mean to take up the words of retrenchment ourselves, or will we leave it to others to economize for us? If we proceed upon this business, the people will stand grateful and admiring spectators of our progress; if not, they may perhaps take it up themselves: let us then act honestly, let us tell Great Britain what no man can deny, that the military is the place to make retrenchment. I will suppose ministers as good as any man can wish, but 'tis our duty to give them opportunity of exercising their honest intentions.

Mr. Grattan.—I shall not trouble you long, nor take up the time of the house, by apologizing for bodily infirmity, or the affectation of infirmity. I shall not speak of myself, or enter into a defence of my character, having never apostatized. I think it is not necessary for the house now to investigate what we know to be fact. I think it would be better to go into the business, as the house did upon another occasion, without the formality of the committee's report. As to myself, the honorable reward that a grateful nation has bestowed upon me, for ever binds me to make every return in my power, and particularly to oppose every unnecessary expence. I am far from thinking with the honorable gentleman, as to the speech, and I believe he will find instances where economy has been recommended from the throne, but prodigality practised. This was the case in Lord Harcourt's administration. An administration which had the support of the honorable gentleman; and therefore he, of all men, cannot be at a loss to reject that illusory economy, which has so often appeared in the speeches of lord lieutenants. With respect to the Genevese, I never could have thought it possible to give the speech such a bias as has been mentioned, and that people will be deceived, if they give credit to any declamation that infers from the words of the speech, any thing but an honest economy in applying the public money fairly

fairly to their use. The nation has derived great honor from this transaction, and I would be sorry to have it tarnished by inference and insinuation.

In 1771, when the burdens of the country were comparatively small, I made a motion similar to this; the honorable gentleman then opposed me. I have his sanction, now, that I was right, and he was wrong; and I say this, that though gentlemen may for a while vote against retrenchments, they will at last see the necessity of them. Yet while I think retrenchments absolutely necessary, I am not very sure, that this is just the time to make it in the army; now when England has acted justly, I will not say generously; now when she has lost her empire; when she still feels the wounds of the last unhappy war, and comforts herself only with the faithful friendship of Ireland. If in 1769, when the liberties of Ireland were denied, and those of America in danger, it was thought unadvisable to retrench our army, there can be no such reason to reduce it now, when both are acknowledged and confirmed. When we voted 4000 men to butcher our brethren in America, the honorable gentleman should have opposed that vote; but perhaps he will be able to explain the propriety of sending 4000 Irishmen thither. But why not look for retrenchment in the revenue and other departments. In my mind, the proper mode would be, to form a fair estimate of what would be a reasonable peace establishment, and reduce our several departments to it.

Mr. Flood.—The right honorable member can have no doubt of the propriety of my saying a word in reply to what he has delivered; every member in that house can bear witness of the infirmity I mentioned, and therefore, it required but little candour to make a nocturnal attack upon that infirmity; but I am not afraid of the right honorable member, I will meet him any where, or upon any ground, by night or by day. I would stand poorly in my own estimation, and in my country's opinion, if I did not stand far above him. I do not come here dressed in a rich wardrobe of words to delude the people; I am not one who has promised repeatedly to bring in a bill of rights, yet does not bring in that bill or permit any other person to do it; I am not one who threatened to impeach the chief justice of the King's Bench for acting under an English law, and afterwards shrunk from that business; I am not the author of the simple repeal; I am not one who, after saying the parliament was a parliament of prostitutes, endeavoured to make their voices subservient to my interest; I am not one who would come at midnight, and attempt by a vote of this house to stifle the voice of the people, which my
egregious

egregious folly had raised against me; I am not the gentleman who subsists upon your accounts; I am not the mendicant patriot who was bought by my country for a sum of money, and then sold my country for prompt payment; I am not the man who in this house loudly complained of an infringement made by England, in including Ireland in a bill, and then sent a certificate to Dungannon that Ireland was not included; I never was bought by the people, nor ever sold them: the gentleman says, he never apostatized, but I say I never changed my principles: let every man say the same, and let the people believe them if they can. But if it be so bad a thing to take an office in the state, how comes the gentleman connected with persons in office. They, I hope, are men of virtue, or how come the gentleman so closely connected with Colonel Fitzpatrick. I object to no man for being in office; a patriot in office is the more a patriot for being there. There was a time when the glories of the great Duke of Marlborough shrunk and withered before those of the right honorable gentleman; when palaces superior to Blenheim were to be built for his reception, when pyramids and pillars were to be raised, and adorned with emblems and inscriptions sacred to his virtue; but the pillars and pyramids are now sunk, though then the great Earl of Chatham was held inferior to him; however, he is still so great, that the queen of France, I dare say, will have a song made on the name of Grattan.

Lord Harcourt practised œconomy—but what was the œconomy of the Duke of Portland? 100,000*l.* was voted to raise 20,000 seamen, though it was well known, that one-third of that number could not be raised; and what was the application of the money? It was applied to the raising of the execrated fencibles.

It is said, I supported Lord Harcourt's administration; it is true, but I never deserted my principles, but carried them into the cabinet with me. A gentleman, who now hears me, knows that I proposed to the privy council an Irish mutiny bill, and that not with a view of any parliamentary grant. I supported an absentee tax; and while I was in office, registered my principles in the books of government; and the moment I could not influence government to the advantage of the nation, I ceased to act with them. I acted for myself; I was the first who ever told them, that an Irish mutiny bill must be granted. If this country is now satisfied, is it owing to that gentleman? No; the simple repeal, disapproved and scouted by all the lawyers in England and in Ireland, shews the contrary; and the only apology

he

he can make is, that he is no lawyer at all. A man of warm imagination and brilliant fancy will sometimes be dazzled with his own ideas, and may for a moment fall into error; but a man of sound head could not make so egregious a mistake, and a man of an honest heart would not persist in it after it was discovered. I have now done: and give me leave to say, if the gentleman enters often into this kind of colloquy with me, he will not have much to boast of at the end of the session.

Mr. Grattan.—In respect to the house, I could wish to avoid personality, and return to the question, but I must request liberty to explain some circumstances alluded to by the honorable member: the honorable member has alluded to St. Christopher's bill, I will declare the fact—he may tell a story: when I received a copy of that bill, it gave me much pain and much offence; I thought I saw the old intention of binding Ireland by English laws; I therefore spoke to that effect in this house; I also shewed the bill to all the most able and virtuous men in this kingdom, who were of opinion, that my suggestion was wrong; under this opinion I acquiesced, and the opinion has justified it: as to coming at midnight to obtain a vote, imposing silence on the people, I deny it; it was mis-stated in the papers, my resolution was to declare this country free, and that any person who should speak or write to the contrary, was a public enemy. All the house, all the revered and respected characters in this kingdom heard me, and know what I say is true. But it is not the slander of a bad tongue of a bad character that can defame me, I maintain my reputation in public and in private life; no man, who has not a bad character can say I ever deceived him, no country has ever called me cheat. I will suppose a public character, a man not now in this house, but who formerly might have been here; I will suppose it was his constant practice to abuse every man who differed from him, and to betray every man who trusted him; I will suppose him active, I will begin from his cradle, and divide his life into three stages—in the first he was intemperate, in the second corrupt, and in the third seditious.

Suppose him a great egotist, his honor equal to his oath, and I will stop him and say, Sir, your talents are not so great as your life is infamous; you were silent for years, and you were silent for money: when affairs of consequence to the nation were debating, you might be seen passing by these doors like a guilty spirit, just waiting for the moment of putting the question, that you might hop in and give your venal vote; or, at times, with a vulgar brogue,
apeing

apeing the manner, and affecting the infirmities of Lord Chatham; or like a kettle-drummer, lather yourself into popularity to catch the vulgar; or you might be seen hovering over the dome, like an ill-omened bird of night, with sepulchral notes, a cadaverous aspect, and broken beak, ready to stoop and pounce upon your prey: you can be trusted by no man; the people cannot trust you; the ministers cannot trust you; you deal out the most impartial treachery to both; you tell the nation it is ruined by other men, while it is sold by you; you fled from the embargo; you fled from the mutiny bill; you fled from the sugar bill; I therefore tell you in the face of your country, before all the world, and to your beard, you are not an honest man.

Mr. Flood.—I have heard a very extraordinary harangue indeed, and I challenge any man to say, that any thing half so unwarrantable was ever uttered in this house. The right honorable gentleman set out with declaring, he did not wish to use personality, and no sooner has he opened his mouth, than forth issues all the venom that ingenuity and disappointed vanity, for two years brooding over corruption, has produced; but it cannot taint my public character; four and twenty years employed in your service has established that; and as to my private, let that be learned from my tenants, from my friends, from those under my own roof; to those I appeal, and this appeal I boldly make, with utter contempt of insinuations, false as they are illiberal. The whole force of what has been said, rests upon this, that I once accepted office, and this is called apostacy; but is a man the less a patriot, for being an honest servant of the crown. As to me, I took as great a part with the first office of the state at my back, as ever the right honorable gentleman did with mendicancy behind him.

Mr. Flood proceeded to defend his character, when, at a pause, the speaker took the opportunity to interfere, and with the utmost politeness, and in the kindest manner, entreated him to forbear, declaring, that he had suffered inexpressible pain during this contest; and that nothing but the calls of the house to hear the two members, could have made him so long sit silent. He again besought Mr. Flood to sit down, and the house joining with the chair, that gentleman, after sundry efforts to speak, was obliged to desist, and soon after retired.

Mr. Flood was fought for that night by his kinsman Sir Frederick Flood, but could not be found. On the 1st of November, 1785, he came to the house and thus resumed the subject.

Sir,

*Sir, I wish to take the earliest opportunity of speaking a few words to you, and addressing a few to the house, upon the situation in which I left the house last Tuesday. You heard, Sir, and the public heard me, the subject, as I think, of an unwarrantable attack. I rose to defend myself, I am sure with temper. I am not lightly moved; and I think I should be lightly moved, indeed, if I could have been moved by that. I was however interrupted, though I did not bring any fictitious subject before you, or set out without the least appearance of any argument. In consequence of interruption, Sir, I left the house; but soon after I understood, that the house thought proper to say, they would give me liberty to proceed, and I wish to take the earliest opportunity of returning them my thanks for that permission. At the same time, Sir, that I return my thanks for that permission, I hope they will suffer me to render it not an empty indulgence, but, upon the present occasion, to take up the subject where I left it last night. (Mr. Toler rose to order; but Mr. Flood proceeded.) I hope gentlemen will not interrupt me: when they find me going out of order, when they find me drawing fictitious characters, let them stop me; when I say any thing unparliamentary; when I recal the asperity of that day, which, whilst I despise, I must disapprove, I rise in defence of what I think an injured character. As I have endeavoured to defend the rights of this country for twenty-four years, I hope they will permit me to defend my reputation. My life, Sir, has been divided into three parts, and it has been dispatched by three epithets: one part, Sir, that which preceded Lord Harcourt's administration; another, which passed between Lord Harcourt's and Lord Carlisle's; and the third, which is subsequent. The first has a summary justice, or injustice done to it, by being said to be intemperate; the second is treated in like manner, by being said to be venal; and the conduct of the third is said to be that of an incendiary.

Mr. O'Hara. To order; it is against order to speak of what passed on a former day, not that any thing the honorable gentleman has said now is improper, but that the order of the house forbids a reference to the debates of a former day.

Mr. Flood. I take this matter up, upon the ground of an interrupted debate; it is in that light it comes within order. I have a right to begin where I was interrupted; but, Sir, there are some cases of so particular a nature,

* Page 61 to 70.

that a strict adherence to a general order, would be the height of injustice. In the attack made upon my person, I went back, not only to the arguments of two or three days before, but to the conduct of twenty years antecedent; therefore, Sir, I hope, that if animadversions of twenty years are allowed to one, I may have an opportunity of referring to arguments used three days ago: with respect to that period of my life, which is dispatched for the word intemperate, I beg gentlemen would consider the situation of public characters, if that is to be their treatment; that period takes in a number of years, and in which the public were pleased to give me their sentence of approbation. Sir, it includes, for I wish to speak to facts, not to take it up upon epithets, it includes the Duke of Bedford's, Lord Halifax's, the Duke of Northumberland's, Lord Hertford's, and Lord Townshend's.

Now, Sir, as to the fact of intemperance, I will state to you how that stands, and let the gentleman see how a plain tale shall put him down. Of those five administrations, there were three I could not be said, in any sense of the word, to oppose them at all; I mean the three first. I certainly voted against the secretary of the day, but oftener voted with him. In Lord Hertford's administration, I had attained to a certain view and decided opinion of what ~~was fit~~, in my mind, to be done for this country. I had fixed upon the great objects of public utility. I endeavoured to attain them, with that spirit and energy, with which it is my character and nature to speak and to act; as I must take the disadvantages of my nature, I will take the advantages of it too. These three great objects were resisted by that administration: what was the consequence? A conflict arose between that administration and me; but that conflict ought not to be called opposition on my part; no, it ought rather to be called opposition on theirs; I was the propounder, and they resisted my propositions. This may be called a conflict, not an opposition to that administration. What were those three objects? One was to prove, that the constitution of parliament in this kingdom did still exist; that it had not been taken away by the law of Poynings, but that it was an infamous perversion of that statute, by which the constitution had suffered: the other was the establishment of a constitutional military force, in super-addition to that of a standing army. The only idea that ever occurred to England, or any free country of Europe, I adopted, namely, that of a constitutional militia. At that time the idea of a volunteer force had not arisen; therefore, I adopted the idea which at that time appeared to be best. The
third

third great object I took up as necessary for this country, was a law for limiting the duration of parliaments; these were the three great, salutary, and noble objects, worthy of the enlarged mind of an enlarged country. I pursued them with ardour, I do not deny it; but I did not pursue them with intemperance. I am sure I did not appear to the public to do so; they gave my exertions many flattering testimonies of their approbation. There is another proof that I was not intemperate; I was successful: intemperance and miscarriage are apt to go together, but temperance and success are associated by nature. This is my plain history with regard to that period. The clumsiness of virulence, of invective, may require to be sheathed in a brilliancy of diction, but plain truth and plain sense are best delivered in plain terms. I now come to that period, in which Lord Harcourt governed, and which is stigmatized by the word venal. I say, Lord Harcourt, for in my consideration of his administration, I will include that of Lord Townshend. If every man who accepts an office is venal, and an apostate, I certainly cannot acquit myself of the charge, nor is it necessary. I should have so many associates in the crime, if ever there was a crime in what multitudes would defend. I am sensible multitudes and majorities would not be wanting to defend that. But I say, either it is a crime, or it is not; if it be a crime universally, let it be a crime universally ascribed. But, Sir, I say it is not fair, that one set of men should be treated by that honorable member as great friends and lovers of their country, notwithstanding they are in office; and another man, because he was in office, should be treated as an enemy and an apostate; but what is the truth? Every thing of this sort depends upon the principles on which office is taken, and on which it is retained; with regard to me, let no man imagine I am preaching up a doctrine for my own convenience; there is not a man less concerned in the propagation of it. I have no treaty with the right honorable gentleman on the floor, nor shall I have any.

Now, Sir, I shall beg leave shortly to state the manner in which I accepted that office, which I give you my word I never will resume. It was offered to me in the most honorable manner, with an assurance not only of being a place-man for my own profit, but a minister for the benefit of my country. My answer was, that I thought, in a constitution such as ours, an intercourse between the prince and the subject ought to be honorable; the being a minister ought to redound to a man's credit; but I lamented, that it often happened otherwise: men in office often give up those principles, which they

maintained before. I told them, therefore, that my objections were not the going into office, but to following the examples, which I had sometimes seen before me. I mentioned the public principles I held. I said, if consistently with those principles, from an atom of which I would not depart, I could be of service to his majesty's government, I was ready to be so; I speak in the presence of men, who know what I say. After the office had come over, and landed in this kingdom, I sent in writing to the chief governor, that I would not accept the office, unless upon that principle.

Thus, Sir, I took office; the administration before I opposed only in part of it; in the first session of Lord Townshend, I did not oppose; I never opposed Lord Townshend till after his prorogation and protest. This appeared to me an infamous violation of the privileges of parliament. With regard to money bills, and after that protest, by which he endeavoured to make the Journals of the House of Lords, instead of being the record of their privileges, the monument of their disgrace, I opposed him; now what did I oppose in that administration? The violation of the privilege of this house, with regard to money bills, and the wanton augmentation of offices, by the division of the board of commissioners into two parts. In Lord Harcourt's administration, what did I do? I had the two boards of commissioners reduced again into one. I do not say my single voice effected this, but as far as it had any efficacy, it insisted on having the twelve commissioners again reduced to seven, and the two boards to one, a saving, including the whole arrangement, of twenty thousand pounds a year to the nation. It went further; it insisted to have every altered money bill thrown out, and privy council money bills not defended by the crown. Thus, instead of giving sanction to the measures I had opposed, my conduct was in fact to register my principles in the records of the court, to make the privy council a witness to the privileges of parliament, and to give final energy to the tenets, with which I commenced my life. Economy did not stop with the reduction of the commissioners board. The right honorable gentleman, who has censured me, in order to depreciate that economy, said, that we had swept with the feather of economy, the pens and paper of your table: a pointed and brilliant expression is far from a just argument. This country has no reason to be ashamed of that species of economy, when the great nation of Great Britain has been obliged to descend to an economy as minute. Neither, Sir, was this all; it is not my fault if infinitely more was not done for this country
upon

upon that occasion; they were offered a saving, they did not chuse to take it; they were offered the absentee tax, and they refused it: I am not to blame for that, it was a part of the saving proposed. If administration were wrong on that occasion, they were wrong with the prejudices of half a century; they were wrong with every great writer that had ever written upon the subject of Ireland; they were wrong with some of the plainest principles, as it seems, of human nature in their favor. I will suppose the determination not to accept it to have been right, still it was meritorious in administration to offer it: and to shew, that I was not under any undue influence of office; I appeal to the memory of many men present, whether, when the disposition of the house was made to alter upon that subject, and when administration yielded, not unwillingly, to the violence of parliament, I appeal to the conscious and public knowledge of many, whether I did veer and turn about with the secretary, or whether I did not make a manly stand in favor of that principle, after having pledged myself to the public I would rather break with a million of administrations than retract?

I not only adhered to it, but by a singular instance of exertion, I forced it a second time under the consideration of this house. That this benefit was lost to this country, if it be a benefit, it was not my fault. One thing I must go back to; I had repeatedly pressed the bill for limiting the duration of parliament. In Lord Townshend's time, I brought it in finally, and crowned it with success: thus I restored to the universal community of Ireland, a right of which they had been robbed for near a century, namely, their first and fundamental franchise as electors, without which this house is but a shadow. And thus after having restored that root of all their other rights in Lord Townshend's administration, after having restored œconomy, and reduced twelve commissioners to seven in Lord Harcourt's, I went on to the other great measure which I have mentioned, the militia law; and when a right honorable gentleman (Mr. Ogle) moved that question, I engaged all the interest I could with government in behalf of it; I rose up to second his motion, and declared I would support him and his militia bill to the last; accordingly, I gave him the assistance of my poor labours, and it was carried; thus therefore, Sir, I say, that in that administration, in which I accepted office, instead of relinquishing my principles, I preserved them. Instead of getting a minority to vote for them, I brought the majority to give an efficient sanction to their truth, by entering into office upon that occasion, and acting as I did;
I acted

I acted the part of an honest minister between the prince and the people; in doing so, I think I was more a patriot, than if out of office I had made empty declamations on empty subjects, without any advantage to the public. Most of those who hear me can recollect the state of this kingdom at the close of Lord Townshend's administration. I appeal to them all, and I ask what was then my repute in the nation? I will not say it was the first, or the second, or the third, but did it not stand in an honorable rank, and among the former rather than among the last? In Lord Harcourt's government, the vice-treasurehip was offered to me, accompanied with every declaration that could render it acceptable to an honorable mind. When that office was offered to me, was my situation that of a reprobated man? Did the administration of England send over an office usually reserved for the parliament of England, and offer it of their own accord to a reprobated man? I take the facts of both countries to disprove this calumny. Is it since I have become a mark of obloquy? I flatter myself not. Lord Buckinghamshire's administration succeeded. With regard to Lord Harcourt's administration, the objection is, I did too much; the charge with regard to the other is, I did too little for it; those two accusations run a little in contrary direction, and like a double poison, each may cure the operation of the other; but the fact is this, I acted not upon visions and imaginations, but on sound common sense, the best gift of God to man; which then told me, and still whispers, that some administrations deserve a more active support than others; that some administrations deserve little of either; I adapted my conduct to those three conditions, I did not run headlong against government at one time, and with government at another, but adapted my conduct as I ought to do, to what I saw and what I felt. Did I support Lord Harcourt? Why? Because he gave me an influence in his councils. It is nonsense to say, a man is not to support his own councils; but the next administration took another direction, and they did not give me any influence in their councils. What was the consequence? I did not give them support. Was there any thing more fair? I felt myself a man of too much situation to be a mere placeman. If not a minister to serve my country, I would not be the tool of salary. What was the consequence? I voted with them in matters of importance when they were clearly right; I voted against them in matters of importance when they were clearly wrong; and in matters of small moment I did not vote at all: and why? I scorned, by voting for them in such matters, to seem

seem to pay court. To vote against them in such matters would have been absurd. What remained? Not to vote at all. If you call that absconding, going behind the chair, or escaping into the corridor, call it what you please, I say it was right. This is my plain way of dealing; it is common sense. I told Lord Buckinghamshire, I would not attend the cabinet councils of the sage Mr. Heron. Was that duplicity? I think not. I did more; I sent my resignation to England, to the same friend through whom the first communication was made to me on the subject of office; but, from the ideas of friendship to me, he took time to consider, and at length declined to deliver my resignation. I have said something of the middle period, I shall come to the third, viz. Lord Carlisle's administration, in which my conduct has been slandered as the conduct of an incendiary; when that idea took place in some minds I cannot tell, but this I am sure of, that the right honorable gentleman who censured me, was called an incendiary at that time, and so perhaps might I; but I am sure the right honorable gentleman at that time did not think me an incendiary more than himself. There was not a single instance in which he did not co-operate. If I am an incendiary, I shall gladly accept therefore of the society of that right honorable gentleman under the same appellation: but he laughed at the folly of the accusation at that time, and so do I now. If I was an incendiary, it was for moving what the parliaments of both kingdoms have since given their sanction to: if that is to be an incendiary, God grant I may continue so! In this administration it was that I was dismissed from office; now, Sir, I do not know that in general my dismissal from office was thought any disgrace to me: I do not think this house or the nation thought me dishonored by that dismissal. The first day I delivered those sentiments for which I was dismissed, I remember it well, I thought it for my honour; some very honorable and worthy gentlemen, some since dead, and some still alive, one of whom I shall ever love and shall ever lament; one of them is dead since to every thing but his own honor and the grateful memory of his country; one of them who thought me so little of the character of an incendiary, that he crossed the house, together with others, to congratulate me on the honor of my conduct, and to embrace me in open parliament. At that moment I think I stood clear to the imputation of being an incendiary. The character of an incendiary therefore seems to have been superinduced upon me of a sudden; it has sprouted out and germinated from that root of much evil, the simple repeal:

peal : since that moment only, it seems that I have been going down in the opinion of the public ; since that moment they have found out my character and conduct deserve all reprobation, and deserve the brand of being an incendiary ; and yet I can hardly prevail upon myself to think that is the case, because, since that moment, I have received more honorable testimonies from every corner of the kingdom, than that right honorable member has received in the same period. I shall return once more to the sentiments of that beloved character I have just described : he was a man, over whose life, or over whose grave, envy never hovered : he was a man, wishing ardently to serve his country himself, not wishing to monopolize the service, but wishing to partake and to communicate the glory of what passed : he gave me in his motion for a free trade, a full participation of the honor. Upon another occasion he said, I remember the words, they are traced with the pencil of gratitude on my heart, " That I was a man whom the most lucrative office " in the land had never warped in point of integrity." The words were marked, I am sure I repeat them fairly ; they are words I should be proud to have inscribed upon my tomb. Consider the man from whom they came ; consider the magnitude of the subject on which they were spoken ; consider the situation of the persons concerned, and it adds to, and multiplies the honor. My noble friend—I beg pardon, he did not live to be ennobled by patent, but he was born ennobled by nature ; his situation at that moment was this : he had found himself obliged to surrender office, and enter into active opposition to that government, from whom he had received it. I remained in office, though under the circumstance of having sent in my resignation ; that he did not know ; in political position therefore we were contradistinguished to each other : he did not know, while he was doing justice to me, but that he might be doing political detriment to himself ; he did not know but he might serve the administration he opposed ; but careless of every thing except justice and honor, he gave the sentiments of his heart, and he approved. I have mentioned, Sir, that short period, during which the character of an incendiary, if at all applicable to me, must have come upon me in the night, like an enemy, and have taken me unawares ; I cannot think the opinion of the public so transformed, when I see every corner of the country expressing their approbation of my conduct, one after another ; great and respectable societies of men, compared with whose sentiments the obloquy of an individual sinks into nothing. Even this very day, I have
received

received from the united delegates of the province of Connaught, an approbation, with one voice, as they express it, of that conduct, which has been slandered as the conduct of an incendiary. Here is a congregation of men, not one of whom I have ever seen, to none of whom I have ever a chance of doing a service, who could have nothing in contemplation, but the doing an act of justice. Sir, I may say, I had the same sanction from another province, that of Ulster. But it seems I went to Belfast in the character of an incendiary; I went to Dungannon in the character of an incendiary. Now I went to neither of those places but by an invitation, and if a person invited be an incendiary, what must those be that give the invitation? If I am an incendiary, all Ulster is an incendiary; if I am an incendiary, all Connaught is an incendiary—with two provinces therefore at my back, and with the parliament of England behind me—in their having coincided honorably, and nobly in that sentiment, which I sustained, I think I am not much afraid of any single and solitary accusation. But I have not only the parliaments of both kingdoms, I have the judicial power in my favour. If my doctrine was not right, Lord Mansfield's was not right; I ask you was he wrong? It has been said he was the enemy of both countries on that occasion. But has the accusation been proved? Lord Mansfield has many political enemies. The administration at the time would have been glad to have proved him an enemy to both countries, yet was there a man in the parliament of England, the greatest enemy to that noble judge, who attempted to find fault with his conduct? After having mentioned the judicial power, let me come to a highly respectable body, the corps of Lawyers in this country, who, after six months meditation by a committee chosen by ballot, gave their sanction to that opinion, which is the opinion of an incendiary, if I deserve that name. If Lord Mansfield be an incendiary, if the parliament of England be an incendiary, if the corps of Lawyers be incendiaries, if the Ulster delegates be incendiaries, if the Connaught delegates be incendiaries, and all the societies who have joined that opinion throughout the kingdom—if all these be incendiaries, in the name of God let me be added to the number, and let me be an incendiary too. But though I may be such an incendiary, I will never be that which would deserve the name; I will never by any hollow composition—lay the seed of future dissension. I will go clearly and fully to the work. I will be satisfied when satisfaction is given; my nature is as prone to satisfaction, and as distant from chagrin as that of any man. I ap-

peal to those who know me from my childhood, first at a public school, then at the university of this kingdom, then at the university of Oxford, and afterwards during twenty-four years, taking no very private part within the walls of this house—I have spoken to facts. I do not mean to arraign. Any man may be mistaken, and I wish to suppose any man to be really mistaken, rather than be so intendedly. I would rather reconcile all men to the public, than make unnecessary divisions. But though I would do every thing a man can do to prevent dissension, I cannot be expected to sacrifice my character to unlimited obloquy. Sir, one circumstance I must mention as it is somewhat extraordinary. It has been said by some authority on that side of the question, that I am the out-cast of government, and of my prince; certainly, Sir, my dismissal from office was attended with the extraordinary circumstance of my dismissal from council; therefore I suppose it is that the right honorable member has called me the out-cast of government and of my prince. It certainly, Sir, was an extraordinary transaction, but it was done in the case of Mr. Pulteney, it was done in the case of the Duke of Devonshire: therefore I suppose it will not be a decisive proof of any reprobated or factious character in the person to whom it happened. It is the first time it has been mentioned to my disadvantage. It was in the House of Lords of England mentioned to the disadvantage of the minister who was supposed to have done it, by a most respectable character; it was thought not to my dishonor here; it was thought not to my dishonor in the House of Lords of Ireland, where I have lately received from a very eminent peer, the sanction of sentiments very different from these. In a word, it is but the sentence of one tongue, and upon that tongue I leave it. I do not however pretend to dispute a ministerial fact, which a gentleman in confidence alleges. He has been in the confidence of the Duke of Portland, he is as much a minister as any man who is not in office.

Thus much, therefore, I must give to this ministerial assertion, that I shall find it impossible for me, under such an interdict, to pay my respects at his majesty's castle of Dublin, which otherwise I should be prompted to discharge. And I mention it, thus publicly, that my absence may not be interpreted into any want of the most perfect duty and loyalty to my prince, or of the greatest respect to the nobleman who presides there. I am not a man formed to court proscription; I will not seek disgrace; let it remain in its den, I will not revoke it. Sir, I have trespassed too long, and I am oppressed with the
weight

weight and multitude of thanks which I owe you and the house; I have troubled you too long upon a private subject, but, with your permission, I will endeavour to make amends the next day, by bringing before you a subject of more importance, the œconomy of the nation; I beg pardon for what I have said, I have promised too much, I am in your judgment whether I shall do it. You have heard what has passed upon my subject; I appeal to you, if I am that character that has been drawn; if I am that character in any degree, I do not deprecate your justice, but I call for it, and exhort you, for yourselves and your country, to get rid of a member who would be unworthy to sit among you.

No. LXXI.

Mr. Monke Mason's Speech against Parliamentary Reform. (P. 81.)

MR. John Monke Mason began the debate, by apologizing to the house for speaking at a time when he was so oppressed with a violent cold, that without their utmost indulgence he could not be heard at all. He said, I shall leave it to other gentlemen to point out to the house the absurdities of the plan that is now before you, and shall confine myself merely to the principle of the bill, and the reasons stated in support of it by the honorable gentleman by whom it was introduced, and the several petitions that lie on your table.

The honorable gentleman has said, that our present mode of representation is a novelty, and that what he contends for is not an innovation, but merely a restoration of the ancient constitution; and in the several petitions, it seems to be laid down as an incontrovertible maxim, that equality of representation is a fundamental principle of the English constitution; an assertion, which, I acknowledge, these people may support by the authority of several modern publications, the productions of ingenious and speculative men, who, in their vacant moments, when they have nothing else to do, amuse themselves with delineating a fantastical form of government, which they are pleased to entitle the constitution of England; and in reducing a series of political aphorisms, which they tell us are the principles

of that constitution; but I am confident they cannot support this assertion by any facts recorded in the general or parliamentary history of that country.

If the constitution requires an equal representation of the people, the gentlemen will tell us the year of what reign that parliament assembled, in which the people were equally represented. If equality of representation be a principle of the constitution, they will point to us the period, at which this principle had effectual operation;—if they cannot do that, they will never persuade any man of common sense, that that is the English constitution, which was never known to exist, or that that is a principle of the constitution which never has operated for a single moment of time, from the beginning of the world to the present hour.

It was not till the 34th of Henry VIII. that the county and city of Chester were impowered to send members to serve in parliament, it was not till 130 years after, in the 26th of Charles II. that this power was extended to the county and city of Durham. Could this possibly have happened, if equality of representation were a principle of the English constitution? In both these cases, specific acts of parliament were considered as requisite to invest them with this right. Could that have been thought necessary, if equality of representation were a principle of the constitution?

But to put this matter in a stronger light, it has ever been the undoubted prerogative of the crown, to impose the burden or extend the privileges of returning members to serve in parliament, to any communities or bodies of men that the king thought proper. This part of the prerogative has been constantly exercised without dispute or controul from the first institution of parliament to the time of the revolution: is it possible that this power should even have existed for a single moment, if equality of representation were a principle of the constitution?

The reformers themselves do not controvert either this power of the crown, or the validity of the charters that have been formerly granted in consequence of that power; but they alledge that many of the boroughs which were, at the time the charters were granted, in a flourishing condition, are now depopulated and gone to decay. With respect to those boroughs where the right of suffrage is vested in the inhabitants at large, I do not believe that the assertion is true; I believe that in the greater part of those towns there are as many Protestant inhabitants now as there were in the reign of King James I. and with respect to those, which these people call rotten boroughs,

roughs, where the right of suffrage is vested in a few persons only, the depopulation of the places can have no effect upon the representatives. Belfast is as much a rotten borough as Harristown; the number of inhabitants is nothing to the purpose, for those inhabitants could have no right to poll, and the members for such boroughs are returned at this day by the self-same numbers of voters that they were at the time that the charters were granted. I will therefore assert that this pretended reform is not a renovation of the ancient constitution, but an idle and dangerous innovation.

A scheme for reforming the representation of the people was proposed in the British parliament in the course of the last session, and was introduced by a gentleman, who, at an early period of life is already so distinguished for his virtue and abilities, that he bids fair to be one of the most illustrious characters that country has ever produced, his father not excepted. But notwithstanding the powerful support it derived from such respectable authority, the measure was rejected by that wise and prudent nation, even in the paroxysm of political reformation. They could not be insensible of the defects of their constitution, but they were sensible of the danger of tampering with it, and chose rather to suffer those defects to continue, than to hazard the consequence of breaking in upon a system sanctified by the wisdom of ages, and under which they had flourished for such a length of time.

Yet if the people of Great Britain, in the present deplorable situation of that country, fallen from the highest pinnacle of glory to a state of humiliating distress, deprived of half her empire, weighed down with a debt of 240 millions, and harassed with taxes so various and complicated, that they seem to have exhausted the invention of her ministers; if the people, I say, in this situation should begin to suspect that the numberless calamities they have lately suffered were owing to some inherent defect in their original constitution, and wish to amend it, it would not be surprising; but that the people of Ireland should quarrel with a constitution which has raised them to the utmost summit of their wishes, is the highest degree of folly and ingratitude; a constitution under which they have so lately obtained a full restitution of their natural rights, an unlimited freedom of commerce extended to every part of the globe, and the most perfect degree of judicial and legislative independence, that any nation upon earth has ever yet enjoyed; a constitution, in short, which has put them in possession of every blessing that can render a people flourishing and happy, except those which no constitution
can

can bestow; and which are only to be acquired by industry, sobriety, and obedience to the laws; these are the only blessings we want to make us the happiest nation upon earth; these are the virtues which every honest man, every true patriot, every man who has the real welfare of his country at heart should endeavour to inculcate on the minds of the people, instead of turning their brains with political jargon, which they do not understand, and visionary systems of government.—These are the virtues that will render us in a short time a nation of husbandmen and manufacturers, artificers and merchants; but at the rate we go on we bid fair to be a nation of politicians only, and shall appear as ridiculous to all the rational part of mankind as the inhabitants of Swift's imaginary island, who wasted the whole of their time in watching, with the utmost anxiety and solicitude, every change and motion of the heavenly bodies, whilst their wives and children were starving at home. The complaints of the people of Great Britain are extorted from them by the pressure of calamity; but, thank Heaven! the complaints of the people of Ireland are excited merely by wantonness of prosperity.

The wanton and innovating spirit of the times has given rise to another new doctrine in this country, which was diligently propagated at the last general election, and seems to have been intended to pave the way for this pretended reformation.—The doctrine I mean is this, that the representatives are bound to pay implicit obedience to the commands of their constituents. A doctrine repugnant to the first principle of the constitution, which is, that a member, when elected, becomes the representative of the nation at large, not merely of that particular place that returned him to parliament; a doctrine which tends to destroy the unity of the state, and to degrade the dignity of this house; for if this doctrine be established, you are no longer the free independent representative of a great and powerful kingdom, but the fettered deputies of a parcel of petty communities; united indeed under one common sovereign, but as distinct from each other as the cantons of Switzerland, are from the provinces of America. If this doctrine is to prevail, if we are to be divided into these petty communities, it is just that each district should have its particular representatives; but if we adhere to the liberal and truly constitutional principle, that each member is the representative of the nation at large, every part of the kingdom is equally represented; and every county of the kingdom has not two only but three hundred representatives.

As an instance of the happy effects that would attend this new doctrine,
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let me recall the recollection of the house to the ridiculous scene that was exhibited on the floor in the beginning of last session; when an honorable member, by order of his constituents, moved, that the bill of supply should be granted for six months only. On the division he went into the lobby, and was followed by every county member in the house, a few only excepted, who walked across the floor, many of whom apologizing with their looks and gestures, for the absurd part they were acting, and deploring at once their own servile subjection, and the folly of their constituents.

Yet these, we are told, are the only independent members of the house;—independent indeed they are; independent of reason—independent of judgment—independent of choice—independent of every kind of public virtue; which can have no existence without free agency.

This plan of reformation originated with the congress of Dungannon, who, after they had resolved to adopt it, directed their secretary to write circular letters to every meddling priest, every political mountebank, whose names they read of in the English newspaper, whom they rendered the arbiters of the Irish constitution. These letters have since been published by authority; but why do we not find amongst them any letter to Mr. Pitt, the advocate for reform in the British parliament? Because they well knew that the sentiments of Mr. Pitt were not congenial to their own; that he did not desire to go the lengths which they were determined to proceed; his scheme of reform was confined to an addition of a certain number to the members for counties, and great communities. That the representatives of the people should presume to disfranchise their own constituents; that they should attempt to deprive, of their chartered rights, and most invaluable privileges, the persons to whose bounty they were indebted for their seats, and whose confidence had enabled them to strike that mortal blow, was a monstrous idea that never entered into the mind of that virtuous man, and was only reserved for that self-created monster, the congress of Dungannon.

I shall now beg leave to make a few observations on the motives and consequences of this pretended reform. The avowed motive is a desire to diminish the aristocratic power in this kingdom; but I am thoroughly convinced, that this plan would counteract their own intentions, and increase the very interest they wish to destroy. The natural consequence of this reform will be to throw the whole weight of power and influence in this country into
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the scale of property, and to bar for ever the doors of this house against rising genius and aspiring virtue.

I shall not hesitate to assert, that Great Britain owes the glory from which she has lately fallen, and Ireland the glory to which she has arisen, and which I hope she will ever maintain, to these very rotten boroughs that are now so reprobated.

You cannot but remember the wretched situation of Great Britain in 1757, when she had France alone to contend with; so sunk were the power, the resources, and even the spirit of the nation, that instead of making any vigorous efforts against this single enemy, she thought it necessary to bring over twelve thousand German troops to save her from invasion. Such was the situation of Great Britain when Lord Chatham took the helm; and such was the effect of the abilities and spirit of this one man, that in three years time the French were driven from the continent of America, and deprived of the finest of their West Indian islands. Yet who was Mr. Pitt? a younger brother with 2000*l.* fortune, and a cornetcy of horse, who had no more chance of representing any great community in England than I have at this instant. Had he not been returned for a rotten borough he might have lived in obscurity, and his virtues had been lost to himself and to his country. What chance had Mr. Burke, who is an honor to this country; what chance had Mr. Fox, whose abilities are the objects of general admiration, of representing the cities of Bristol and Westminster, if they had not first displayed their abilities, by being returned for private boroughs?

But to come nearer home, I will venture to assert, that you owe the emancipation of Ireland to those boroughs. I will venture to assert, that you are principally indebted for the restitution of your rights to the spirit, the abilities, the perseverance, and real integrity of the honorable gentleman near me; and I am supported, in this assertion, by the unanimous vote of this house, and the universal voice of the people at that time, though now I find he has lost some part of his popularity by the most virtuous action of his life: the preferring the real substantial interests of his country to an idle punctilio.—What chance had this gentleman, with all his abilities, of representing any but a private borough? Who were his principal assailants in this great revolution? members for rotten boroughs.—I know but of one county member who took a distinguishable part on that occasion; I mean the right honorable gentleman who represents the county of Wexford, and who is justly entitled to
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the second place in the gratitude of the public. Had this measure taken place but three years ago, which these people contended for as necessary to their freedom, it is probable that Ireland would not now be free; and that instead of wasting your time in this idle speculation, you would now be deploring the shackles imposed upon your trade, or the power assumed by the British parliament to make laws to bind this country. I shall conclude, conjuring the gentlemen who hear me, that they will not be such dupes as to believe, that by passing this bill they will satisfy the people. He must be a young politician indeed, and but little acquainted with the history of mankind, or the human heart, who thinks that a people can be satisfied with concessions. If it was possible that concessions could satisfy a people, would there, at this day, be a murmur in Ireland? Besides, people have acted fairly on this occasion, they have told you that the passing of this bill will not satisfy them. This pretended reform is only the first of an alphabet of innovations, which the congress of Dungannon have voted, as necessary for the freedom of the people, and have determined to pursue; that they have been advised in the first instance to lay their shoulders to this particular object. If you yield to them in this point, they will attack you on some other, and so proceed from innovation to innovation, till they have subverted your constitution both in church and state; this is therefore the time to resist their encroachments.

Sir Hercules Langrishe.—I am glad this great question, which has so much engaged the public mind, and been agitated with so much industry from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, has at length been brought before parliament; and it is now our duty to give it a full, a free, and patient discussion. If the evil that it supposes has existence, and the remedy it offers be adequate and safe, it will have many powerful advocates here. On the other hand, if it states defects that do not exist, and offers remedies that are neither safe nor applicable, it is better the House of Commons should decide against it at once, that the people may no longer be disturbed or deceived by it. And now let me say, if I wanted any new proof of the superior excellence of our happy constitution, that alteration was unnecessary and amendment impracticable, the plan of reform now read at your table would furnish ample testimony: for when two gentlemen of such distinguished abilities, assisted by deliberate assemblies in their own country, and enlightened by the oracles that have been consulted in another country; when gentlemen of

such talents, so assisted, have at length produced such a plan of reform, I am justified in thinking that the task is beyond the strength of man. And convinced as I am, that our present constitution, in its present condition, is competent to every degree of civil liberty, I must also be convinced that amendment is a dream, and alteration would not be wisdom.

Consider now, Sir, the plan before you, consider it impartially, and tell me, is it founded in any one principle which it professes? Does it tend to remove any one evil that it imagines? Does it meet any one of the ideas that have amused the people? No, not one! Is it a plan for an equal representation of the people? No; it leaves above three-fourths of the people as it found them, unrepresented. Is it a plan for a more equal representation of the people in parliament? No, it renders the representation much more unequal than it found it: for instance, a freeholder in one barony, by this bill, may vote for four, or six, or eight members of parliament; a freeholder in the next barony shall vote only for two members. Is this to render the representation of the people more equal? Good God! how the people are deceived! how they are abused!

Is it a plan for the more equal representation of property, the ancient and original title to representation? No, Sir, the reverse! If this bill as you see it were a law, a worthy and respectable gentleman in the county to which I belong, who has 4000*l.* per annum, landed estate in one barony, would thereby be entitled to vote for two members, and the servant who stands behind my chair, who is possessed of a 40*s.* freehold in a neighbouring barony, shall vote for eight members of parliament. Is it a plan to enlarge the basis of legislation, by encreasing the number of the constituent body? No, Sir, it diminishes, it contracts, it strikes off thousands and tens of thousands of your electors; it disfranchises every freeman in the nation who does not hold by birth, servitude, marriage, or trade. It disfranchises every freeholder under 20*l.* per annum, who does not reside. It demolishes the whole tribe of potwallopers; men intitled to vote in right of residence (the freest title the constitution knows) are to be extinct, unless they can call in to their aid a multitude of freeholders in general too great to be found. For instance, if a borough were to consist of 5000 Protestant inhabitants, intitled and accustomed to vote; no matter, they shall be extinguished unless they likewise have within their precincts 70 or 100 resident voters, qualified according to this act, which no borough in Ireland has, and which few ever would have. But it
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effects a new creation to supply this general massacre; it confers a right to vote for those boroughs to others. To whom? To freeholders; persons who were intitled to vote for other members before. It is true; amongst those a class of freeholders is incorporated, (new indeed to the constitution) freeholders on terms for years; but the freehold required is of so large amount, that their numbers will be small. Now let me ask, is it a plan to increase the number of your representatives? No, Sir, to diminish it! In the first instance, it decays and depopulates every borough, and almost every city in the kingdom. For I do believe not one of them contains within its precincts 100 voters qualified and registered according to this bill. I have heard of a clause of redemption for them. I only know what I see, and I see no such thing in this bill; and if such clause or schedule were inserted, it would, on the principle of the bill, impose conditions that must for ever exclude several of them from restoration.

And here I lament the destiny, though I admire the virtue of the town of Newry, who petitioned for this reform. With their 12,000 inhabitants, all intitled, if they were Protestants, to vote for members, yet they are all disfranchised unless they also contain within their precincts, 100 of another sort of voters, qualified according to this bill. (He applied the principle and effects to Drogheda, Waterford, Kilkenny, Limerick, Cork, &c. and concluded with the borough of Dungannon.) And here let me lament the fate of poor Dungannon, at once the pride and the reproach of her sons; Dungannon so late the centre of government, the head of legislation, the seat of empire, unless you have within your precincts (which I am sure you have not) 100 voters qualified according to this bill, you are decayed, depopulated, and extinct. Will you not spare this town on account of the righteous people that were found therein? I know not whether you have a redemption in store, but I know your redemption is not to be found in the bill on your table. What then can the friends of this bill, (if any such there be) what can they say of it? They cannot say it is a bill for an equal representation of the people. A bill for a more equal representation of the people, a bill for the more equal representation of property, a bill to widen the basis of legislation, to increase the number of electors, to increase the number of representatives: No such thing! quite the reverse! In the name of heaven what is its tendency? Is it a reform on any one settled principle? Does it, or would it correct any one abuse? No, Sir, it is nothing but alteration; a transfer of elec-

tion influence from one set of men to another, which would produce two or three years contest and confusion, and then, by corruption or compromise, the dominion would settle with the most powerful of the neighbourhood. The power would change hands, but the exercise of it would be the same. And is it for this mighty benefit that the antient habits of the constitution are to be changed? For this your country is to be visited by jubilee of licentiousness, a saturnalia of anarchy for a few years, before it reposes again in the abuses you now complain of. Yet this is the great arcanum, the sacred mystery sent abroad, like the miracles of Mahomet assisted by the sword, from the north to the south, from the east to the west, to subdue the obdurate, and multiply subscribers to the true faith. I do not mean the least disrespect to any man in what I say of this plan of reform. I speak as I think of it. I think it all confusion and danger, and nothing else. And it shews me into what inconsistencies even wise men will fall when they attempt a reform, where reformation is unnecessary, what insupportable difficulties they encounter in an attempt to new model a constitution which has stood for centuries the admiration and envy of the world, and distinguished from all others by having preserved civil liberty on the earth at this day. Under those opinions, and with this veneration for the constitution, I will not so far admit its defects as to go into a committee to amend it. I will not carry into a committee this chaos of rude materials, out of which to create a new constitution, when I have one already formed so competent to human happiness. I will not go paragraph by paragraph through a plan of alteration, where alteration is not necessary. I will not keep the public mind longer in a state of suspense between free government and fruitless speculation, but endeavour to rescue public tranquillity from the designs or delusions of the visionary, the rash, and the restless.

Much has been said, and much has been inferred concerning the petitions which are displayed on your table; but when gentlemen talk of those petitions, they forget that there are between two and three millions of inhabitants in this country. There are several petitions on your table for a reform, some against it. I have no doubt but the majority of your petitions is in favour of reform, because innovation is ever the most active. But it matters not on which side the majority lies; take them all together, they are but as a drop of water to the ocean of your population; they are as a unit in comparison to the numbers of your people. And if those persons, however respectable,
petition

petition for any great innovation, you have no right to conclude the multitude on the suggestion of the few; and even if it were possible to suppose (which it is not) that a majority of the people petitioned for an alteration of the constitution intrusted to you, you have not a right to comply; you have not, in that case, a right to indulge their desires, or inflict on them the accomplishment of their wishes. If you comply in what you think a public injury, you are an accomplice in the injury, and betray the interest of the people on the bribe of their own favors.

It is to be lamented by every man, who feels for the honor and the happiness of this country, that after the reputation we have acquired and the benefits we have obtained; acquisitions, limited only by the bounds of our own demands, and adequate to every degree of human happiness; we should offer our enemies a pretext for charging us with a light, an inconstant, and restless character; as if the accomplishment of our wishes was but the beginning of our discontents, and unlimited demand the offspring of unlimited concession; that we were falling under the description Montesquieu gives of a people unworthy of liberty;

“ A people grown impatient of the power they have delegated, desirous to do every thing themselves, debate for the senate, execute for the magistrate, and decide for the judges.” That having obtained the best constitution in the world, we had not the patience to try it for one session of parliament; but in contempt of the high legislative assemblies, resolved ourselves in five hundred little parliaments in every corner of the kingdom, where we voted that constitution an unalterable grievance, and called aloud for a new one.

Were I at liberty to remonstrate with my countrymen, whom I love, I would ask them, do you enjoy freedom? They must answer in the affirmative. Have you commerce? Undoubted as the ocean that surrounds you. Are you in possession of all the blessings that can flow from the best and freest government? You are. Is it then wisdom, is it common sense, when you are sure of those, to throw them back into the ocean of uncertainty, to commit them to the wilderness of speculation, or hazard of experiment? Is it wisdom to interrupt your enjoyment of every thing that is valuable, by dreams of something more free than freedom, more desirable than happiness? The lowest man in the community has wisdom enough to feel the force of this maxim: “ When you are well keep yourselves so.” But there is not a
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philosopher in the nation wise enough to say, what would be the consequence of a change: neither Solon, nor Lycurgus, nor Plato, nor Locke, nor Sidney, if they were alive, would hazard a conjecture as to the effects on the constitution. If you were to adopt any one of those plans which have been offered to you, they might make a democracy, they might make an aristocracy, they might encrease the power of the crown, they might make any thing but the constitution of England; yet every man in the community, the gentleman and the artificer, the learned and the unlearned, the man who can read, and the man who cannot, are all alike ready to undertake the task of constitution-making; or, if any of them should happen not to have leisure from the shuttle or the plough, they have only to say, "we entirely agree in the plan of reform digested and agreed on by the grand national convention." And there is a constitution ready made to their hands. I do not say our constitution, the work only of human wisdom, is without defect; but there is an inherent strength in it, that has in all convulsions produced remedies for its evils and controuls for its excesses; and through many revolutions has maintained liberty to this day. Now you have got it do not throw it away; condescend to enjoy it and be happy; your country wants improvement; your constitution does not; cultivate the one, and you will be sure to enjoy the other. But if you grow discontented with your form of government, and are distracted about new schemes and new systems, you will be dupes of designing men in your own country, and strangers will not come near you. Amidst your controversies and your arms, the stranger would not know where to find the laws that are to be his protection; and you may find, perhaps too late, that you have been cheated of your happiness; you will be thought an unreasonable, and you will feel yourselves an unfortunate people; a people whom commerce could not enrich, and whom freedom could not satisfy:

No. LXXII.

The Speeches of Mr. Grattan and Mr. Beresford on the Revenues of Ireland. (P. 85.)

MR. GRATTAN began with observing, though the interference of a person utterly unconnected with revenue matters, in that department which was
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so ably administered by the present commissioners, might have somewhat of an invidious aspect, yet he was happy to declare that those gentlemen had not viewed it in that light, but had with the utmost alacrity given him every possible assistance, in promoting the object for which the committee was appointed, and it appeared to him throughout, that they had acted not only honorably and diligently, but with a laudable ambition to distinguish themselves in the faithful discharge of the high trust reposed in them. He therefore desired to be considered, as not imputing the smallest fault or applying the least censure to those gentlemen, while he endeavoured to rectify some errors and abuses, that in a succession of many years, and under different boards, had found way into the revenue establishment. Having said this, in justification of the present commissioners, to whom he declared no blame was imputable,

He proceeded to state the expence of collecting the revenue at two periods, viz. 1758 and 1783.

In 1758, he stated the expence of collecting to have amounted to	£81,000
In 1783, it amounted to	180,000
In the latter period, he allowed that	23,000

an expence incurred by the new custom-house was included; but

deducting that expence, the expence of collecting amounted to 157,000

The increase of collecting, he said, did not arise from the increase of articles taxed, or any necessity of adding to the number of officers employed in collecting, as was obvious to any one who would consider that most of the new taxes were only additional duties on articles heretofore taxed; and it was as easy for an officer to receive two shillings as one on any article; therefore that the increase of expence arose from the increase of salaries, he thought might very fairly be presumed.

In the year 1758, the expence of collecting, he said, was about 13 per cent. at present it is 16.

The revenue expences are divided into two classes—the establishment and the incidents.

In 1758, the establishment was	£58,000
In 1783,	92,000
In 1758, the incidents were	17,000
In 1783,	79,000

The per centage for a course of years fluctuated from ten to fourteen; at present

present it is sixteen; so that the expence of collecting the revenue is not increased by the increase of the revenue itself, but by the increase of the percentage.

I have now, Sir, continued he, shewn you the facts, but not their causes; in order to come at their causes, I moved that an account should be laid before the committee of all the additions that had been made to the revenue establishments since 1758, stating the causes of such additions, and the authority by which they were made; this account was made out, it employed several clerks for several weeks, and is indeed so voluminous, that I own I have not yet had time to look through it; I do not therefore condemn nor approve what may there be found; when the committee examines, they will be the best judges; they will, I believe, see much to reform; and I am convinced from the candour of the commissioners, which I have already experienced, they will have their assistance.

I find that there exists a charity fund for superannuated officers, such as have served forty years without censure: this fund is supplied by a stoppage of six-pence in the pound of all salaries, and the superannuated officer receives out of it 3-5ths of his salary. When this fund has been found insufficient, from the increased number of revenue officers, pensions have been granted on the incidents, in order to make it out. The progress is natural, from private charity to public bounty, and from public bounty to abuse. Every man who is tired of doing his duty, or who is unable or unwilling to do it, if he can make interest with government, gets an order to the commissioners, and is immediately put on the revenue incidents, from which he in fact receives a pension; not an open, but a masked pension. I do not speak of the present administration, or the present commissioners. This abuse has been growing five and twenty years; the present is the proper time to check it.

I find that the number of pensions on the incidents are 343—I have made observations on almost all of them, but I will not go through the painful task of animadverting on them now, as my object is to prevent future abuses, not to disturb the present possessors; I must, however, remark, that having served forty years, has not always been deemed a necessary title to a pension; thirty-eight years, thirty-five years, twenty-nine years, twenty-two years, and sometimes the words *long service*, have been deemed sufficient.

Great importunity, I know, will at last prevail over men; and however the commissioners may determine to act with rigorous attention, and to grant no
pensions

pensions but to men who have served the necessary period of forty years, yet still they will be fortified in their determination by a resolution of this house; besides there are many offices in the revenue that may be performed by men who are become unfit for the more active and laborious duties; and by putting such men into those easy offices, the necessity of pensions may in a great measure be obviated.

The orders of government have sometimes issued to place persons on the revenue incidents, without any reference to the commissioners, or any reason being assigned to entitle the pensioner to such. This kind of procedure carries its own censure along with it. Government would not issue a peremptory order, if any reasons could be found for granting such pensions. This is, I think, a very great hardship on the commissioners, who often resisted, but resisted in vain. Where men are responsible, they should have power; and what they have not power to controul, they should not be answerable for.

To remedy this abuse, and to fortify the commissioners, I will propose a resolution, "That no person shall be entitled to receive a pension on the revenue incidents, who has not served forty years without censure, or who has not been so wounded or hurt in discharge of his duty, as to be rendered totally unfit for service; or who is not the widow of some officer that has lost his life in the revenue service."

I find, Sir, that there have been granted several additional salaries, which have been continued to the successors of the grantee:—This practice I would abolish, as nothing would be more absurd, than to reward John for the services performed by Tom.

Some expence has also been incurred by the experimental offices:—These cannot be abolished, but may be limited to two years.

I come now to useless officers, whose employments, I think, ought to be abolished as they fall in; though it would be cruel to turn the present possessors adrift, as they have no other means of living.

And first, land-carriage officers. These appear to be of very little use, and from the nature of their duty cannot well be moved into any other situation. It is impossible for them to perform any considerable service, except by searching all persons coming in or going out of the city; and this would be a breach of law, and an high infringement of the subject's liberty.

I desired to know the amount of salaries paid to this class of men for ten years last past, and find it amounts to 12,000*l.* the seizures made by them in

the same space of time amount to 1000*l*. Their usefulness may be estimated from those circumstances.

Coast officers are of as little use as land-carriage officers, and with them ought to be abolished.

I sent for a paper to inform myself concerning hearth-money officers. I find that since the year 1760, the hearth-money has increased 10,000*l*. per annum, and that the expence of collecting it has increased one-third; the revenue of hearth-money has increased one-sixth, and the expence of collecting it one-third:—this is in a great measure owing to the creation of new collectors. I enquired into the necessity of that creation, and was informed that it arose from the great extent of some of the former districts; a single collector being formerly obliged to collect in a range often from thirty to forty miles. Yet I do not find that any great increase of the hearth-money took place directly after the creation of additional collectors; and the 10,000*l*. a year, which I have stated may, I think, rather be supposed to arise from the increase of houses in twenty-four years, than from the increase of hearth-money collectors.

Hearth-money supervisors appear to me very useless officers, and may be put down; but this I submit to the commissioners; at present I do not mean to take any further notice either of them or coast officers.

The law expences incurred by the revenue every year are already enormously great, and ought to be reduced; I speak freely on this head, because I know that the present law servants of the crown are too independent in fortune and principle, to regard any vails of this sort.

The number of bills passed each session have increased, and the sessions being in future annual, must also multiply expence; this is therefore a subject worthy of enquiry: I do not mean to move any thing on it at present, but shall just mention that within a very short space, the law expences have amounted to 11,000*l*.

Revenue cruizers have been another subject of very great expence.

The seizures made by these vessels amount to 40,000*l*.

The expence of their establishment to 140,000*l*. Till of late there has been one great error in the mode of conducting these vessels, which is now rectified by the commissioners. The error was this: the captain of each cruizer was permitted to supply his own crew with provisions, for which he made a charge against the revenue. Now it is manifest, that this made it his interest

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to have nominally a large crew, but actually a small one. That it was his interest to stay on shore, where his men being at liberty to provide for themselves, while he charged their daily allowance; and that he never could want a pretence to stay on shore; and while he was always at liberty to have his vessel under repair, to enlarge her from time to time, always enlarging his crew in proportion; this was indeed, a most happy invention to reward men for not doing their duty; and this I am happy to see abolished.

The next abuse that I shall state is, the absence of collectors from their districts.

The collector is an officer of very great consequence, and the true performance of his duty would be of high advantage to the public. In his district he has all the authority of a commissioner; he should regulate all the officers under him; and yet so far are many collectors from doing this, that they scarce ever see the place of their collection, but leave their duty to be done by a clerk, whom the law does not recognize, and who is not answerable to the board for his conduct; he gives no security to the public; and not unfrequently have great sums been lost by trusting to such men. One of my resolutions, therefore, goes to compel the residence of collectors.

Another regulation that I think would much promote the due collection of the revenue is, the raising of officers from the lower to the higher departments in succession; I do not mean an indiscriminate succession by seniority, but that in every department of the revenue, as at present in the excise, men acquainted with the business should rise by successive degrees, and that he who has been checked, should check in his turn.

The surveyors-general have two salaries, one a fixed salary of 300*l.* a year on the establishment, the other 200*l.* on the incidents. I would wish to have this altered, and that they should be paid a premium of a certain sum per day, while they were in the performance of their duty.

I come now to the last article, though I mean first to move upon it, because gentlemen who coincide with me on most of the other points which I have mentioned, differ upon this.

The custom-officers—they were originally effective officers, but when the revenue was formed, they were rendered useless, and therefore we now find them on our civil establishment; afterwards, when the crown took the revenue into its own hands, it was thought prudent to employ in the collection the persons that had been employed by the farmers; the custom officers continued

useless; notwithstanding this, additional salaries have been granted to them, which are in fact masked pensions. I know while I speak on this subject, I stand on delicate ground; but with what face could I propose a reduction of petty officers, and leave those great ones remaining? The greatness of the persons who possess them are my best apology, for while their talents and fortune render them fit for the highest departments in the state, I trust their magnanimity will teach them to despise the paltry emoluments of custom offices. I would not venture to speak thus to inferior minds, but as I have had the aid of some of those gentlemen in the other parts of the reform I have proposed, I doubt not they will assist me, even where they are themselves in some degree affected.

I have called those additional salaries, masked pensions; they are so indeed, and of the most exceptionable kind. There are not, indeed, above seven or eight of them in the kingdom, but they may increase, and this is the time to stop them; I have therefore prepared a resolution for that purpose, which will not affect the present possessors, but eventually will prove highly advantageous to the nation.

Mr. Grattan then moved his resolution, "To prevent the grant of any future additional salary to custom officers."

Right Honorable John Beresford—I was very happy, Sir, when the right honorable gentleman undertook the task of enquiring into the cause of the great expence of collecting the revenue, because I was very certain, that an enquiry, ably and impartially conducted, would fully evince to the public, that the assertions which have been so liberally made for some years past, and the insinuations which have been thrown out, of the prodigality and profusion of the present board of commissioners of the revenue, were without any sort of foundation. I therefore took the liberty of seconding the right honorable gentleman's motion for this enquiry, and I am now, not a little proud, to find that a four months laborious examination has confirmed my constant assertions, and overturned the several charges laid to the door of the revenue board; the right honorable gentleman has fully acquitted them; but has stated some errors and abuses, which appear to him to have crept into the revenue establishment, in a succession of many years, which he wishes to be rectified.

He has stated, that since the year 1758, the per centage expence of collecting the revenue has greatly increased.

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If the right honorable gentleman will take the trouble of examining that voluminous heap of papers, (custom house accounts, and reports, which Mr. Grattan had called for) he will find, that he has chosen an unfair æra for his comparison, for that immediately after the period of 1758, at which time there had been a parliamentary enquiry into the management of the revenue, there was not only a general increase of the number of tide waiters, and boatmen in the several ports of the kingdom, but that an addition was made to their salaries, whereby there was an increase to the establishment of about 10,000*l.* a year.

The right honorable gentleman will also see that since the isle of Man was ceded to the crown of Great Britain, the whole system of preventing smuggling has necessarily undergone a total change, and a change attended with a great additional expence; before that period our cruisers consisted of small open wherries, which were sufficient to guard our coasts against smugglers, who carried on their trade in the same sort of vessels; but since by the cession of the Isle of Man, the smugglers have been driven to Dunkirk, Gottenburg, and other distant ports, and of course have been obliged to increase the size of the shipping. We have been obliged to follow them, step by step, until we have got to stout cruisers, fitted out with from twelve to twenty pieces of cannon, and well furnished with ammunition, and manned with an adequate number of seamen. Such an alteration in our naval establishment, every gentleman must see, was necessarily attended with a very great additional expence.

The law expences of the revenue have also increased exceedingly, and particularly that part of them which arises from the business of drawing bills for this house. Formerly there were but three bills to be paid for; the great money bill, as it is called, the loan bill, and the revenue bill; of late years, the enlargement of our trade has necessarily caused many bills every session, which amount to an enormous expence.

The business of the commissioners of the revenue is infinitely increased, inasmuch that instead of meeting at eleven o'clock, and adjourning at two, we are obliged to meet at half-past ten, and sit until four, and often until five o'clock; the increase of business of course is attended with an increase of expence.

The right honorable gentleman has said, that the per centage of the collection has varied very considerably since the year 1758, from twelve to sixteen per cent. The nature of incidental expences is variable, they cannot be otherwise; but the high per centage of one year is not a proof of an increased establishment.

establishment. For instance, the highest per centage I remember, was in the year 1781; when the collection came to eighteen per cent. in 1782, it cost but sixteen; and yet the actual sum expended in the latter year was higher than that of the former, although the per centage was less, for the per centage does not depend solely upon the number of officers, or their salaries, but upon the proportion which the expence bears to the sum collected; and therefore because in the year 1781, the revenue was very low, and the sum collected small, the per centage amounted to eighteen per cent. whereas in the following year, when the sum collected was larger, the per centage was but sixteen, although the expence of collecting was higher than the year before. Let the expence of collecting be the same in two given years, and let the sum collected in one of them be double that of the other, and the per centage will be but half as much in that year.

It has been the fashion for several years to judge of the expence of collecting our revenue, by comparing it with the collection of the customs and excise in England. Nothing can be falser than such a comparison, because every part of England where officers are stationed is productive, every port brings in revenue to the public, and the excise is universally productive: But what is the case in Ireland? Perhaps gentlemen will be surpris'd to hear that out of twenty-five ports there are but seven, which pay the expence of collecting, although the necessity of a revenue establishment in the other nineteen is a fact too manifest to require the aid of argument.

I shall, however, to open gentlemen's eyes, just state to the house a few instances:—Cork and Limerick are two of the productive ports; between them lie Kinfale, Baltimore, and Tralee or Dingle, ports which do not go near to pay the expence of their own establishments; the collection of Kinfale costs one hundred and thirty-nine per cent. that of Dingle one thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven, and that of Baltimore two thousand three hundred per cent. but if these ports even were left unguarded, very little indeed would be collected at Cork or Limerick, the smugglers would soon find an easy way of supplying these two great cities from the inferior ports.

If any man has a mind to judge fairly of the collection of the revenue, let him not go to ports which have no trade, which cannot pay their own establishment, but let him look at the productive ports; in Dublin, where the expence is the heaviest, both in the incidental and established expences, because the greatest part of the law expence is incurred there, and most of the repairs and
building

building of boats and vessels is executed there, and on account of the great weight of the new custom-house expence, and because the salaries of the commissioners and all the principal and cheque officers are paid there, the per centage amounts to sixteen per cent.—in Limerick it is but fourteen, in Belfast but nine, in Londonderry but eight, in Waterford but seven and a half, in Cork but six.

Instead of comparing Ireland with England, it would be more just to compare her with Scotland, in point of revenue collection, because that her situation and circumstances are more similar to ours. If this be done, it will be found that the per centage in Scotland amounts to thirty-three per cent.

But if gentlemen will compare this country with England, they should, I insist upon it, only take the net revenue of England into the account, for the circumstances of England and Ireland are very different indeed in point of importation; the former imports not only for her own consumption, but for that of the whole world; the latter for her own consumption only. England has her colonies in Asia, Africa and America, and she brings home the produce of all these colonies to her own ports, where they pay a great duty at import; but as these goods are not for her consumption only, but to be exported again to other countries, and not only to draw back these duties so paid, but to receive a bounty possibly on the exportation, the real duty returned, that is, the duty on their own consumption, is all that can fairly be compared with the duties of a country which has no colonies, and which imports only for her own use.

Gentlemen who have chosen to compare our collection with that of England, have asserted, that our's cost fourteen per cent. when the customs of England cost but seven. Now, in making this calculation, gentlemen have taken the mere salaries and incidents, as they appear upon the face of the highest custom-house accounts, and have omitted many expences, particularly those of the revenue cruisers and the admiralty cruisers employed in the revenue service, the expence of which they will find in the late report of the committee appointed to enquire into the state of smuggling, &c. in England. If they take these into the account, they will find it to stand thus:

The gross revenue of customs is in England	-	-	-	£. 3,873,985
Expence of collection, as stated in custom-house accounts	-	-	-	281,209
To which add the revenue cruisers	-	-	-	42,845
Admiralty cruisers in revenue service	-	-	-	220,220
				<hr/>
				£. 544,274

This will be found to be as one hundred are to fourteen, or fourteen per cent. upon the gross—But if you calculate upon the net revenue, you will find it as one hundred are to twenty-one, or twenty-one per cent. and in this calculation the expences attending law are not included, which must be very heavy, as all suits are carried on in the Exchequer. So that take this matter in any light, and the statement and assertions of gentlemen will be found to be erroneous.

In 1744, after the union of the boards, this change of our establishment was 5000*l.* greater than it was last year; a sure proof that the present commissioners have not been wanting in their endeavours to reduce them.

The incidents, I acknowledge, are very great; but deduct 23,000*l.* the expence incurred by the new custom-house, and they are brought into a more moderate compass. We are still endeavouring to cut them down further, and if any gentleman will point out a single article in that account of incidents, now lying on your table, where a saving can be made, I shall be ready hereafter to suffer any censure the house can devise, if such saving be not made.

The next objects taken notice of by the right honorable gentleman are, the salaries of the superannuated officers. These salaries arise from two funds, one is a subscription amongst the officers themselves, from which every man who has been a subscriber for seven years is entitled to an annuity proportioned to his rate of subscription. The right honorable gentleman will see that this is the private property of the officers themselves, purchased with their own money, and over which parliament can have no controul.

The other fund is the common incidents. As to the pensions granted on this, I confess I agree with the right honorable gentleman, that many of them are very great abuses. Of late, it is grown a fashion for men to get out upon their full salaries: most people would rather be paid for doing nothing, than for doing something. For my own part, I should like it very well myself; but at the same time I know, that while I am able to do my duty I ought to be compelled to do it. I agree with the right honorable gentleman, as to the period of service which should entitle a man to be superannuated on his full salary: forty years was fixed by Sir William Osborne, when first I went into the revenue, but soon after that rule was broken through, and men of all standings allowed to enjoy their otium. However, I must, say that if the board had not frequently remonstrated with government against this practice, the number on the list would have been double at this day. If there are now
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upon it 343 numbers, as the right honorable gentleman has stated, many of them are widows, who were put upon it by the humanity of Lord Buckingham; during his administration the widows fund failed, and if he had not been graciously pleased to interfere for their relief, these poor people must have starved.

The right honorable gentleman seems to think land-carriage officers useless, but I can assure him they are a very necessary set of men. Their duty is to watch the avenues of great cities, and see that all exciseable goods have permits; and the very reason why they do not make seizures is, because their vigilance is known to be so great, that smugglers will not run the risk of bringing their goods past them. However, if land-carriage officers make few seizures, it is amply compensated by another set of men, who have no salaries at all, but what arise from a fund created by themselves—the preventive officers: these men have made very considerable seizures indeed.

Mr. Beresford then proceeded to the hearth-money; pointed out the abuses that had obtained in that department, and the remedies that had been applied; from which he went on to the article of revenue cruisers, agreeing with Mr. Grattan in what he had said concerning them: he also agreed with him as to the necessity of collectors residing within their districts, and as to the propriety of deserving officers being promoted in succession, and the mode proposed of paying surveyors general: in a word, he agreed with the whole of Mr. Grattan's plan of regulation, save only as to custom officers, who, he said, were officers by the common law, were absolutely necessary, and ought not to be abolished.

No. LXXIII.

The Speech of Mr. Gardiner on Irish Commerce. (P. 85.)

MR. GARDINER said, it is not my fault that this business lies under an additional disadvantage, from the late part of the session in which it is introduced. It is in the recollection of gentlemen, that no endeavours of mine were wanting to bring it in on an earlier day. I must confess this is an arduous business, and far exceeding my strength; but I hope and request the assistance of gentlemen of greater talents than I possess. I only furnish the raw materials, let them erect the superstructure.

I shall, fir, first state the purport of my propositions. This is a measure to restrain importation, but does not affect the exportation of raw materials. Gentlemen would have the evidence on that head also included in the report of the committee, but one had no connexion with the other. The committee was ordered to enquire into the state of manufactures at large, but they did it partially; they confined themselves to the woollen branch, to blankets, carpets, hats, &c. My system is not confined to these objects only, but also includes paper, hardware, and other articles. The weaving branch is certainly a very material branch of commerce, but other objects also have their weight.

Here Mr. Gardiner obviated many objections which he said had been made to his measure. It is not, said he, calculated to divide, but to unite the two countries. The people of England will think it no cause of enmity with us, that we follow their example. She adopted protecting duties, because she thought it her interest—let us act the same part—what's good for one, must be good for the other.

The measure is no opposition to government. I never made it my business to introduce any thing for the purpose of embarrassing government. On the contrary, I thought it my duty to support them when right. I think it also my duty to admonish them of their error when wrong. Government ought to be informed of the grievances of the people.

This measure has not been brought forward irregularly—it is grounded on the report of a committee, and the petitions of the people. I confess, fir, I am strongly biased in its favor. The despondency and distress of this country, together with the justice and expediency of the measure itself, must make every gentleman its friend. Who can behold so many thousands of his fellow-creatures struggling with calamities, almost insupportable by humanity, and not be inclined to give relief? The misfortune is not particular—it is universal—not confined to Dublin, it extends to Cork, Limerick, Waterford, the Queen's County, and every part of the kingdom where the woollen manufacture is carried on—not limited to even the woollen, but affecting every infant manufacture in this country.

With respect to the poverty and wretchedness of this miserable description of our fellow-creatures, I think it unnecessary to use a single word. Gentlemen cannot but know the reality of this fact already; it is impossible to go through the streets without meeting testimonies that this assertion is but too well founded. If, however, gentlemen chuse to dispute a thing so self-evident,

dent, I am ready to produce witnesses of character at your bar, to put it beyond dispute.

If gentlemen wish to judge fairly, it is right to wave theory and speculation, and confine their attention to the different effects of the different modes adopted in Great Britain and Ireland. They will perceive that the long depression of this country is owing to her want of protection for her trade. In England, to what is owing the great degree of power and wealth she has attained, but to protecting duties?

Now, sir, I shall enter on the main part of the business, and let me entreat gentlemen to be free from prejudice, to divest themselves of every bias. I do not mean to proceed on speculation, but to reason from facts, and the ties of policy of the two kingdoms. England has flourished from adopting protecting duties, and Ireland has sunk by a neglect of them. Woollens were always the staple commodity of this country as well as of England. It was so far back as Edward III. in whose reign acts of parliament were passed, in which we find clauses for protecting the trade of Ireland. At every period before 1698, we enjoyed every advantage of a free country: we had nothing then to contend with, as no jealousy existed in the breast of England before the last-mentioned period. Our trade was guaranteed by Magna Charta; our exports acknowledged by that venerable statute—no treaty was made in which we were not nominally or virtually included. Antecedent to the year 1698, our exports were double our imports, and the number of shipping almost doubled in the ten preceding years. At that period the balance of trade was exceedingly in favor of Ireland, being no less than 224,000*l.* a year. If we consider the difficulties this country laboured under in those days, and the comparative value of money then and now, this will be found an enormous balance. When Ireland exhibited nothing but a continued scene of disturbance, disunion, tumult, and frequently of civil wars within herself, to what are we to attribute her advantages in commerce but to her protecting duties, her geographical situation, and industry?

When William III. came to the throne of these kingdoms, he laid several unjust and pernicious restrictions on the trade of Ireland, in order to gratify England, which began to grow jealous of our prosperity; in other respects he may have served this kingdom; he may have been wise and good; but certainly these unjust and destructive restrictions, together with other partialities,

manifested by him against us on all occasions, are more than a counterpoise to every good he has done this country.

The first stab given in his reign to our rising trade was in 1698, when a corrupt majority in this house laid a duty on cloths exported to England. Some spirited and patriotic members standing up to oppose this measure, it was defended on the ground of being an experiment, and that it would continue only for three years, but was in the year following made perpetual. Let us mark the consequences. The manufacturers, no longer able to find subsistence at home, emigrated, where they were received with open arms. The French, notwithstanding every exertion, had been unable to establish the woollen manufactures, until they procured Irish wool to mix with their own, and Irishmen to weave it. They then, conscious of the advantages of protecting their trade, laid additional duties on the importation of English cloths. The event soon confirmed with what propriety they adopted these protecting duties; they in a short time manufactured enough for the home market, and by raising from time to time, the protecting duties, at length to a prohibition, are enabled not only to rival Great Britain, but to undersell her in every market in Europe.

Before the last mentioned reign, it was as usual to recommend from the throne, at the opening of every session, the woollen manufacture, to the consideration of parliament, as of late it has been to recommend the linen manufacture, or any other branch of trade. Our journals, sir, are full of such recommendations.

Another argument in favor of this proposition can be drawn from the great benefits this country derived, from a power obtained by James, Duke of Ormond, of prohibiting the importation of Scotch manufactures. The protection was obtained against Scotland, and not England, because we were not then afraid of the latter. The utility of this duty was so great, as to give in our favor a balance, notwithstanding the pernicious effects of the plantation laws, and the other unfair restrictions of King William's reign, on our trade. Have not we, therefore, a right to expect the same salutary consequences from the adoption of a like measure now?

Let no man say that England is so insensible of her own interest as to be averse from this measure. England, from unhappy experience, is convinced of the pernicious effects of her impolicy. The emigration of the Irish manufacturers in the reign of King William, is not the only instance that has taught
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that nation the ruinous effects of restrictive laws. Our own remembrance has furnished a sad instance of the truth of this assertion—furnished it in the American war. America was lost by Irish emigrants.—These emigrations are fresh in the recollection of every gentleman in this house; and when the unhappy differences took place, I am assured, from the best authority, the major part of the American army was composed of Irish; and that the Irish language was as commonly spoken in the American ranks as English. I am also informed, it was their valor determined the contest; so that England not only lost a principal protection of her woollen trade in Europe, but also had America detached from her by force of Irish emigrants.

Mr. Gardiner, after dwelling some time on the pernicious effects of the act of William III. shewed by what progress importations had arisen, from an average sum of 14,000*l.* to the enormous sum of 836,000*l.* in the year 1778.

In 1779, this country, no longer able to support the pernicious effects of the oppressions under which she laboured, undertook a great measure. We spoke out, and demanded a free trade. It is but justice to gentlemen, it is but justice to the nation, that they were unanimous and persevered. England acted wisely and justly on the occasion, and restored us our right. But of what use will this free trade be—will it be any thing but a name, if we do not seize the advantages of it by promoting it? It is impossible to do so, unless we have an opportunity of supplying our home consumption, and exporting the redundancy. It is impossible to undersell other nations in foreign markets, if undersold in our own. While our ports are open to the exportation of raw materials, and the importation of British manufactures, can we expect to reap any benefit from the extension of our commerce? Let us turn our thoughts to the article of cotton, and we shall find great quantities imported, and not a single yard exported. The very same might be affirmed of many other manufactures.

England, so early as the reign of Edward III. perceived the necessity of protecting her woollens. When a law was enacted to prevent wearing foreign manufactures: with respect to Ireland, however, she was not then considered as coming under the denomination of foreign. The habits of intimacy and connexion between the two countries, prevented England from excluding Ireland, when she excluded the rest of the world. Here are two points proved, the adoption of protecting duties, and that we were not considered a foreign nation with respect to England. But the manufactures of England

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were then in a progressive state, and it appears that the home market was then the principal object in imposing a duty on the importation of woollens. In the same reign it must be admitted, a duty was laid on bay yarn, but this was only to raise a revenue to the crown by dispensations. England flourished, but flourished from a different cause—from the protecting duties, which procured her a home market; she soon far outstripped other nations in her manufactures; but in the reign of Elizabeth, the rest of Europe, perceiving the good effects of the measure to England, began to lay on protecting duties also. France laid a duty of half a livre on cloth imported; this was shortly after augmented to a livre, and so by degrees to actual prohibition. The Dutch followed the example. The effect of those protections on the manufactures of England was quickly perceptible.

In the year 1616, the exports decreased 160,000*l.*; in some time after, the balance was found to be more considerably against her; her imports being above a million, and her exports not quite 300,000*l.* a year. She then found it necessary to recur to fresh protecting duties, and to prohibit the importation of broad silk. She also saw it necessary to prohibit the wear of India goods. These protecting duties have ever since been accumulating, and Ireland included, as well as other countries. They have been constantly, as far as respected Ireland, increased during the reign of George I. and II. but it must be confessed, no such thing has been done in the reign of George III. On the contrary, more has been procured for this country, during that period, than since our first connexion.

Before the protection of her manufactures, the balance was considerably against her; the French importations were computed at an average to amount to 1,500,000*l.* per annum. Afterwards, by means of protecting duties, instead of importing, her exports of woollens amounted to 5,000,000 yards. Her home consumption to 6,000,000; making together 11,000,000. So that she arrived to such a summit of greatness as no country since the fall of the Roman empire, ever attained. By means of the wealth procured by manufactures, she was in the year 1763, able to impose the law on Europe.

In the late unsuccessful war, we have seen her maintain a struggle no country in the world would be able to maintain but herself. We see her now, after it, great, feared, and respected, and that under the burthen of an enormous national debt, which no other nation would be able to bear.

Having, on real matter of fact, shewn the progress and success of the
manufactures

manufactures of the two countries ; having shewn how England has risen, and Ireland declined ; having shewn that her system of policy is the cause of her grandeur, permit me to draw your attention to the difference of situations. In England, the lowest peasant wears good broad cloth, feeds well, and is lodged comfortably. The face of the country presents a view of good habitations, and communicates an unspeakable pleasure to every man of humanity. I feel a warmth whenever I see and contemplate its beauty ; but when I reflect on the misery of my own unhappy country, that I left behind me, I sink on the comparison. In England, all is joy, ease and content. It may be said, in the scripture-phrase of that country, “ the hills and vallies sing with joy.” Let us now for a moment view the wretched condition of the miserable Irishman.

The Irishman, sir, feeds the cattle whose flesh he is debarred from tasting. As to clothes, he has scarcely any. As for habitation, he has perhaps, some miserable hovel, whither an Englishman would not venture to turn his beast. Here he, with an unhappy wife, and wretched offspring, must endeavour to drag out existence, half starved, and half famished with cold. What a distinction, alas ! between beings of the same species !

When, sir, we thus view the different conditions of two people, it is natural to enquire into the cause of this difference. Are Irishmen less fitted by nature to earn a livelihood than Englishmen ? Is there any difference in their frames to produce these very different effects ? Are their constitutions worse, or appetites greater ? Is there any disadvantage in the nature of our climate, soil, or situation of our country, to prevent our prosperity ?—No ! the climate of this country is delightful—the soil as rich and vegetating in general as any in the world—and our situation adapted for intercourse with both worlds. Thus, those who render our people idle, are the first to ridicule them for that idleness, and to ridicule them without cause. National characteristics are always unjust, as there never was a country that has not produced both good and bad. Though one man may be idle, another will be industrious, and though that man may be a drunkard, this may be sober. I am grieved, sir, to hear those uncandid reflections thrown on Irishmen. They are general assertions, false as they are illiberal. Irishmen have shewn spirit and genius in whatever they have undertaken. They have shewn that they can make great exertions, when they are encouraged ; the difference of the cultivation of this country, from what it was before the laws for promoting

ing agriculture, will evince the truth of my assertion. A great proportion of the inhabitants of this country, previous to those laws, lived on imported corn, but no sooner was encouragement held forth to the plough, than the national industry broke forth, and instead of importing, a great quantity of corn was annually exported. This will ever remain a positive contradiction to the vague and ill-founded reflections on Irishmen. I will even go farther, and call on gentlemen to specify one instance, where the people were indolent, where the laws of their country protected them in their endeavours. Let us consider what has been done in respect to our linens. Though we were compelled to yield an established manufacture, and to apply ourselves to it, under the disadvantage of contending with a country that has arrived at great perfection, yet we prospered. And why? Because we were not interfered with. If this be not a proof of industry, I know not what may be called so. Whenever this country has been encouraged, it shewed great industry—witness our linens, our broad stuffs, our tabinets, and poplins: how, groundless, therefore, is the charge of indolence? Even admitting the people of this country were indolent, instead of contributing to keep them in it, by continuing their oppressions, this house ought to remove that indolence.

As every cause but the true one, has been assigned for the present distresses of the poor, those have not been wanting, who have attributed it to the low price of whiskey, and the drunkenness of the working manufacturers; but those gentlemen, who have of late been so fond of praising the industry of the north, ought to be informed, that there is no part of Ireland, in which the people drink more whiskey, and yet manufactures succeed there perfectly. This I know, because I have an estate in that part of the kingdom. I know they think nothing of drinking a pint of whiskey in a day, and are able to attend to their business after. Some of my tenants have informed me, they could drink half a pint of whiskey with as much ease as any of us could a glass of wine. As for me, no man more disapproves of the abominable custom of drinking spirits; but yet, I will be free to say the distress of our manufacturers, is by no means imputable to drunkenness.

As these are not the causes of the present calamities, it is natural to ask what may be the source of them? It may be answered, that want of employment is that source. Numbers of manufacturers cannot get their goods sold. How therefore, can they give employment? Several circumstances contribute to forwarding the importation of English goods, whereby our own are injured.

injured. In England they have large capitals; they can buy and sell much cheaper than our manufacturers, who have in general very small capitals. The man with a large capital can afford to give long credit, which the other cannot, and eight per cent. will yield a greater profit to him in trade, who has 10,000*l.* than ten per cent. to him who has but 1000*l.* In England they give two years credit, when we can scarcely give six months, which induces people to deal with them, as they have a year and six months interest on the money. This enables them to turn their capitals oftener, so that if they sell, even for less than others, the quick disposal of their goods will not fail to bring them at the end of the year a much greater profit.

Something must be done to relieve the thousands who now are famishing in your streets. The city of Dublin, with a degree of humanity that will ever do it honor, has hitherto succoured them by voluntary donations. But the donations of the city of Dublin will be found inadequate to the miseries of those poor men. The non-importation agreement entered into in 1779, afforded them some small relief for that time, but served only to augment their distress since, as magazines of English cloaths were then formed in this country.

Another expedient was: establish manufactories here: but, Sir, these have ended generally in the ruin of those, who have attempted it: for the English traders immediately give notice to their employers, when a manufactory is going to be set up; the consequence is, the British merchant resolves to lose for a time, sends over an abundance of the commodity, sells it cheaper than it possibly can be wrought for, and totally overthrows his rival. Sir, I remember an instance of this in England itself; there was a house in Nottingham carried on a considerable trade in one branch of business; another finding it so profitable, determined to undertake it also; but the owner of the first house determined to lose an immensity, and undersold the new one; the latter, consequently, failed in a short time, and the business returned to its ancient channel. This shews, Sir, that the English merchant will always be an overmatch for any manufactory we set up, which can any way injure him. Now, Sir, another expedient was, opening our export trade; I never shall arraign that measure: It was conducted by a gentleman, whose memory I shall ever revere, and whom I never think of without emotions which I cannot express; but, Sir, an export trade is beginning at the wrong end; unless there be a home consumption it will never avail.

The home consumption is what gives money and spirit to the undertaker;

without money he cannot pay the men whom he employs, and that money is only to be had by home consumption. Since then the remedies that have been applied are ineffectual, let us now see what may be successful; and in this let us copy the conduct of England, of France, and other commercial countries; and that is by protecting our manufactures at home.

Then, Sir, fashion, though it may appear at first a trivial matter, has a very great effect on our trade, and for this reason, whatever is the fashion, the manufacturer has a home consumption for, and sells at an enormous advanced profit for ready money; as soon as the fashion alters, he has made so much by it, that he can send over the redundancy here, and sell it at first cost, or considerably under the first cost, and still be a gainer; and therefore, though some persons here have sent to England, and got patterns of the fashionable articles, yet before the patterns could be procured, the dies prepared, and the manufacture wrought, the English merchant would have varied his fashion there, and sent the redundancy over to us, and underfold us so as to destroy our hopes.

Now, Sir, what have been the remedies, which we have endeavoured to provide? A non-importation agreement, which, while it lasted, had some effect, but it was but temporary, the benefit arising from it was but for a season, and I fear it has established a permanent evil; for, Sir, it was by no means general, and the people, particularly in the north, who were not so much injured by importation, established warehouses; opened their ports, and laid in such a quantity of English goods, as poured an inundation upon us, the moment the agreement was at an end. A few words, continued Mr. Gardiner, will be sufficient to prove, that this measure will not be injurious to the landed property of this country. The advantages of the man of landed estate, and of the manufacturer are reciprocal; for the prosperity of the one is the support of the other. The petition therefore presented to this house, by an honorable gentleman, from certain landholders of his county, cannot with any degree of propriety be urged against this measure.

Mr. Gardiner then read the following resolutions.

1st. That it appears to this house, that the working manufacturers of this kingdom, are in the greatest poverty and distress.

2dly. That the importation of foreign manufactures into this kingdom, has of late years considerably increased, and still continues to do so.

3rdly.

3dly. That this great importation, by impeding our manufactures, is the cause of this poverty and distress.

4thly. That the interference of parliament is necessary to remove those evils.

No. LXXIV.

Pastoral Exhortation of the Right Reverend Doctor TROY, the Catholic Bishop of Ossory to his Flock. (P. 107.)

DEAR CHRISTIANS,

AT this particular time, when the blessings of peace and a plentiful harvest should warm the hearts of Christians with becoming gratitude to the Father of Mercies, and excite a spirit of industry amongst all ranks of people, we are much concerned to observe riot and disorder pervading many of our communion in several parts of this county and diocese. Unmindful of the untimely and ignominious death of their relations and acquaintances formerly distinguished by the execrable appellation of White Boys, and deaf to the dictates of reason and religion constantly enforced by our exhortation from the altars, they are endeavouring to renew the horrid scenes of confusion and bloodshed, which disgraced this part of the kingdom not many years ago. They again seem to glory in the opprobrious name of White Boys, and have lately assembled at unseasonable hours, and in different parties, sounding their riotous horn. They have presumed to administer oaths of combination, and proceed to barbarous acts of violence against the persons and property of several individuals. In a word, they notoriously violate the most sacred laws, and equally despise the injunctions of their spiritual and temporal rulers. Such accumulated enormities call to heaven for vengeance, which will most assuredly fall on the deluded offenders, if they do not speedily expiate their crimes by sincere and exemplary repentance. As our silence upon this occasion might be misunderstood by ignorant, or sinisterly interpreted by malevolent persons, we think it highly incumbent on us to declare, as we do hereby solemnly, in the name and by the authority of our holy mother the church: First, that the association oaths usually taken by the misguided and unhappy wretches called White Boys, are bonds of iniquity, and consequently unlawful, wicked, and damnable. They are not, therefore, binding in any manner whatever. Secondly, we in like manner

declare, that we condemn, abhor, and detest the above mentioned outrages, as contrary to the maxims and canons of our holy religion, destructive of the public peace, injurious to private property, and subversive of every law. Finally, we condemn these deluded offenders, who call themselves Roman Catholics, as scandalous and rotten members of our holy church, from which they have been already cut off by the sentence of excommunication solemnly fulminated against them on the 17th of October, 1779, in all the chapels of this diocese. We cannot conclude without beseeching you, dearest Christians, to join us in fervent and constant prayer for the speedy conversion of these unthinking creatures. Their condition is truly deplorable; in this life exposed, by their nocturnal excursions and wanton depredations, to sickness, loathsome imprisonment, and an infamous death; whilst in the next their obstinacy will be punished with endless torture. May our gracious God, by his efficacious grace, avert this greatest of all evils, and thereby prevent the bitter recollection of their having disregarded our timely and pastoral admonitions. We shudder at the very apprehension of the manifold evils which must necessarily ensue to themselves, to their families, and to their country, from a continuation of their unwarrantable proceedings.

It being equally our wish and duty to promote the happiness of mankind in general, and that of our country and flock in particular, we shall invariably conduct ourselves in a manner becoming ministers of the gospel and members of society. Uninfluenced by fear or any worldly consideration, we are determined to adopt such further means, as shall be found conducive to the above mentioned, and other great objects of our vocation.

Kilkenny, 12th November, 1784.

J. T. TROY.

No. LXXV.*

Address presented to his Majesty, at St. James's, by the Lords and Commons on the 29th of July, 1785. (P. 134.)

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN.

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the

* This work having encreased under the author's pen to so large a bulk, the debate intended to have been here inserted, which is very long, is omitted, and the reader is referred for it to the 18th volume of the Parliamentary Register, p. 546 to 592.

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lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, have taken into most serious consideration, the important subject of commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, recommended in your majesty's speech at the opening of the present session, and the resolutions of the two houses of parliament in Ireland, which were laid before us by your majesty's command, on the 22d of February last.

After a long and careful investigation of the various questions necessarily arising out of this comprehensive subject, we have come to the several resolutions, which we now humbly present to your majesty, and which, we trust, will form the basis of an advantageous and permanent commercial settlement between your majesty's kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.

We have proceeded on the foundation of the resolutions of the parliament of Ireland; but in considering so extensive an arrangement, we have found it necessary to introduce some modifications and exceptions, and we have added such regulations and conditions as appeared to us indispensably necessary for establishing the proposed agreement, on just and equitable principles, and for securing to both countries those commercial advantages to an equal enjoyment of which they are in future to be entitled.

Your majesty's subjects in Ireland, being secured in a full and lasting participation of the trade with the British colonies, must, we are persuaded, acknowledge the justice of their continuing to enjoy it on the same terms with your majesty's subjects in Great Britain.

And it is, we conceive, equally manifest, that as the ships and mariners of Ireland are to continue in all time to come to enjoy the same privileges with those of Great Britain, the same provision should be adopted in Ireland as may be found necessary in this country, for securing those advantages exclusively to the subjects of the empire. This object is essentially connected with the maritime strength of your majesty's dominions, and consequently with the safety and prosperity both of Great Britain and Ireland.

We therefore deem it indispensable, that these points should be secured as conditions necessary to the existence and duration of the agreement between the two countries; they can only be carried into effect by laws to be passed in the parliament of Ireland; which is alone competent to bind your majesty's subjects in that kingdom, and whose legislative rights we shall ever hold as sacred as our own.

It remains for the parliament of Ireland to judge, according to their wisdom

dom and discretion, of these conditions, as well as of every other part of the settlement proposed to be established by mutual consent.

Our purpose in these resolutions is to promote alike the commercial interests of your majesty's subjects in both countries; and we are persuaded, that the common prosperity of the two kingdoms will be thereby greatly advanced; the subjects of each will in future apply themselves to those branches of commerce which they can exercise with most advantage, and the wealth so diffused through every part will operate as a general benefit to the whole.

We have thus far performed our part in this important business; and we trust that in the whole of its progress reciprocal interests and mutual affection will insure that spirit of union, so essentially necessary to the great end, which the two countries have equally in view.

In this persuasion we look forward with confidence to the final completion of a measure, which, while it tends to perpetuate harmony and friendship between the two kingdoms, must, by augmenting their resources, uniting their efforts, and consolidating their strength, afford your majesty the surest means of establishing, on a lasting foundation, the safety, prosperity, and glory of the empire.

To which his Majesty made the following most gracious Answer.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN.

I RECEIVE with the greatest satisfaction these resolutions, which, after so long and diligent an investigation, you consider as affording the basis of an advantageous and permanent commercial settlement between my two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. Nothing can more clearly manifest your regard for the interests of both my kingdoms and your zeal for the general prosperity of my dominions, than the attention you have given to this important object. A full and equal participation of commercial advantages, and a similarity of laws in those points, which are necessary for their preservation and security, must be the surest bond of union between the two kingdoms and the source of reciprocal and increasing benefits to both. The same spirit, in which this great work has begun and proceeded, will, I doubt not, appear throughout the whole of its progress; and I concur with you in thinking, that the final completion of it is of essential importance to the future happiness of both countries, and to the safety, glory, and prosperity, of the empire.

No.

No. LXXVI.

Speech of Mr. GRATTAN on the East India Trade. (P. 135.)

Mr. Grattan.—Sir, I can excuse the right honorable member, who moves you for leave to bring in the bill. He is an Englishman, and contends for the power of his own country, while I am contending for the liberty of mine; he might have spared himself the trouble of stating his own bill. I read it before, I read it in the twenty resolutions, I read it in the English bill, which is to all intents and purposes the same; and which he might read without the trouble of resorting to his own. His comment is of little moment; a lord lieutenant's secretary is an unsafe commentator on an Irish constitution; the former merit of the right honorable gentleman in pressing for the original propositions and contending against the present, which he now supports, may have been very great, and I am willing to thank him for his past services; they may be a private consolation to himself. No more; I differ from him in his account of this transaction. He was pledged to these eleven propositions; his offer was the propositions; ours the taxes; he took the latter, but forgets the former. I leave both, and come to his system. Here it becomes necessary to go back a little: I begin with your free trade obtained in 1779: by that you recovered your right to trade with every part of the world, whose ports were open to you, subject to your own untruncated duties, the British plantations only excepted; by that you obtained the benefit of your insular situation, the benefit of your western situation, and the benefit of your exemption from intolerable taxes. When these advantages might be, no man could say, but any man who had seen the struggle you had made during a century of depression, could foresee, that a spirit of industry operating upon the state of liberty in a young nation, must in the course of time, produce signal advantages: the sea is like the earth; to non-exertion, a waste, to industry, a mine; this trade was accompanied with another, a plantation trade: in this you retained your right to trade directly with the British plantations in a variety of articles, without a reference to British duties; by this you obtained a right to trade with the British plantations directly in each and every other article, subject to the rate of British duty; by this, you obtained a right to select; so that the general trade should not hang on the special conformity;

formity; and by this, you did not covenant to affect, exclude, or postpone the produce of foreign plantations. The reason was obvious: you demanded two things, a free trade and a plantation trade; had the then minister insisted on a covenant to exclude the produce of foreign plantations, he had given you a plantation trade instead of a free trade (whereas your demand was for both) and his grant had been inadequate, unsatisfactory and inadmissible. These points of trade being settled, a third in the opinion of some remained; namely, the intercourse with England or the channel trade. A successful political campaign, an unsuccessful harvest, the poverty of not a few, together with the example of England, brought forward, in the year 1783, a number of famishing manufacturers with a demand of protecting duties; the extent of their demand was idle, the manner of conveying that demand tumultuary; but not being wholly resisted nor yet adequately assisted, they laid the foundation of another plan, which made its appearance in 1785, opposite indeed to their wishes and fatal to their expectation; this was the system of reciprocity; a system fair in its principle, and in process of time likely to be beneficial, but not likely to be of any great present advantage, other than by stopping the growth of demand, allaying a commercial fever, and producing settlement and incorporation, with the people of England; this system was founded on the only principle, which could obtain between two independent nations equality; and the equality consisted in similarity of duty; now as the total abatement of duties on both sides had driven the Irishman out of his own market, as the raising our duties to the British standard had driven the Englishman out of the Irish market, a third method was resorted to, the abatement of British duty to the Irish standard: but then this equality of duty was inequality of trade: for as the Englishman with that duty against him had beaten you in the Irish market, with that duty in his favor he must keep you out of the English: so that under this arrangement the English manufacturer continued protected, and the Irish manufacturer continued exposed, and the abatement of duty was no more than disarming the argument of retaliation. Had the arrangement stopped here, it had been unjust indeed: but as Ireland was to covenant, that she would not raise her duties on British manufactures, England on her part was to covenant, that she would not diminish her preference in favor of Irish linen, and the adjustment amounted to a covenant, that neither country in their respective markets would affect the manufacture of the other by any operative alteration of duty; however
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the adjustment did not stop at the home manufacture, it went to plantation produce, and here you stood on two grounds, law and justice; law, because you only desired that the same words of the same act of navigation should have the same construction on one side the channel as they have on the other; how they had ever borne a different one, I cannot conceive, otherwise than by supposing that in your antient state of dependency you were not entitled to the common benefit of the mother tongue; the answer to this argument was unsatisfactory, that England had altered the law; but if England had so altered the law, it ceased to impose the same restrictions and confer the same advantages, and then a doubt might arise whether the act of navigation were the law of Ireland, so that you seemed entitled to the construction or free from the act; now it is of more consequence to England, that you should be bound by the act of navigation, than to Ireland to have the benefit of the fair construction of it. But you stood on still better ground---justice; was it just that you should receive plantation goods from England, and that England should not receive them from you? here if you do not find the law equal, you may make it so: for as yet you are a free parliament.

I leave this part of the subject; equality of duty, but no present equality of trade. I come to that part of the adjustment which is inequality of both;—and first, that part which relates to the *primum* of your manufactures. When the original propositions were argued, gentlemen exclaimed, “England reserves her wool, and Ireland does not reserve her woollen yarn,” it was answered, “Ireland may if she please.” What will those gentlemen now say, when England reserves both;—the *primum* of her manufactures and of yours? and not only woollen yarn, but linen yarn, hides, &c? To tell me that this exportation is beneficial to Ireland is to tell me nothing; the question is not about stopping the export, but giving up the regulation, in instances where England, retains the power of regulation, and the act of prohibition. To tell me that this exportation is necessary for England is to tell me nothing, but that you are material to England, and therefore should have obtained at least equal terms. I own, to assist the manufactures of Great Britain as far as it is not absolutely inconsistent with those of Ireland is to me an object; but still the difference recurs: she is not content with voluntary accommodation on your part, but exacts perpetual export from you in the very article, in which she retains absolute prohibition—no new prohibition---every prohibition beneficial to England was laid before---none

in favor of Ireland. Ireland till 1779 was a province, and every province is a victim; your provincial state ceased, but before the provincial regulations were done away, this arrangement establishes a principle *uti possidetis*, that is, Great Britain shall retain all her advantages, and Ireland shall retain all her disadvantages. But I leave this part of the adjustment where reciprocity is disclaimed in the outset of treaty and the rudiment of manufacture; I come to instances of more striking inequality, and first, your situation in the East. You are to give a monopoly to the present or any future East-India company during its existence, and to the British nation for ever after. It has been said that the Irishman in this is in the same situation as the Englishman, but there is this difference, the difference between having, and not having the trade; the British parliament has judged it most expedient for Great Britain to carry on her trade to the East, by an exclusive company; the Irish parliament is now to determine it most expedient for Ireland to have no trade at all in those parts. This is not a surrender of the political rights of the constitution, but of the natural rights of man---not of the privileges of parliament, but of the rights of nations---not to sail beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Streights of Magellan, an awful interdict! Not only European settlements, but neutral countries excluded, and God's providence shut out in the most opulent boundaries of creation; other interdicts go to particular places for local reasons, because they belong to certain European states, but here are neutral regions forbidden, and a path prescribed to the Irishman on open sea. Other interdicts go to a determinate period of time, but here is an eternity of restraint; you are to have no trade at all during the existence of any company, and no free trade to those countries after its expiration; this resembles rather a judgment of God than an act of the legislature, whether you measure it by immensity of space or infinity of duration, and has nothing human about it except its presumption.

What you lose by this surrender, what you forfeit by giving up the possibility of intercourse with so great a proportion of the inhabited globe, I cannot presume to say; but this I can say, that gentlemen have no right to argue from present want of capital against future trade, nor to give up their capacity to trade, because they have not yet brought that capacity into action; still less have they a right to do so without the shadow of compensation, and least of all on the affected compensation which, trifling with your understanding as well as interest, suffers a vessel to go to the West, in its way to the

the East. I leave this uncompensated surrender---I leave your situation in the East which is blank---I leave your situation in the East which is the surrender of trade itself; and I come to your situation in the West which is a surrender of its freedom. You are to give a monopoly to the British plantations at their own taxes; before, you did so only in certain articles, with a power of selection, and then only as long as you pleased to conform to the condition, and without any stipulation to exclude foreign produce. It may be very proper to exclude foreign produce by your own temporary laws, and at your own free will and option, but now you are to covenant to do so for ever, and thereby you put the trade out of your own power for ever, and you give to the English, West as well as East, an eternal monopoly for their plantation produce in the taxing and regulating of which you have no sort of deliberation or interference, and over which Great Britain has a complete supremacy. Here you will consider the advantage you receive from that monopoly, and judge how far it may be expedient to set up against yourselves that monopoly for ever; there is scarcely an article of the British plantation, that is not out of all proportion dearer than the same article is in any other part of the globe, nor any other article that is not produced elsewhere, for some of which articles you might establish a mart for your manufactures. Portugal, for instance, is capable of being a better market for our drapery than Great Britain; this enormity of price is aggravated by an enormity of tax, what then is this covenant? to take these articles from the British plantations, and from none others, at the present high rates and taxes, and to take them at all times to come, subject to whatever further rates and taxes the parliament of Great Britain shall enact. Let me ask you, why did you refuse protecting duties to your own people? because they looked like a monopoly; and will you give to the East India merchant, and the West India planter something more? a monopoly where the monopolist is in some degree the lawgiver. The principle of equal duty or the same restriction is not the shadow of security; to make such a principle applicable, the objects must be equal, but here the objects are not only dissimilar but opposite; the condition of England is great debt and greater capital, great incumbrance, but still greater abilities; the condition of Ireland, little capital, but a small debt, poverty, but exemption from intolerable taxes. Equal burthens will have opposite effects, they will fund the debt of one country and destroy the trade of the other; high duties will take away

your resource, which is exemption from them, but will be a fund for Great Britain; thus the colony principle in its extent is dangerous to a very great degree. Suppose Great Britain should raise her colony duties to a still greater degree, to answer the exigency of some future war, or to fund her present debt, you must follow, for by this bill you would have no option in foreign trade; you must follow, not because you wanted the tax, but lest your exemption from taxes should give your manufactures any comparative advantage. Irish taxes are to be precautions against the prosperity of Irish manufactures! you must follow, because your taxes here would be no longer measured by the wants of the country or the interest of her commerce, because we should have instituted a false measure of taxation; the wants and the riches of another country, which exceeds you much in wants, but infinitely more in riches. I fear we should have done more, we should have made English jealousy the barometer of Irish taxation. Suppose this country should in any degree establish a direct trade with the British plantations, suppose the apprehensions of the British manufacturers in any degree realized, they may dictate your duties, they may petition the British parliament to raise certain duties, which shall not affect the articles of their intercourse, but may stop yours; or which shall affect the articles of their intercourse a little and annihilate yours; thus they may by one and the same duty raise a revenue in England, and destroy a rival in Ireland. Camblets are an instance of the former, and every valuable plantation import an instance of the latter; your option in foreign trade had been a restraint on England, or a resource to Ireland, but under this adjustment you give up your foreign trade, and confine yourself to that, which you must not presume to regulate. The exclusion of foreign plantation produce would seem sufficient, for every purpose of power and domination, but to aggravate, and it would seem, to insult, the independent states of North America are most ungraciously brought into this arrangement, as if Ireland were a British colony, or North America continued a part of the British dominion; by the resolutions almost all the produce of North America was to be imported to Ireland, subject to British duties; the bill is more moderate, and only enumerates certain articles; but what right has Great Britain to interfere in our foreign trade, what right has she to dictate to us on the subject of North America trade? How far this country may be further affected by clogging her plantation trade and surrendering her free trade, I shall not for the present stop more minutely to enquire, but I must stop

stop to protest against one circumstance in this arrangement, which should not accompany any arrangement, which would be fatal to settlement itself, and tear asunder the bands of faith and affection; the circumstance I mean, is the opening of the settlements of the colony trade, and free trade of 1779; this adjustment takes from you the power of choosing the article, so that the whole covenant hangs on the special circumstance, and takes from you your option in the produce of foreign plantations, and even of America. It is a revision in peace of the settlements of war, it is a revocation in peace of the acquisition of war. I here ask by what authority? By what authority is Ireland obliged now to enter into a general account for past acquisitions? Did the petition of the manufacturers desire it? Did the addresses of the last session desire it? Did the minister in this session suggest it? No; I call for authority, whereby we can be justified in waving the benefit of past treaties, and bringing the whole relative situation of this country into question in an arrangement which only professes to settle her channel trade? I conceive the settlements of the last war are sacred; you may make other settlements with the British nation, but you will never make any so beneficial as these are; they were the result of a conjuncture miraculously formed and fortunately seized. The American war was the Irish harvest. From that period, as from the lucky moment of your fate, your commerce, constitution, and mind took form and vigor; and to that period, and to a first and salient principle must they recur for life and renovation. It is therefore I consider those settlements as sacred, and from them I am naturally led to that part of the subject which relates to compensation, the payment which we are to make for the losses which we are to sustain; certainly compensation cannot apply to the free trade supposing it uninvaded: first, because that trade was your right; to pay for the recovery of what you should never have lost, had been to a great degree unjust and derogatory; secondly, because that free trade was established in 1779, and the settlement then closed and cannot be opened now; to do so were to destroy the faith of treaties, to make it idle to enter into the present settlement, and to render it vain to enter into any settlement with the British minister. The same may be said of the colony trade; that too was settled in 1779, on terms then specified, not now to be opened, clogged, conditioned or circumscribed; still less does compensation apply to the free constitution of 1782. His majesty then informed you from the throne, "these things come unaccompanied with any stipulation," besides, the free constitution like the free trade was your right.

Free

Free men wont pay for the recovery of right; payment had derogated from the claim of right; so we then stated to ministry. It was then thought that to have annexed subsidy to constitution had been a barren experiment on public poverty, and had married an illustrious experiment on the feelings of the nation, and had been neither satisfaction to Ireland, nor revenue to Great Britain. This bolder policy, this happy art, which saw how much may be got by tax, and how much must be left to honor, which made a bold push for the heart of the nation, and leaving her free to acquire, took a chance for her disposition to give, had its effect; for since that time, until the present most unfortunate attempt, a great bulk of the community were on the side of government, and the parliamentary constitution was a guarantee for public peace.

See then what you obtained without compensation, a colony to trade a free trade, the independency of your judges, the government of your army, the extension of the unconstitutional powers of your council, the restoration of the judicature of your lords, and the independency of your legislature!

See now what you obtain by compensation---a covenant not to trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan; a covenant not to take foreign plantation produce, but as the parliament of Great Britain shall permit; a covenant not to take British plantation produce, but as Great Britain shall prescribe; a covenant to make such acts of navigation as Great Britain shall prescribe; a covenant never to protect your own manufactures, never to guard the *primum* of those manufactures! These things are accompanied, I do acknowledge, with a covenant on the part of England to disarm your argument for protecting duties, to give the English language in the act of navigation the same construction in Ireland, and to leave our linen markets without molestation or diminution. One should think some God presided over the liberties of this country, who made it frugality in the Irish nation to continue free, but has annexed the penalties of fine or infamy to the surrender of the constitution! From this consideration of commerce, a question much more high, much more deep, the invaluable question of constitution arises; in which the idea of protecting duties, the idea of reciprocal duties, of countervailing duties, and all that detail vanish, and the energies of every heart, and the prudence of every head, are called upon to shield this nation, that long depressed, and at length by domestic virtues, and foreign misfortune emancipated, has now to defend her newly acquired

acquired rights, and her justly acquired reputation; the question is no less than that, which three years ago agitated, fired, and exalted the Irish nation, the independency of the Irish parliament! By this bill we are to covenant that the parliament of Ireland shall subscribe whatever laws the parliament of England shall prescribe, respecting your trade with the British plantations, your trade in the produce of foreign plantations, and part of your trade from the united states of North America. There is also a sweeping covenant or condition, whereby we are to agree to subscribe whatever laws the parliament of England shall prescribe respecting navigation; the adjustment subjects also your reverfionary trade to the East to the same terms---over all these objects you are to have no propounding, no deliberative, no negative, no legislative power whatsoever. Here then is an end of your free trade and your free constitution! I acquit the people of England; an ill-grounded jealousy for their trade seems aggravated by a well-founded alarm for your liberty; unwilling to relinquish, but when relinquished, too magnanimous and too wise to resume abdicated tyranny; they feel in these propositions an honorable solicitude for the freedom of Ireland, and the good faith of Great Britain, and see the darling principles and passions of both countries wounded in an arrangement, which was to compose them for ever: to a proposal therefore so little warranted by the great body of the people of England, so little expected by the people of Ireland, so little suggested by the minister, and so involving to whatever is dear to your interest, honor, and freedom, I answer, no. I plead past settlements, I insist on the faith of nations; the objection should have been made when these settlements were making; but now the logic of empire comes too late; no accommodation, no deprecation on this subject: assertion, national assertion, national re-assertion! If three years after the recovery of your freedom, you bend, your children, corrupted by your example, will surrender; but if you stand firm and inexorable, you make a seasonable impression on the people of England, you give a wholesome example to your children, afford an awful instruction to his majesty's ministers, and make (as the Old English did in the case of their charter) the attempt on Irish liberty, its confirmation and establishment!

However, lest certain glosses should seem to go unanswered, I shall, for the sake of argument, waive past settlements, and combat the reasoning of the English resolutions, the address and his majesty's answer, and the reasoning of this day. It is here said, that the laws respecting commerce and navigation

gation should be similar, and inferred, that Ireland should subscribe the laws of England on those subjects, that is, the same law, the same legislature; but this argument goes a great deal too far, it goes to the army, for the mutiny bill should be the same; it was endeavored to be extended to the collection of your revenue, and is in train to be extended to your taxes; it goes to the extinction of the most invaluable part of your parliamentary capacity; it is an union, an incipient and a creeping union; a virtual union, establishing one will in the general concerns of commerce and navigation, and reposing that will in the parliament of Great Britain; an union where our parliament preserves its existence after it has lost its authority, and our people are to pay for a parliamentary establishment, without any proportion of parliamentary representation. In opposing the right honorable gentleman's bill, I consider myself as opposing an union *in limine*, and that argument for union which makes similarity of law and community of interest (reason strong for the freedom of Ireland) a pretence for a condition, which would be dissimilarity of law, because extinction of constitution, and therefore hostility, not community of interest; I ask on what experience is this argument founded?--- Have you ever since your redemption refused to preserve a similarity of law in trade and navigation? Have you not followed Great Britain in all her changes in the act of navigation, during the whole of that unpalatable business the American war? Have you not excluded the cheap produce of other plantations, in order that Irish poverty might give a monopoly to the dear produce of British colonies? Have you not made a better use of your liberty than Great Britain did of her power? But I have an objection to this argument, stronger even than its want of foundation, in reason and experiment; I hold it to be nothing less than an intolerance of the parliamentary constitution of Ireland, a declaration that the full and free external legislation of the Irish parliament is incompatible with the British empire. I do acknowledge that by your external power, you might discompose the harmony of empire, and I add, that by your power over the purse you might dissolve the state; but to the latter you owe your existence in the constitution, and to the former your authority and station in the empire; this argument, therefore, rests the connection upon a new and a false principle, goes directly against the root of parliament, and is not a difficulty to be accommodated, but an error to be eradicated; and if any body of men can still think that the Irish constitution is incompatible with the British empire,

doctrine

doctrine which I abjure as sedition against the connexion ; but if any body of men are justified in thinking, that the Irish constitution is incompatible with the British empire, perish the empire ! live the constitution ! Reduced by this false dilemma to take a part, my second wish is the British empire, my first wish and bounden duty is the liberty of Ireland ; but we are told this imperial power is not only necessary for England, but safe for Ireland. What is the present question ? What but the abuse of this very power of regulating the trade of Ireland by the British parliament excluding you, and including herself by virtue of the same words of the same act of navigation ? And what was the promoting cause of this arrangement ? What but the power you are going to surrender, the distinct and independent external authority of the Irish parliament, competent to question that misconstruction ? What is the remedy now proposed ? the evil. Go back to the parliament of England ; I ask again, what were the difficulties in the way of your eleven propositions ? What but the jealousy of the British manufacturers on the subject of trade ? And will you make them your parliament, and that too for ever, and that too on the subject of their jealousy, and in the moment they displayed it—Safe ! I will suppose that jealousy realized, that you rival them in some market abroad, and that they petition their parliament to impose a regulation, which shall affect a tonnage which you have, and Great Britain has not ; how would you then feel your situation, when you should be obliged to register all this ? And how would you feel your degradation, when you should see your own manufacturers pass you by as a cypher in the constitution, and deprecate their ruin at the bar of a foreign parliament—Safe ! Whence the American war ? Whence the Irish restrictions ? Whence the misconstruction of the act of navigation ? Whence but from the evil of suffering one country to regulate the trade and navigation of another, and of instituting, under the idea of general protectors, a proud domination, which sacrifices the interest of the whole to the ambition of a part, and arms the little passions of the monopolist with the sovereign potency of an imperial parliament ; for great nations when cursed with unnatural sway follow but their nature when they invade ; and human wisdom has not better provided for human safety than by limiting the principles of human power. The surrender of legislature has been likened to cases that not unfrequently take place between two equal nations covenanting to suspend in particular cases their respective legislative powers for mutual benefit ; thus Great Britain and Portugal agree to suspend their legislative

power in favor of the wine of the one, and the woollen of the other; but if Portugal had gone farther, and agreed to subscribe the laws of England, this covenant had not been a treaty, but conquest; so Great Britain and Ireland may covenant, not to raise high duties on each other's manufactures; but if Ireland goes farther, and covenants to subscribe British law, this is not a mutual suspension of the exercise of legislative power, but a transfer of the power itself from one country to another, to be exercised by another hand; such covenant is not reciprocity of trade, it is a surrender of the government of your trade, inequality of trade, and inequality of constitution. I speak however as if such transfer could take place, but in fact it could not: any arrangement so covenanting is a mere nullity; it could not bind you, still less could it bind your successors; for a man is not omnipotent over himself, neither are your parliaments omnipotent over themselves, to accomplish their own destruction, and propagate death to their successors; there is in these cases a superior relationship to our respective creators—God—the community, which in the instance of the individual, arrests the hand of suicide, and in that of the political body, stops the act of surrender, and makes man the means of propagation, and parliament the organ to continue liberty, not the engine to destroy it. However, though the surrender be void, there are two ways of attempting it, one by a surrender in form, the other by a surrender in substance; appointing another parliament your substitute, and consenting to be its register or stamp, by virtue of which to introduce the law and edict of another land; to clothe with the forms of your law foreign deliberations, and to preside over the disgraceful ceremony of your own abdicated authority; both methods are equally surrenders, and both are wholly void. I speak on principle, the principle on which you stand---your creation. We, the limited trustees of the delegated power, born for a particular purpose, limited to a particular time, and bearing an inviolable relationship to the people, who sent us to parliament, cannot break that relationship, counteract that purpose, surrender, diminish, or derogate from those privileges we breathe but to preserve. Could the parliament of England covenant to subscribe your laws? Could she covenant that young Ireland should command, and Old England should obey? If such a proposal to England were mockery to Ireland, it cannot be constitution. I rest on authority as well as principle, the authority on which the revolution rests. Mr. Locke, who in his chapter on the abolition of government, says, that the transfer of legislative power is the abolition

abolition of the state, not a transfer. Thus I may congratulate this house and myself, that it is one of the blessings of the British constitution, that it cannot perish of a rapid mortality, nor die in a day, like the men who should protect her; any act that would destroy the liberty of the people, is dead-born from the womb; men may put down the public cause for a season, but another year would see old constitution advance the honors of his head, and the good institution of parliament shaking off the tomb to reascend in all its pomp and pride, and plenitude and privilege!

Sir, I have stated these propositions and the bill as a mere transfer of external legislative authority to the parliament of Great Britain, but I have understated their mischief: they go to taxation, taxes on the trade with the British plantations, taxes on the produce of foreign plantations, taxes on some of the produce of the United States of North America; they go to port duties, such as Great Britain laid on America! the mode is varied, but the principle is the same. Here Great Britain takes the stamp of the Irish parliament; Great Britain is to prescribe, and Ireland is to obey! We anticipate the rape by previous surrender, and throw into the scale our honor as well as our liberty. Do not imagine that all these resolutions are mere acts of regulation; they are solid substantial revenue, great part of your additional duty. I allow the bill excepts rum and tobacco; but the principle is retained, and the operation of it only kept back. I have stated that Great Britain may by these propositions crush your commerce, but shall be told that the commercial jealousy of Great Britain is at an end. But are her wants at an end? Are her wishes for Irish subsidy at an end? No; and may be gratified by laying colony duties on herself, and so raising on Ireland an imperial revenue to be subscribed by our parliament, without the consent of our parliament, and in despite of our people. Or if a minister should please to turn himself to a general excise, if wishing to relieve from the weight of further additional duties the hereditary revenue now alienated, if wishing to relieve the alarms of the English manufacturers, who complain of our exemption from excises, particularly on soap, candles, and leather; he should proceed on those already registered articles of taxation, he might tax you by threats, suggesting, that if you refuse to raise an excise on yourself, England will raise colony duties on both. See what a mighty instrument of coercion this bill and these resolutions are. Stir, and the minister can crush you in the name of Great Britain; he can crush your imports; he can crush your exports; he can do this in a manner

peculiarly gratifying, by virtue of a clause in a British act of parliament that would seem to impose the same restrictions on Great Britain; he can do this in a manner still more offensive by the immediate means of your own parliament, who would be then an active cypher, and notorious stamp in the hands of Great Britain, to forge and falsify the name and authority of the people of Ireland. I have considered your situation under these propositions with respect to Great Britain: see what would be your situation with respect to the crown? You would have granted to the king a perpetual money bill, or a money bill to continue as long as the parliament of Great Britain shall please, with a covenant to increase it as often as the British parliament shall please. By the resolutions a great part of the additional duty would have been so granted; the trade of the country is made dependent on the parliament of Great Britain, and the crown is made less dependent on the parliament of Ireland, and a code of prerogative added to a code of empire. If the merchant after this should petition you to lower your duties on the articles of trade, your answer, "trade is in covenant." If your constituents should instruct you to limit the bill of supply, or pass a short money bill, your answer, "the purse of the nation like her trade is in covenant." No more of six months money bills; no more of instructions from constituents; that connection is broken by this bill; pass this, you have no constituents, you are not the representative of the people of Ireland, but the register of the British parliament, and the equalizer of British duties!

In order to complete this chain of power, one link (I do acknowledge) was wanting, a perpetual revenue bill, or a covenant from time to time to renew the bill for the collection thereof. The twentieth resolution, and this bill founded upon it, attain that object. Sir, this house rests on three pillars; your power over the annual mutiny bill; your power over the annual additional duties; your power over the collection of the revenue. The latter power is of great consequence, because a great part of our revenues are granted for ever. Your ancestors were slaves; and for their estates, that is, for the act of settlement granted the hereditary revenue, and from that moment ceased to be a parliament; nor was it till many years after that parliament revived; but it revived as you under this bill would continue; without parliamentary power; every evil measure derived argument, energy and essence from this unconstitutional fund. If a country gentleman complained of the expences of the crown, he was told a frugal government could go on without a parliament, and that we held

held our existence, by withholding the discharge of our duty. However, though the funds were granted for ever, the provision for the collection was inadequate; the smuggler learned to evade the penalties, and parliament, though not necessary for granting the hereditary revenue, became necessary for its collection. Here then we rest on three pillars, the annual mutiny bill, the annual additional supply, and the annual collection of the revenue. If you remove all these, this fabric falls; remove any one of them, and it totters; for it is not the mace, nor the chain, nor this dome, but the deliberate voice resident therein that constitutes the essence of parliament. Clog your deliberations, and you are no longer a parliament, with a thousand gaudy surviving circumstances of shew and authority.

Contemplate for a moment the powers this bill presumes to perpetuate; a perpetual repeal of trial by jury; a perpetual repeal of the great charter; a perpetual writ of assistance; a perpetual felony to strike an exciseman!

The late Chief Baron Burgh, speaking of the revenue bill, exclaimed, "you give to the dipping rule, what you should deny to the sceptre." All the unconstitutional powers of the excise we are to perpetuate, the constitutional powers of parliament we are to abdicate. Can we do all this? Can we make these bulky surrenders, in diminution of the power, in derogation of the pride of parliament, and in violation of those eternal relationships, which the body that represents should bear to the community which constitutes?

The pretence given for this unconstitutional idea is weak indeed; that as the benefits are permanent, so should be the compensation. But trade laws are to follow their nature, revenue laws to follow theirs. On the permanent nature of commercial advantages depends the faith of trade, on the limited nature of revenue laws depends the existence of parliament; but the error of the argument arises from the vice of dealing. It is a market for a constitution; and a logic applicable to barter only, is applied to freedom. To qualify this dereliction of every principle and power, the surrender is made constitutional; that is, the British market for the Irish constitution, the shadow of a market for the substance of a constitution! You are to reserve an option, trade or liberty; if you mean to come to the British market, you must pass under the British yoke. I object to this principle in every shape, whether you are, as the resolution was first worded, directly to transfer legislative power to the British parliament; whether, as it was afterwards altered, you are to covenant to subscribe her acts; or whether, as it is now softened, you are
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to take the chance of the British market, so long as you wave the blessings of the British constitution—terms dishonorable, derogatory, incapable of forming the foundation of any fair and friendly settlement, injurious to the political morality of the nation; I would not harbour a slavish principle, nor give it the hospitality of a night's lodging in a land of liberty! Slavery is like any other vice: tolerate and you embrace; you should guard your constitution by settled maxims of honor, as well as wholesome rules of law; and one maxim should be, never to tolerate a condition, which trenches on the privileges of parliament, or derogates from the pride of the island. Liberal in matters of revenue, practicable in matters of commerce; on these subjects I would be inexorable: if the genius of Old England came to that bar, with the British constitution in one hand, and in the other an offer of all that England retains or all that she has lost of commerce, I should turn my back on the latter, and pay my obedience to the blessings of her constitution; for that constitution will give you commerce, and it was the loss of that constitution, that deprived you of commerce. Why are you not now a woollen country? because another country regulated your trade. Why are you not now a country of re-export? because another country regulated your navigation. I oppose the original terms as slavish, and I oppose the conditional clause as an artful way of introducing slavery, of soothing a high-spirited nation into a submission by the ignominious delusion that she may shake off the yoke when she pleases, and once more become a free people. The direct unconstitutional proposition could not have been listened to, and therefore resort is had to the only possible chance of destroying the liberty of the people, by holding up the bright reversion of the British constitution, and the speculation of future liberty, as a consolation for the present submission. But would any gentleman here wear a livery to-night, because he might lay it aside in the morning? or would this house substitute another, because next year it might resume its authority, and once more become the parliament of Ireland. I do not believe we should get the British, but I do not want to make an experiment on the British market, by making an experiment likewise on the constitution and spirit of the people of Ireland. But do not imagine if you shall yield for a year, you will get so easily clear of this inglorious experiment; if this is not the British market, why accept the adjustment? and if it is, the benefit thereof may take away your deliberative voice. You will be bribed out of your constitution by your commerce; there are two ways of taking away free

free will, the one by direct compulsion, the other by establishing a præpollent motive. Thus a servant of the crown may lose his free will, when he is to give his vote at the hazard of his office; and thus a parliament would lose its free will, if it acted under a conviction, that it exercised its deliberative function at the risk of its commerce. No one question would stand upon its own legs, but each question would involve every consideration of trade, and indeed the whole relative situation of the two countries. And I beseech you to consider that situation, and contemplate the powers of your own country, before you agree to surrender them. Recollect that you have now a right to trade with the British plantations, in certain articles, without reference to British duties; that you have a right to trade with the British plantations in every other article, subject to the British duties; that you have a right to get clear of each and every other part of that bargain; that you have a right to take the produce of foreign plantations, subject to your own unstipulated duties; that you have a right to carry on a free and unqualified trade with the United States of North America; that you have a right to carry on an experimental trade in countries contiguous to which Great Britain has established her monopolies, the power of trade this, and an instrument of power, and station, and authority in the British empire! Consider that you have likewise a right to the exclusive supply of your own market, and to the exclusive of the rudiment of your manufactures; that you have an absolute dominion over the public purse and over the collection of the revenue. If you ask me how you shall use these powers, I say for Ireland with due regard to the British nation, let them be governed by the spirit of concord, and with fidelity to the connection; but when the mover of the bill asks me to surrender those powers, I am astonished at him. I have neither ears, nor eyes, nor functions to make such a sacrifice. What! that free trade, for which we exerted every nerve in 1779; that free constitution, for which we pledged life and fortune in 1782! Our lives are at the service of the empire; but our liberties! no—we received them from our Father, which is in Heaven, and we will hand them down to our children. But if gentlemen can entertain a doubt of the mischief of these propositions, are they convinced of their safety? the safety of giving up the government of your trade? No! the mischief is prominent, but the advantage is of a most enigmatical nature. Have gentlemen considered the subject, have they traced over the map of the countries, the power or freedom of trading with whom they are to surrender for ever? Have they traced:

traced the map of Asia, Africa, and America? Do they know the French, Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish settlements? Do they know the neutral powers of those countries, their produce, aptitudes, and dispositions? Have they considered the state of North America? its present state, future growth, and every opportunity in the endless succession of time attending that nurse of commerce and asylum of mankind? Are they now competent to declare on the part of themselves and all their posterity, that a free trade to those regions will never in the influx of time be of any service to the kingdom of Ireland? If they have information on this subject, it must be by a communication with God, for they have none with man: it must be inspiration, for it cannot be knowledge. In such circumstances to subscribe this agreement, without knowledge, without even the affectation of knowledge, when Great Britain with all her experience and every means of information from East Indies, West Indies, America, and with the official knowledge at her feet, has taken six months to deliberate, and has now produced twenty resolutions with an history to each, amounting to a code of empire, not a system of commerce: I say in such circumstances for Ireland to subscribe this agreement, would be infatuation, an infatuation to which the nation could not be a party, but would appear to be concluded, indeed huddled with all her posterity into a fallacious arrangement, by the influence of the crown, without the deliberation of parliament, or the consent of the people! This would appear the more inexcusable, because we are not driven to it; adjustment is not indispensable; the great points have been carried! An inferior question about the home market has been started, and a commercial fever artificially raised, but while the great points remain undisturbed, the nations cannot be committed; the manufacturers applied for protecting duties, and have failed; the minister offered a system of reciprocity, and succeeded in Ireland, but has failed in England; he makes you another offer inconsistent with the former, which offer the English do not support, and the Irish deprecate. We can go on, we have a growing prosperity, and as yet an exemption from intolerable taxes; we can from time to time regulate our own commerce, cherish our manufactures, keep down our taxes, and bring on our people, and brood over the growing prosperity of young Ireland. In the mean time we will guard our free trade and free constitution as our only real resources; they were the struggles of great virtue, the result of much perseverance, and our broad base of public action! We should recollect that this house may now, with peculiar propriety, interpose, because you did with great zeal and success, on this very subject

subject of trade, bring on the people, and you did with great prudence and moderation, on another occasion, check a certain description of the people. Thus mediating between extremes, you will preserve this island long, and preserve her with a certain degree of renown. Thus faithful to the constitution of the country, you will command and insure her tranquillity, for our best authority with the people is, protection afforded against the ministers of the crown. It is not public clamour, but public injury, that should alarm you; your high ground of expostulation with your fellow subjects has been your services; the free trade you have given the merchant, and the free constitution you have given the island! Make your third great effort, preserve them, and with them preserve unaltered your own calm sense of public right, the dignity of the parliament, the majesty of the people, and the powers of the island! Keep them unfulfilled, uncovenanted, uncircumscribed, and unsuspensory! These paths are the paths to glory; and let me add, these ways are the ways of peace: so shall the prosperity of your country, though without a tongue to thank you, yet laden with the blessings of constitution and of commerce, bear attestation to your services, and wait on your progress with involuntary praise!

No. LXXVII.

The Resolutions of the Irish House of Commons relating to the Treaty of Navigation and Commerce with the French King. (P. 172.)

1. RESOLVED, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that all articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, which are not specified in the sixth article of the treaty of navigation and commerce between his Britannic Majesty and the Most Christian King, signed at Versailles the 26th of September, 1786, shall be imported into this kingdom on payment of duties as low as any, which shall be payable on the importation of the like articles from any other European nation.

2. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty to be paid on wines imported directly from France into Ireland shall be no higher than those duties which they now pay.

3. Resolved, That it appears to this committee, that the duty hereafter to

be paid upon beer, the produce or manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, shall be at the rate of 30*l. per centum ad valorem*.

4. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid for all cabinet work and turnery, and for all instruments of music, being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, shall be at the rate of 10*l. per centum ad valorem*.

5. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid for all articles composed of iron or steel separately or mixed, or worked or mounted with other substances, such articles being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, and not exceeding in their value 50*s. British*, or 54*s. 2d. Irish* currency, by the hundred weight, imported into this kingdom, shall be at the rate of 5*l. per centum ad valorem*.

6. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid for all articles composed of iron or steel separately or mixed, or worked or mounted with other substances, and exceeding in their value 50*s. British*, or 54*s. 2d. Irish* currency, by the hundred weight; and for all buttons, buckles, knives or scissars, and for all other articles of hardware or cutlery, and for all articles composed of copper and brass separately or mixed, or worked or mounted with other substances, such articles being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, shall be at the rate of 10*l. per centum ad valorem*.

7. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid upon all sorts of cottons and woollens, whether knit or woven, including hosiery, the product or manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, shall be at the rate of 12*l. per centum ad valorem*.

8. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid upon all linens made of flax or hemp, of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, shall be no higher than the duty which linens, the manufacture of Holland, imported into this kingdom, now pay.

9. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the
duty

duty hereafter to be paid for cambrics and lawns, being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, imported into this kingdom, shall be for every demi piece of cambric, and for every demi piece of lawn, not exceeding seven yards and three quarters of a yard English measure in length, and not being above the value of 50s. British, or 54s. 2d. Irish currency, respectively 5s. 5d. and so in proportion for any greater length; and that the duty for any cambric imported in demi pieces exceeding seven-eighths of a yard English measure in breadth, and for any lawn imported in pieces exceeding one yard and a quarter English measure in breadth, and being above the value of 50s. British, or 54s. 2d. Irish currency, respectively, shall be 10*l.* *per centum ad valorem*.

10. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid upon all fadlery, of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, imported into this kingdom, shall be at the rate of 15*l.* *per centum ad valorem*.

11. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient that the duty hereafter to be paid upon gauzes of all sorts of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, imported into this kingdom, shall be at the rate of 15*l.* *per centum ad valorem*.

12. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient that the duty hereafter to be paid upon the importation into this kingdom of millinery made up of muslin, lawn, cambric or gauze of any kind, or of any other article specified in the sixth article of the said treaty of navigation and commerce, of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, shall be at the rate of 12*l.* *per centum ad valorem*; and that if any article not so specified, and which may be legally imported into this kingdom, shall be used in such millinery, such articles shall pay duties as if separately imported into this kingdom.

13. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient that the duty hereafter to be paid upon all porcelains, earthen-ware and pottery of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, imported into this kingdom, shall be at the rate of 12*l.* *per centum ad valorem*.

14. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient that the duty hereafter to be paid upon all glass and glass-ware of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, imported into this kingdom, shall be at the rate of 12*l.* *per centum ad valorem*.

15. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient that beer being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, imported into this kingdom, shall pay, over and above the duty to be paid on the importation thereof, a further duty sufficient to countervail the internal duty actually paid on beer brewed in Ireland.

No. LXXVIII.

MR. GRATTAN'S *speech upon Tithes.* (P. 185.)

MR. GRATTAN.—The people in the south have grievances, and one of their principal grievances is tithe; do not take it on my authority, go into a committee. It has been said in defence of clerical exactions, that though sometimes exorbitant, they have never been illegal. I deny it; and will produce proof at your bar, that exactions in some of the disturbed parts have been not exorbitant only, but illegal likewise. I will prove that, in many instances, tithe has been demanded, and paid for turf; that tithe of turf has been assessed at one or two shillings a house like hearth-money; and in addition to hearth-money, with this difference, that in the case of hearth-money, there is an exemption for the poor of a certain description; but here it is the poor of the poorest order, that is the most restless people, who pay. I will prove to you, that men have been excommunicated by a most illegal sentence, for refusing to pay tithe of turf. I have two decrees in my hand from the Vicarial Court of Cloyne; the first excommunicating one man, the second excommunicating four men most illegally, most arbitrarily, for refusing to pay tithe of turf: nor has tithe of turf, without pretence of law or custom been a practice only; but in some part of the south, it has been a formed exaction with its own distinct and facetious appellation, the familiar denomination of smoke-money. A right to tithe of turf has been usurped against law, and a legislative power of commutation has been exercised, I suppose for familiarity of appellation and facility of collection.

I am ready, if the house will go into the enquiry, to name the men, the parish, and all the circumstances.

I understand that in some cases this demand has ceased; that is, it has been interrupted by the terror of resistance; not by a respect for the law (a sad encouragement this to disturbance) but even in some of these cases the claim
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has been preserved, though the attempt has been deterred, and to an endeavour to preserve this claim, and to insert it in the body of the agreement with the parish, are we to attribute in some places, I understand, the defeat of composition and of concord.

It has been urged, the law would relieve in the case of demand for tithe of turf; but you have admitted the poverty of the peasant, and you cannot deny the expence of litigation. Sir, the law has been applied, and has not relieved.

I have authority from a person, now a most eminent judge, and some years ago a most distinguished lawyer, to affirm to this house, that he in the course of his profession, did repeatedly take exceptions to libels in the Spiritual Court for tithe of turf, and that they were uniformly over-ruled; and I have the same authority to affirm to you, that the Spiritual Courts do maintain a right to tithe of turf, and that in so doing, they have acted, and do act in gross violation of the law.

I am informed that tithe has been demanded for furze spent on the premises; and therefore, in circumstances not subject to tithe, a demand oppressive to the poor, and repugnant to the law.

Under this head the allegation is, that in some of the disturbed parishes of the south, tithe has been demanded and paid without custom, and against law; and that the ecclesiastical courts have allowed such demands against law; and this will be verified on oath.

The exactions of the tithe-proctor are another instance of illegality; he gets, he exacts, he extorts from the parishioners, in some of the disturbed parishes one, frequently two shillings in the pound. The clergyman's agent is then paid by the parish, and paid extravagantly. The landlord's agent is not paid in this manner, your tenants do not pay your agent ten per cent. or five per cent. or any per centage at all. What right has the clergyman to throw his agent on his parish? As well might he make them pay the wages of his butler, or his footman, or his coachman, or his postillion, or his cook.

This demand, palpably illegal, must have commenced in bribery; an illegal perquisite growing out of the abuse of power; a bribe for mercy: as if the tithe-proctor were the natural pastoral-protector of the poverty of the peasant, against the possible oppressions of the law, and the exactions of the gospel. He was supposed to take less than his employer would exact, or the law would allow; and was bribed by the sweat of the poor for his perfidy and mercy.

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This original bribe has now become a stated perquisite ; and, instead of being payment for moderation, it is now a per centage on rapacity. The more he extorts for the parson, the more he shall get for himself.

Are there any decent clergymen who will defend such a practice? Will they allow that the men they employ are ruffians, who would cheat the parson, if they did not plunder the poor; and that the clerical remedy against connivance, is to make the poor pay a premium for the encrease of that plunder and exaction, of which they themselves are the objects?

I excuse the tithe-proctor; the law is in fault which gives great and summary powers to the indefinite claims of the church, and suffers both to be vested in the hands, not only of the parson, but of a wretch who follows his own nature, when he converts authority into corruption, and law into peculation.

I have seen a catalogue of some of their charges; so much for potatoes; so much for wheat; so much for oats; so much for hay---all exorbitant: and after a long list of unconscionable demands for the parson, comes in a peculation for the proctor: two shillings in the pound for proctorage; that is, for making a charge, for whose excess and extravagance the proctor ought not to have been paid, but punished.

Thus peculation has now become a law; the proctor's fees, paid at first, for a low valuation, are now in some cases added to a full one; and the parish is obliged to pay ten per cent. to the proctor, for the privilege of paying the full tithe to the parson.

Under this head the allegation is, that the tithe-proctors in certain parishes of the south, do ask and extort from the poor parishioners one or two shillings in the pound under the description of proctorage; a fee at once illegal and oppressive; and this they are ready to verify at your bar.

It has been said, that an equity has been always observed in favor of the tiller of the soil. This, I understand, will be controverted, and it will be proved, that in some of the disturbed parishes, the demands of the following articles will be found to pay tithe: wheat, potatoes, barley, bere, rye, flax, hemp, sicep, lambs, milch-cows, turf, pigs, apples, peaches, bees, cabbage, oziers; in some, oblations, Easter-offerings, burial-money.

I understand that every thing, of any consequence, which is tithed in any part of Ireland, is tithed in Munster; that potatoes, which are tithed in no other

other part of Ireland, are tithed here ; and that each article is, in most of the disturbed parts, tithed higher than in any other part of Ireland.

I understand that it will appear, that in some parts of Kerry, they tithe potatoes 1*l.* wheat 16*s.* barley 13*s.* oats 12*s.* hay 2*s.*

In Kerry they do not measure by the acre, but the spade. They reckon, as I am informed, the breadth of their potatoe-ridge, or trench, to be an Irish perch, or ten feet and an half, the length therefore when 320 perches make an acre, they measure by the spade length, which is five feet and a half long ; twenty of these Irish spades they suppose to contain eighteen stone of potatoes, or what they call two Kerry pecks ; and as there are little more than 61 score spades in the bed of 320 perches, that is, in an acre, the whole quantity of potatoes is valued at 1100, or 122 Kerry pecks, which averages at twenty-pence the peck, that is 20*s.* the acre for tithe of potatoes.

In a parish in the county of Cork, I understand, the following demand was made and paid :

Wheat 8*s.* the English acre ; barley the same ; meadow 4*s.* oats 4*s.* potatoes 12*s.* proctor's fees 2*s.* 2*d.* in the pound, and this not for one year, but a succession. This, when valued by the Irish acre, is for wheat 13*s.* barley 13*s.* meadow 6*s.* 6*d.* oats 6*s.* 6*d.* potatoes 19*s.*

This will better appear, by stating to you some of the proctor's bills for a series of years, which I understand will be proved at your bar.

In the year 1782.				<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For 113 English acres of meadow	-	-	-	21	16	0
16 ditto barley	-	-	-	5	12	0
8 ditto oats	-	-	-	1	12	0
2 ditto potatoes	-	-	-	1	4	0
2 <i>s.</i> proctorage	-	-	-	3	5	0

In the year 1783.						
For 92 English acres of meadow	-	-	-	18	0	0
18 ditto oats	-	-	-	3	0	0
4 ditto potatoes	-	-	-	2	8	0
2 <i>s.</i> in the pound proctorage	-	-	-	2	12	0

Valuation for 1784.						
74 acres of meadow	-	-	-	14	0	0
9 ditto second crop potatoes	-	-	-	4	10	0

For

APPENDIX.

For 1785.			<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
8 acres barley second crop	-	-	2	16	0
1 ditto potatoes second crop	-	-	0	10	0
For 1786.					
3 acres and half potatoes and flax	-	-	2	2	0
2 ditto barley	-	-	0	16	0
7 ditto meadow	-	-	1	1	0
10 cows	-	-	0	3	4

You will observe that these are all the English acre, and make the acreable ratages about what I have stated, in round numbers.

I have also to produce several affidavits of different people, (peasants I suppose they are) from the county of Cork. The brief of which affidavits I will now state to you : they depose, that a charge was made of ten shillings (English acre I am informed) for wheat, and ten for potatoes, of the worst kind.

That a charge was made of twenty shillings for an acre and half of barley, and that the crop was a bad one.

That a charge was made and exacted, of fifteen shillings for half an English acre of wheat, and half an acre of oats.

They prove that the tithe has encreased of late, in some parts, from 5 to 8 or 10 shillings the English acre for potatoes ; from 4 to 8 or 10 shillings for wheat ; and for barley, oats, and hay, in a similar proportion.

They prove that the charges in the ecclesiastical courts have swelled to ten times the original sum.

They prove that the tithe demanded in 1786, in some instances exceeded the rack-rent of the land ; they prove that it is a practice to charge for more acres than the peasant has in tillage ; and they produce the charge of the proctor, and the return of the surveyor ; they prove that the prices charged in some instances in 1786, exceeded the value of the tithe.

They prove an unchristian and uncharitable exaction. What credit is to be given to these affidavits, you will be the best judge when you go into the committee ; but this I think, even on the statement you can decide, that these peasants have been oppressed by tithe, and however fondly and partially these men may state their own case, yet it appears that they have a case which you ought to consider, and that there has not been that moderation on the part of parson and proctor, as by the former is so confidently alleged.

I understand

I understand in the course of your enquiry it will appear, that a living has been lately and rapidly raised from 60*l.* to 300*l.* by the new incumbent; that a farm from 12*l.* a year tithe, has been raised to 60*l.*; that a living in these disturbed parts from 130*l.* has been in the same manner and expedition raised to 340*l.*; that another living in these disturbed parts, in the same manner, has been raised from 300*l.* to 1000*l.*

I understand it will appear to you, that 14*l.* have been demanded and paid for 11 acres, the rent of which was only 11*l.* 11*s.*; that flax has been in some of those disturbed parts rated exorbitantly; that rape has been rated at one guinea an acre; nay one return goes so far as to say, 16*l.* were demanded for four acres of rape. These particulars you will judge of, when you open your committee, how far they may be exaggerations, how far they may be grievances, after every allowance for sanguine statement on the part of the husbandman.

But there are some returns, which cannot be exaggerations, and which are exorbitant: they are the returns of the proper officer appointed by the Court of Chancery, to try petitions under the compensation act.

From Limerick there are five; one is

Flax	-	-	from 10 <i>s.</i>	to	0 <i>s.</i>	Meadow	-	from 2 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i>	to	3 <i>s.</i>	
Potatoes	-	-	8	—	10	Sheep	-	0	4	—	0
Wheat	-	-	6	—	0	Lambs	-	0	3	—	0
Barley	-	-	6	—	0	Cows	-	0	2	—	0
Oats	-	-	4	—	5	Receivers fees	-	2	2	—	0

Proved to have been constantly paid.

November 5th, 1787—Average valuation allowed.

Flax	-	-	-	-	12 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>	Oats	-	-	-	-	4 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>	} per acre.
Potatoes	-	-	-	-	10 0	Meadow	-	-	-	2 10		
Rye	-	-	-	-	6 0							

Cows, 4*d.* each.

October 31st, 1787—Average valuation allowed.

Potatoes	-	-	-	-	10 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>	Oats	-	-	-	-	5 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>	} per a.
Wheat	-	-	-	-	10 0	Meadow	-	-	-	3 0		

Cows, 3*d.* each.

December 19th, 1787—Average valuation allowed.

Wheat	-	-	-	-	9s.	0d.	Oats	-	-	-	-	4s.	6d.	} per acre.
Potatoes	-	-	-	-	8	0	Meadow	-	-	-	-	2	6	
Barley	-	-	-	-	7	6								

Sheep, 4d. Cows, 2d. each.

October 18th, 1787—Valuation per report made to the Lord Chancellor.

Potatoes	-	-	-	-	12s.	0d.	Barley	-	-	-	-	10s.	0d.	} per acre.
Flax	-	-	-	-	12	0	Oats	-	-	-	-	6	0	
Rape	-	-	-	-	12	0	Meadow	-	-	-	-	6	0	

Wheat - - - - 10 0

Cows, 3d. Sheep and Lambs together, 3d.

I shall now read you the return from Cork, from the proper officer appointed to try petitions. The return consists of different acreable ratages. The acre, I am told, in that country, is the English acre: if so the ratages are as follow:

Potatoes.			Wheat.			Barley.			Oats.			Meadow.		
E. Acre.	Ir. Acre.		E. Acre.	Ir. Acre.		E. Acre.	Ir. Acre.		E. Acre.	Ir. Acre.		E. Acre.	Ir. Acre.	
s.	s.	d.	s.	s.	d.	s.	s.	d.	s.	s.	d.	s.	s.	d.
5	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	9	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	11	4	6	9	9	0	0	0	2	6	4	0	0	0
8	13	0	7	11	0	0	0	0	3	4	10	2	3	3
9	14	0	8	13	0	5	8	1	4	6	6	3	4	10
10	16	0	10	16	0	6	9	9	5	0	8	4	6	6

I believe there is no man who hears these charges, that will not pronounce some of them exorbitant, unconscionable, and totally different from those which the advocates for tithe have ventured publicly to acknowledge or defend. I believe no man who hears these ratages, that will not say, that some of them preclude the idea of any equity in favor of the tiller of the soil, and that the person who makes such a demand means to exact the last penny of his claim, and if he talks of moderation is a hypocrite.

As to potatoes, the clergyman ought not to proceed with reference to the produce, but the price of labour: in the parts of which I have been speaking, the price of labour is not more than 5d. a day the year round; that is, 6l. 4s. the year; supposing the labourer to work every day but Sunday, making an allowance

allowance for sickness, broken weather, and holidays, you should strike off more than a sixth: he has not in fact then more than 5*l.* a year by his labour; his family average above five persons, nearer six, of whom the wife may make something by spinning (in these parts of the country there are considerable manufactories). Five pounds a year, with the wife's small earnings, is the capital to support such a family, and pay rent and hearth-money, and in some cases of illegal exaction, smoke-money to the parson. When a gentleman of the church of Ireland comes to a peasant so circumstanced, and demands 12 or 16*s.* an acre for tithe of potatoes---he demands a child's provision---he exacts contribution from a pauper---he gleans from wretchedness---he leaves from penury---he fattens on hunger, raggedness, and destitution. In vain shall he state to such a man, the proctor's valuation, and inform him, that an acre of potatoes, well tilled, and in good ground, should produce so many barrels; that each barrel at the market price is worth so many shillings, which after allowing for digging, tithes at so much.

The peasant may answer this reasoning by the Bible: he may set up against the tithe-proctor's valuation the New Testament; the precepts of Christ against the clergyman's arithmetic; the parson's spiritual professions against his temporal exactions, and in the argument, the peasant would have the advantage of the parson. It is an odious contest between poverty and luxury---between the struggles of a pauper and the luxury of a priest.

Such a man, making such a demand, may have many good qualities; may be a good theologian; an excellent controversialist; deeply read in church history; very accurate in the value of church benefices; an excellent high priest---but no Christian pastor. He is not the idea of a Christian minister; the White-boy is the least of his foes; his great enemy is the precept of the gospel and the example of the apostles.

With respect to the rudiments of manufacture, you ought not to proceed according either to the produce or to the price of labour; you should observe an equity in favor of the manufacturer. When 12*s.* an acre are demanded for flax, the tithe is fatal to the progress of the linen trade in the south; and the great word increase and multiply meets obstruction in this instance, from some of the ministers of the gospel, or those employed by them, preventing the growth of manufacture and population, by the excess of demand and the love of riches. England established a modus for flax, a modus of 5*s.* an acre, and yet the linen manufacture is not the staple of England, but was given up

by England to be the staple of Ireland. The parliament of England establishes there a modus of 5s. an acre for your staple, and some of your clergy here demand for it 12s. an acre.

Under the head of excess the following allegation is submitted to your consideration; that in certain parishes of the south the charge for tithe has been unconscionable, and has not observed any equity in favor of the husbandman, the poor, or the manufacturer.

But the law would relieve: turn to the ecclesiastical courts---the judge is a clergyman, or appointed by a clergyman, and of course is a party judge; and though in some cases his personal rectitude may correct his situation, and prevent him from being a partial, yet, from the constitution of his court, he is a party judge. The ecclesiastical courts in England maintained gravel and stone to be titheable; as some of ours have maintained turf to be titheable. Lord Holt said, they made every thing titheable; but, says he, I do not regard that; the pope, from whom our clergy derive their claim, though they depart from its alleged application, subjected to tithe the gains of the merchant, and the pay of the army: the canons went farther, and held the tithe of fornication and adultery to be the undoubted property of the church. We are now too enlightened to listen to claims carried to so very great an extent, and ecclesiastical courts are less extravagant now; but still, the principle continues, the bias continues---still they are party courts; the evidence, like the judge, is a party; he is worse, he is frequently the servant of the party, and the nature of his evidence is the best calculated to give every latitude to partiality and corruption: he generally views the crop, when the crop is ripe, or when the ground is red; in the first case, he cannot, with any great accuracy, ascertain the quantum of produce, and in the last case, he cannot, with any accuracy at all; and yet, without survey, without measure, and in some cases, without inspection of the crop, hear him swearing before a party judge, to the quantum of ground and produce.

I have selected some cases from the Vicar's Court of Cashel. I will read them, and on some of them will make such observations as occur to me. I will begin with the year 1766, to prove the present mode and measure to be encroachment.

1766.

Seymour against *Burke*.---Subtracted two-thirds of two acres of bere, two acres of oats, five acres of oats and one acre and an half of potatoes, and three acres of meadowing, parish of Ballybrood, and county of Limerick,
valued

valued at 1*l.* 12*s.* it was proved, that all the tithes of the said parish belonged to promovent, and that two-thirds of the tithes were subtracted by the impugnant.

Hanley against *Ryan* and others.---Seven lambs and forty-two sheep, 8*s.* 2*d.* ---one acre of oats and potatoes, 3*s.*---half an acre of oats, 1*s.* 6*d.*---seven acres of meadow, at 1*s.* 6*d.* per acre, 10*s.* 6*d.*

1767.---They had two acres of potatoes, 10*s.*---two acres of new potatoes, 12*s.*---three roods of oats, 2*s.* 3*d.*---six acres of meadow, at 1*s.* 6*d.* an acre---forty-one sheep, and twelve lambs, at 2*d.* a piece, 8*s.* 10*d.*

1768.---They had four acres of potatoes, 1*l.*---half an acre of new potatoes, 3*s.*---six acres of meadow, 9*s.*

September 1, 1769---Knockgraffon.

The Reverend *Nicholas Herbert* against *Parker*.---Eight acres of wheat, at 5*s.* an acre.

Maffey against *Smithwick*.---Oats one acre and an half, 6*s.* on the lands of Ballynagrana, in the parish of Emly.

Morgan against *Fitzpatrick*.---Ballydarrid, diocese of Cashel. One acre and an half of bere, 7*s.* 6*d.*---two acres of meadow, at 2*s.* 6*d.* each, 5*s.*---three acres of oats, at 2*s.* 6*d.* each, 7*s.* 6*d.*

February 16, 1771.

Doctor Jervais against the *Morrissey's*.---Half an acre of potatoes, 4*s.*---one acre and a half of wheat, 12*s.*---six acres of meadow, 18*s.*---two acres of oats, 8*s.*---one acre of wheat and some potatoes, 8*s.*---one acre of wheat and some potatoes, 6*s.*---one acre of wheat and some potatoes, 8*s.*---half an acre of potatoes and oats, 3*s.*---half an acre of wheat, 4*s.*---half an acre of potatoes, 4*s.*---one acre of oats and potatoes, 6*s.*

Cooper against *Gliffan*.---One acre of oats, 3*s.* 6*d.*---one acre of bere, 5*s.*---two acres of wheat, 10*s.*---two acres of rape, 14*s.*

February 8, 1772.

Lloyd against *Hourigan*.---Subtracted in 1770, an orchard, on the lands of Grange, in the parish of Cahirconlish, two-thirds of the tithes, 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and on the lands of Knockeen, another orchard, two-thirds of the tithes of which, 16*s.* 8*d.*

Hanley against *Sadlier*.---Thirty acres of meadow, at 1*s.* 1*d.* an acre---twelve acres of meadow, at 1*s.* 6*d.* an acre---Decreed, with 6*s.* 8*d.* cost. Note, the lands in the Union of Toom.

January

January 23, 1773.

Blake against *Bryan*.---Brittas in the parish of Thurles, impugnant, in 1771 subtracted two one-half acres of potatoes, at 7s. 6d.---one acre of barley, at 5s.---eighteen acres of meadow, at 3s.---And in 1772 he subtracted seven one-half acres, at 8s.---four one-half acres of bere, at 7s.---four one-half acres of barley, at 5s.---eight acres of oats, at 5s.---twelve acres of meadow, at 3s.

January 8, 1774.

Moore against *several Persons*.---Barley, 6s. 6d. an acre---wheat, 7s.---meadow, 2s. 6d.---potatoes, 8s.---in the parish of Emly.

Rial against *several persons*.---Five one-half acres of potatoes, 1l. 13s.---two acres of oats, 8s.---one one-half acre of meadow, 6s.---one acre of rape, 8s.---Killenaule, decreed with 6d. cost in each.

Cooper against *Gliffan*.---Bere, 5s. an acre---oats, 4s. an acre---oats, 3s. 6d. an acre---wheat, 5s. Deane'sgrove, in the parish of the Rocks.

Herbert against *M'Encraw*.---Wheat 8s. an acre---oats, 3s. 6d.---bere and flax, 6s.---potatoes, 8s. Knockgraffon parish.

February 2, 1775.

Lockwood against *Mockler*.---Barley, 5s. an acre---oats, 3s. 6d.---bere, one one-fourth acre, 6s. 3d. Ardmayle parish.

Lockwood against *Meagher*.---Bere, 5s. an acre---oats, 3s. 6d.---wheat, 6s. Ardmayle parish.

January 20, 1778.

Cooper against *Cunningham*.---Thurlesbegg, the parish of the Rocks, oats, 3s. 6d. an acre---barley, 5s.---rape, 8s.

1780.

Riall against *Freehy*.---Ballingarry parish, wheat, 5s. an acre---potatoes, 2s.---oats, 10d.---subtracted in 1777.

Tierney against *Cleary* and others.---Parish of Tennor, potatoes, 6s. an acre---wheat, 7s.---bere, 6s.---oats, 4s.

Shaw against *Carroll*.---Ballysheehan parish, two-thirds of the tithes; two hundred and sixty-five barrels of potatoes, growing on four one-half acres, at 3s. 6d. a barrel, 3l. 1s. 3d.---forty-two barrels of wheat, on seven acres, 2l. 15s.---sixty-four barrels of bere on four acres, 1l. 10s. 3d.---in all, 7l. 6s. 6d. with 1l. cost.

Hare against *fame*.---Two hundred and sixty-five barrels of potatoes, one-third

third of the tithes thereof, 1*l.* 9*s.* 8½*d.*---forty-two barrels, one-third of the tithes thereof, 1*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.*---sixty-four barrels of bere, one-third of the tithes thereof, 13*s.* 7½*d.*---Decree, with 1*l.* cost.

Same against *Mary Strang*.---Two thousand three hundred and fifty barrels of potatoes, one-half of the tithe of which, 22*l.* 1*s.* 5*d.*---bere, one hundred and twenty-eight barrels, one-half of the tithe of which, 2*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*---oats, one hundred and forty-three barrels, one-half of the tithe of which, 2*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.*---flax, one-half of the tithe of which, 5*s.*---hay, one hundred and twenty-five tons, one-half of the tithe of which, 6*l.* 5*s.*---in all, 33*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* The archbishop took time to consider.

July 16, 1780.

Same against *Mary Strang*.---Nave for the impugnant prayed to be let into the merits, but his grace over-ruled him.---Nave then tendered 10*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* as a compensation, which the promovent refused.---Griffith prayed sentence, which was decreed by his grace for 33*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* with 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* costs.

August 12, 1782.

Maffey against *Murnane*.---Meadow, five acres, 1*l.* and 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* cost.

October 7, 1782.

Shaw against *Mahony*.---Ordered that Gilbert Meara, the proctor of Cæsar Sutton, be enjoined from collecting or demanding tithes from any of the parishioners of Ballysheehan, which are claimed by said Sutton.

Hare against *Strang*.---Decree, that the appeal is deserted in pain, and that a monition shall issue for 33*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* pursuant to the rule of the 16th July, 1781.

March 10, 1783.

Lloyd against *Hoops*.---60 acres of meadow, producing 240 tons, valued 16*l.*---10 acres, 40 tons, 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*---6048 stone of potatoes, at 1*d.* per stone---the tithe in all 2*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* and 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* cost.

Ryan against *Madden*.---Decree for 4*s.* 6*d.* for the tithe of two acres of meadow, and 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* cost.

Moore against *Pat. Moroney*.---1 acre potatoes, producing 60 barrels, at 9*s.* 9*d.* per barrel, that is 2*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* per acre---4 acres of meadow, at two one-half tons per acre at 1*l.* a ton.

June, 1785.

Ryan against *Greene*.---4 acres and three-fourths potatoes, at 64 barrels, containing

containing 4256 stone, the tithe 425 stone at 4*d.* per stone, amount to 5*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*---flax 2 acres and one-half, 160 stone, the tithe, 16 stone at 4*s.* 3*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.*---oats, 4 acres and one-quarter, containing 232 stone, the tithe 43 stone at 6*d.* per stone, 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*---meadow ten acres, 30 tons, the tithe 3 tons, at 2 guineas per acre, 6*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* in all 16*l.* 8*s.* 3*d.*

Parish of Ballingarry, June 26, 1784.

Preston against *Clifford*---In 1783, 420 stone of potatoes, tithe at 3*d.* per stone, amount to 10*s.* 6*d.*---oats 48 stone, tithe at 9*d.* per stone, 3*s.* 4½*d.*---barley, 196 stone, tithe at 8*d.* per stone, 13*s.*---hay, 10 tons, tithe whereof 1 ton, 2*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* Decree, and 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* cost.

July 26, 1784.

Walsh against *Fanning*---Parish Kilcooly, in 1783, had two-one-half ton, at 20*s.* per, the tithe 5 cwt. value 5*s.*---potatoes, 100 barrels at 3*s.* per, the tithe 1*l.* 10*s.*---oats 5 barrels, tithe half barrel, value 3*s.* 6*d.* in all 1*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* Decree, and 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* cost.

It appears from one of these decrees, that in the year 1780, a demand is brought for two hundred and sixty-five barrels of potatoes, as two-thirds of the tithe of the parish of Ballysheegan. By what learned process the proctor or evidence can prove this precise value, or whether he has measured the crop, I cannot say, but I most strongly suspect the contrary; and then his valuation is a false and arbitrary accuracy, and his sub-division of the crop is a trick to increase the charge. The minuteness of charge is the multiplication of oppression. Do not imagine that the proprietor of tithe cannot proceed otherwise than by this species of minute valuation, for I have read you the report of suits brought in a different manner, to which I beg you may advert. This method appears from the report, an innovation; it is tithing by mouthfuls.

It appears from this decree, that these two hundred and sixty-five barrels of potatoes, were the produce of four acres and an half; the charge appears to be 4*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* that is near 1*l.* the acre for potatoes; the case goes on and charges for forty-two barrels of wheat, (not measured, I apprehend) 4*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* value 20*s.* the barrel, and as this appears to arise from seven acres, the charge is 12*s.* the acre; to this is added, 20*s.* cost.

The case that follows this, is a demand brought for one-third of the tithe, and proceeds exactly on the same principles of crafty minuteness, false accuracy, and real oppression.

In

In these cases you will recollect, that there should ever be made a difference between the field price and market price: the field price is what the crop is worth at the time, and in the state in which the parson's right accrues; and the market price is that to which the parson has no right. These distinctions do not seem always to have been religiously adhered to by these clerical judges.

The next case I shall observe on is, a demand brought for two thousand three hundred and fifty barrels of potatoes, one hundred and twenty-eight barrels of bere, and one hundred and forty-eight barrels of oats. On what evidence? Who was the laborious indefatigable man who went through the long process of measuring and weighing this ponderous and bulky produce? This is the case of Mrs. Strang, and the result of this charge is, a decree for *33l. 14s. and 1l. 6s. 8d. cost*. There is no necessity for knowledge of fact to support such a demand; the evidence does it by his power of guessing, by his craft, his sagacity; which, it seems, before such a tribunal, is satisfactory. You think this measure by the barrel a criminal ingenuity; but they carry it much farther, they swear to the stone. I have read you a suit brought for six thousand and forty-eight stone of potatoes; but there is a case which sums up all the principles which I have stated and objected to; it is the case of Ryan against Greene. In this four acres and a quarter of potatoes are alleged to have contained four thousand two hundred and sixty-six stone, and are tithed at *5l. 6s. 3d.* which is above one guinea an acre for potatoes; two acres and a half of flax are alleged to contain one hundred and sixty stone, and are charged above *3l. 4s.* above a guinea an acre for flax; four acres and a quarter of oats, alleged to contain four hundred and thirty-two stone, are charged *1l. 1s. 6d.* about *5s.* the acre; ten acres of meadow, alleged to contain thirty ton, are charged at *6l. 6s. 6d.* that is above *12s.* the acre meadow; the decree went for the sum charged, *16l. 8s. 3d.* and the cost *1l. 6s. 8d.* An observation which aggravates even this case, will occur, when I tell you this charge was made in a year of famine---the famine of 1783, when an embargo was laid on your exports, and the people nourished by contribution. There is another aggravation even to this; they charge a famine price, and calculate a plenty produce, and avail themselves of both.

There is another case of scarcity, where a suite is brought for four hundred and thirty stone of potatoes, valued at *3d.* per stone, a price of scarcity; for forty-eight stone of oats, a price of scarcity; and for ten tons of hay, valued

at 2*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* the ton, a price of scarcity, decreed with 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* costs. Another case of scarcity---where a demand is made for six hundred and thirty stone of potatoes, valued at 3*d.* per stone, a price of scarcity; ninety-six stone of oats, valued at 9*d.* per stone, a price of scarcity; eleven tons of hay, at 2*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* the ton---total tithe, 3*l.* 16*s.* decreed with 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* costs; and these seem to be the case of poor peasants, who have but six hundred or four hundred stone of potatoes, valued at 3*d.* a stone, in a hard year, in the famine of 1783, decreed with the aggravation of the highest costs the law would allow.

But there is a case of a most extraordinary appearance---a case which rises on famine. I do not see that any decree was made upon it; one acre of potatoes is alleged to contain sixty barrels of potatoes, and each barrel is valued at 9*s.* 9*d.*---that is 2*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* tithe for the acre of potatoes.

With regard to the legality of the conduct of a clergyman, who in rating his parishioners, takes advantage of a famine, and brings up as it were the rear of divine vengeance, and becomes in his own person, the last great scourge of the husbandman---with regard to the legality of the conduct of a clergyman, who not only takes the advantage of famine, but joins a famine price to a plenty produce, and by one and the same act punishes human industry, and aggravates physical misfortune---as to the legality of such a conduct, I shall say nothing---it may be perfectly consistent with his temporal claims, but blasts his spiritual pretensions—for ever.

After these oppressions, the most grievous kind of oppressions---oppressions by judgment of law, you would hardly listen to the minor grievance where the decree shall be for 1*l.* and the costs 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*---where the decree shall be for 4*s.* and costs 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* There are several of this kind---but this would seem the mercy of the court admonishing the peasantry never to appear again before such a tribunal.

From these instances I may infer, that the peasantry must look for redress to parliament, and will not find it in the spiritual courts, which, from their distance, from the uncertainty of their session, from their constitution, and from their judgments, must rather give the tithe-farmer a confidence in extortion, than the husbandman a confidence in the law. From these instances, I think I have proved, that there has existed such a thing as excess of demand---excess of demand without remedy; and this excess would be better understood, if you compare the ratages of the South with those of other parts of the kingdom.

Here

Here Mr. Grattan observed, that two material differences existed: first, that potatoes were tithed no where but in the South; secondly, that the other articles of tillage were tithed no where so high as in the South; that there were some few parishes, 'tis true, in the North, and some parts of counties that bordered on Munster, where potatoes were tithed; but that the instances were few, and the exception proved the rule.

That the other articles of tillage were not tithed so high in other places, after making every allowance for difference of soil.

Here Mr. Grattan stated the ratages which were usual in the other provinces, and which were much less than those exacted in the South, which, he said, appeared to be the region of poverty, exacting, and tumult, and that the tumult seemed commensurate with the exacting, which, he said, fell particularly heavy on those who were the least able to pay. He shewed, that in the other provinces, that not only the tithe on tillage was less, but that there were certain modusses in some of their counties for articles which, in the South, was heavily tithed---Thus, in the North, there was a modus for flax six-pence, be the quantity ever so great. That, in part of Connaught there was a modus for hay, six-pence per farm, be the quantity ever so great. That, considering the exemption of potatoes, these modusses, and the ratages on tillage in the other parts of the kingdom, two observations must arise, 1st, either that the clergy were greatly cheated in the three parts of Ireland, or that the people were greatly oppressed in the South; 2dly, that you must raise the ratages of the clergy in Ulster, Connaught, and Leinster, or you must now check them in Munster. Are you prepared for the former of those events? Are you prepared in Connaught and Ulster to pay 12s. or 14s. for potatoes and 12s. the acre for flax? Are you prepared in Ulster for the Compensation-bill, and the Magistracy-bill, which must accompany and enforce such efforts to introduce among you those exactions which oppress Munster? It is true, the North is teized in some counties, by small-dues, which it is a part of my scheme to put an end to, and make a compensation to the clergy.

The ratages of the South will be still better understood by comparing them with her own ratages at a former period—that from every information he could collect, they had greatly increased. This will be a very proper subject for your committee.

That he had affidavits to produce stating the encrease, which was rapid and exorbitant, bearing no proportion whatsoever to the general increase in the

value of things. That these affidavits seemed warranted by current testimony of public opinion, and particularly by extracts from the decrees of the Vicar's Court, where it appeared, not from one decree, but a course of decrees, that the acreable ratages of late had greatly encreased.

Here he read some of the decrees before referred to. That it had been said, that in the diocefe of Cork and Rofs, the ratages had not encreased thefe laft thirty years. That he was willing to reft the cafe on that principle, and if the ratages in the South had not within thofe laft thirty years greatly encreased, he was willing to give up the queftion ; and he defired a committee to inveftigate and determine that important point. That this encroachment, on which he infifted, was the more inexcufable, when we confidered the great increafe of tillage in the South, which of itfelf would have encreased the incomes of the clergy, even though they had diminished their ratages ; the caufes of the increafe of tillage make the encreafe of ratage improper as well as unneceffary ; becaufe they are in fome degree artificial ; the bounty on corn is an artificial caufe. That bounty fhould not be tithed. The effect of that bounty has not been prevented ; but the full operation of it has been checked by exceffive tithe, and has been interrupted by tumult, the companion of thefe exceffive demands, fo that the excefs of tithe re-afts on the premium, and makes it doubtful whether the plough fhall advance under the bounty, or go back under the tithe.

Another artificial caufe of the growth of your tillage in the South, is your want of manufacture : a poor and rapid population, that cannot be employed in manufacture muft be employed in hufbandry ; but then it is the miferable and experimental hufbandry ; what Mr. Young calls an execrable tillage on bog or mountain, which by the laws of England would be for feven years exempt from tithes, and which by the laws of Ireland ought to be fo. You have two afts, one exempting newly reclaimed ground from tithe of flax or hemp for feven years ; and another exempting reclaimed bog, provided ten acres fhall be reclaimed, from tithe generally for feven years ; but why not as in England, exempt all newly reclaimed ground from all manner of tithe for feven years ?

Here Mr. Grattan mentioned, that he learned, in fome of the Western parts of the county of Cork, they rated the mountaineers higher than in many parts of the richeft low land : charging them by the fpade length a fum, which, when applied to the acre, was equal to 20 or 30s. the plantation acre. Thefe
parts

parts and their inhabitants, he understood, were entirely consigned to the dominion of the tithe-proctor or tithe-farmer, and were equally savage, and oppressed, and turbulent.

This encroachment, this disproportion, and this excess, which I have already particularized, are the more to be lamented, because the law does not administer the remedy. The ecclesiastical courts I have proved to afford no redress whatever; I have shewn that their judgments are not founded in moderation, and are not always founded in law.

The right of setting out the tithe has not always proved, in the case of the poor, a security against illegal demands, and does not affect to be a security against unconscionable demands.

By the law, the tenant must give forty-eight hours notice, and bind himself to a day, whether fair or foul. In the case of potatoes, he must, if the parson does not choose to attend, leave the ridge in the field, which may prevent his sowing winter corn, and be the difference between the profit on wheat and on oats. The tenant cannot dig his potatoes till October, he seldom does till November; and he must use them in August, because the stock of last year is exhausted. Now, the digging a bowl of potatoes is by construction in the ecclesiastical courts, the subtraction, not of the particular tithe, but of the tithes of the year: for simplicity of suit they construe subtraction of one prædial tithe to be subtraction of the whole; and for extent of power, that is, for the sake of bringing the whole under their jurisdiction, they construe potatoes to be prædial tithe. Thus the necessity of the year brings the peasant under the lash of ecclesiastical authority, that great scourge of the farmer.

In the last year, the peasantry very generally set out their tithe, and the clergy in several instances refused to draw; they did so in several instances where there was no illegal combination, unless a combination among themselves, to deprive the peasant of a right to set out his tithes, and get an *ex post facto* law to collect their tithe in a new, summary, and oppressive mode. Sir, it will be proved, that the countryman has waited day after day until the parson should draw his tithe. It will be proved, that he has left his crop in the field until it has become green. It will be proved, that he has offered to the parson or proctor to hire them horses to draw their tithe. It will be proved, that he has offered to draw it home at his own expence.

Here Mr. Grattan read a notice from a landholder to a clergyman, informing him, that he should draw on such a day, and offering to lend the parson
horses

horses and cars, to draw his tithe wherever he should appoint; and he observed, that the parson had refused. He also observed, that an offer had been made to a clergyman by a gentleman, to draw, keep, and preserve the tithe in the gentleman's haggard, if the clergyman did not choose to keep it in his own; which offer, Mr. Grattan stated, to have been refused; the clergyman choosing to recover by a compensation, or an *ex post facto* law, which went to deprive the countryman of his common right, without any proof of his guilt.

That if such a bill was permitted it would take from the countryman, in some of the cases mentioned above, not the tenth, but the fifth; for the tenant had lost by weather the tithe sowed and set out, and was likely to pay another tithe by act of parliament. That this would be, not compensation, but robbery, and the worst species of robbery, robbery by authority of parliament; it would be to take the most decided and unconstitutional part, in a case where this house affected to take no part at all; and where it declined every kind of information whatsoever, to enable it to take any part with dignity, justice, or effect; and that by such a step we should put the Irish farmer with respect to his tithe, on ground very different from that of the English farmer, and much more disadvantageous.

That the law in England does not require forty-eight hours. That where the tithe is left too long on the ground, the law of England gave the owner of the land an action on the case against the parson for his negligence. You give the parson a compensation for his negligence.

If tithes set out remain too long on the ground, the law of England gives the owner of the land a right to take those tithes as damage *faisan*; if sued for them, he is to set forth how long they remained on the premises, and the jury (whom your bill excludes and thus indirectly stigmatizes) is to decide. By the law of England the care of the tithe, after severance, rests with the parson. In England, where the tithe of corn was set out, and the parson would not take it, but prayed a remedy in the ecclesiastical court, a prohibition against the parson was granted.

See how much more care the law of England takes of the husbandman; how much more attention it affords him than the law of the parliament of Ireland: and it is one of the charges and allegations of the husbandman of the south;

“ That in certain parishes, the parishioners have duly and legally set out
“ their

“ their tithes, have given due notice, and have taken all the legal steps ; but
 “ that no person has attended on the part of the clergyman, under the ex-
 “ pectation, they conceive, of getting some new method of recovery, hitherto
 “ unknown to the law, and tending to deprive, by a past operation, the parish
 “ of the benefit of its ancient right and privilege of setting out the tithe.”

This oppression connects itself with another part of this subject, a very obnoxious, a very oppressive, and a very notorious part of it, the tithe-farmer. The farming of any revenue is a pernicious idea. It is the practice of absolute kings, who, anxious about their riches, and careless about their people, get a fixed income from some desperate adventurer, and then let loose on the community, this animal of prey, at once destitute of remorse, and armed with authority.

In free countries such a practice is not permitted. You would not allow it to the king, and you ought not to allow it to the church. It is an evil in politics, but a scandal in religion ; and the more dangerous in the latter, because tithe being indefinite, the latitude of extortion is indefinite. The use of the tithe-farmer is to get from the parishioner, what the parson would be ashamed to demand, and to enable the clergyman to absent himself from his duty : the powers of the tithe-farmer are summary laws and ecclesiastical courts ; his livelihood is extortion ; his rank in society is generally the lowest, and his occupation is to pounce on the poor in the name of the Lord. He is a species of wolf, left by the shepherd to take care of the flock in his absence ; he fleeces both, and begins with the parson.

Here Mr. Grattan stated, that the tithe-farmer seldom got less than one-fourth of the money collected ; but sometimes one-third. That there were instances where he got even more, and had reduced the parson to the state of a poor pensioner, on his own living. That he had heard, that in one of the disturbed parishes, the parish had wished to come to a good understanding with the clergyman, and to pay him in person, but that the tithe-farmer had obstructed such an accommodation, and had by his mercenary intervention prevented concord, moderation and composition : parishes were not only subject to one tithe-farmer, but, in some cases, were cursed with a legion of them. A non-resident clergyman shall employ a tithe-farmer, who shall set the tithe over again, to two blacksmiths, who go among the flock like two vultures. A tithe-farmer shall, on being questioned, give the following account of himself : That he held the tithe from one, who had them from an officer, who held
 them

them from a clergyman, who did not reside in a parish, where there were resident no dean, no rector, no vicar, no schoolmaster; where the whole business of Christianity, on the Protestant side, was transacted by a curate at 50*l.* a year; and as the parish has been disturbed by the tithe-farmer or proctor, so has it in some cases been quieted in getting rid of him. I have known a case where the parish made, with their clergyman, the following agreement: Sir, we pay your proctor 800*l.* a year, and he gives you 600*l.* We will give you 600*l.* and become your collectors and your security. In another living, the parish paid the proctor 450*l.* a year, and the proctor paid the parson 300*l.* The parishioners became the collector and the security, paid the clergyman 300*l.* a year, took for their trouble 30*l.* and eased the parish of 120*l.*; the consequence was peace: and the more you investigate this subject, the more you will find, that the disturbance of the people, and the exactions of the church, have been commensurate; and that the peace of the former has attended the moderation of the latter; nor is it only the excess of exaction which makes the tithe-farmer a public misfortune—his mode of collection is another scourge. He puts his charges into one or more notes, payable at a certain time; if not then discharged, he serves the countryman with a summons, charging him 6*d.* for the service, and 1*s.* for the summons; he then sometimes puts the whole into a Kerry-bond or instrument, which bears interest: he then either keeps the bond over his head, or issues out execution, and gets the countryman's body and goods completely into his power. To such an abuse is this abominable practice carried, that in some of the southern parts of Ireland, the peasantry are made tributary to the tithe-farmer; draw home his corn, his hay, and his turf, for nothing; give him their labour, their cars, and their horses, at certain times of the year, for nothing. These oppressions not only exist, but have acquired a formed and distinct appellation—tributes: tributes to extortioners; tributes paid by the poor in the name of the Lord. To oppression we are to add intoxication; the drunkenness and idleness, which not seldom attend the method in which the tithe-farmer settles his accounts with the poor parishioners devoted to his care; the place in which he generally settles these accounts, makes his bargains, and transacts his business, is the alehouse. He sometimes, I am told, keeps one himself, or he has a relation who gets a license to sell ale and spirits, because his friend is employed by the church, and will bring him custom.

Do you, gentlemen, sign your leases in the alehouse? What should you think

think of a steward who made your tenants drunk, when he should collect your rents? And what should a clergyman think of his tithe-farmer, who made his flock drunk, when he collected or settled his tithes, and bathed in whiskey this precious offering, this primæval property, held by some to be the very essence of religion, and not only most ancient, but divine?

To this loss of industry you are to add, the loss of revenue—(where, as in some cases I am told) the revenue officer is the tithe-farmer, and in that most suspicious and deadly combination of fraudulent capacities, overcharges in tithe, and undercharges in tax: that is, compensates to the countryman, by robbing the king, and adds to the crime of exaction the offence of spoliation, and profits by both. I appeal to the commissioners of the revenue, whether they have not good reason to suspect such practices? And I appeal to some of a right reverend bench, whether this be the only commutation, which in their opinion is practicable or proper? Under this head it is alleged, that in certain parishes in the south, tithe-farmers have oppressed, and do oppress his majesty's subjects, by various ways of extortion, by assuming to themselves arbitrarily and cruelly, powers which the law does not give, and by making an oppressive use of those powers which the law has put into their hands. And this the parishioners are ready to verify on oath.

To these evils are we to add another, which is the principal source of them all—the uncertainty of tithe—the full tenth ever must be oppressive.

A tenth of your land, your labour, and your capital, to those who contribute in no shape whatsoever to the produce, must be oppression; they only think otherwise, who suppose, that every thing is little which is given to the parson; that no burden can be heavy, if it be the weight of the parson; that landlords should give up their rent, and tenants the profits of their labour, and all too little: but uncertainty aggravates that oppression, the full tenth ever must be uncertain as well as oppressive, for it is the fixed proportion of a fluctuating quantity, and unless the high priest can give law to the winds, and ascertain the harvest, the tithe, like that harvest, must be uncertain; but this uncertainty is aggravated by the pernicious motives on which tithe frequently rises and falls. It frequently rises on the poor---it falls in compliment to the rich. It proceeds on principles the reverse of the gospel; it crouches to the strong, and it encroaches on the feeble; and is guided by the two worst principles in society, servility and avarice united, against the cause of charity, and under the cloak of religion.

Here let me return to, and repeat the allegations, and call on you once more to make the enquiry. It is alleged, that in certain parishes of the south, tithe has been demanded, and paid, for what, by law, was not liable to tithe: and that the ecclesiastical courts have countenanced the illegal exaction; and evidence is offered at your bar to prove the charge on oath. Will you deny the fact? Will you justify the fact? Will you enquire into it.

It is alleged, that tithe-proctors in certain parishes of the south do exact fees for agency oppressive and illegal; and evidence to prove the charge is offered on oath. Will you deny the fact? Will you justify the fact? Will you enquire into it?

It is alleged, that in certain parishes of the south, tithes have been excessive, and have observed no equity for the poor, the husbandman, or the manufacturer: and evidence is offered to prove this charge on oath. Will you deny the fact? Will you justify the fact? Will you enquire into it?

It is alleged, that in certain parishes of the south, ratages for tithes have greatly and unconscionably increased; and evidence is offered to prove this charge on oath. Will you deny the fact? Will you justify the fact? Will you enquire into it?

It is alleged, that in certain parishes of the south, the parishioners have duly and legally set out their tithe, and given due notice; but that no persons have attended on the part of proctor or parson, under expectation, it is apprehended, of getting some new method of recovery, tending to deprive the parish of the benefit of its ancient right, that of setting out their tithe; and evidence is offered to prove this charge on oath.

It is alleged, in certain parishes in the south, tithe-farmers have oppressed and do oppress his majesty's subjects, by various extortions, abuses of law, or breaches of the same; and evidence is offered to prove this charge on oath. Here, once more I ask you, will you deny the fact? Will you justify the fact? Will you enquire into it?

This being the state of the church in certain parishes in the south, I wish to know, what in the mean time within those districts becomes of religion? Here are the parson and parish at variance, about that which our religion teaches us to despise—riches. Here is the mammon of unrighteousness set up to interrupt our devotion to the true God. The disinterested, the humble, the apostolical character during this unseemly contest, what becomes of it? Here are two powers---the power in the tenant to set out his tithe, the power in the church

church to try the matter in dispute by ecclesiastical jurisdiction---two powers vested by the law in the respective hands of church and laity, without any effect but to torment one another: the power of setting of tithe does not affect to defend the tenant against unconscionable demand; and if attended with combination secures him against any effectual demand whatsoever. The power of trying the matter in dispute by ecclesiastical jurisdiction, does not take place, except in case of subtraction, and when it does take place is a partial trial. Thus, as the law now stands, combination is the defence of laity, and partiality of the church.

The equity in favor of the tiller of the soil (a very necessary equity indeed) becomes a new source of disturbance, because the parties are not agreed what that equity should be—the countryman, not conceiving that any one can, in equity, have a right to the tenth of his land, labour, and capital, who does not own the land, nor plow, nor sow, nor reap, nor contribute in any degree whatsoever to the produce. The tithe-farmer having no idea, but that of iniquity, on the subject. The parson perhaps conceiving, that a tenth on tillage is a bare compensation in equity, for what he deems the greatest of all iniquity, your vote of agistment. Thus, the two parties, the parson and his parish, the shepherd and his flock, with opposite opinions, and mutual powers of annoyance in the parts I have alluded to, seem to go on in a rooted animosity and silent war.

Conceive the pastor looking over the hedge like a spy, to mulct the extraordinary labours of the husbandman.

Conceive him coming into the field, and saying “you are a deserving husbandman—you have encreased the value of your field by the sweat of your brow; Sir, I’ll make you pay me for that,”—or conceive a dialogue between a shepherd and one of his flock; “I will take your tenth sheaf; and if you chuse to vex me, your tenth hen, and your tenth egg, and your tenth goose,” (not so the apostles)—or conceive him speaking to his flock by parable, and saying, “the ass stopped with his burden; and his burden was doubled, and still he stopped, and his burden was still encreased—and then the perverse animal finding his resistance in vain, went on; so even you shall find resistance but encrease your load, until the number of acts of parliament shall break your back.”

These pastoral discourses, if they have taken place, however well intended, will not, I fear, greatly advance the cause of the faithful, particularly in a

country, where the numbers remain to be converted to the Protestant religion, not only by the superior purity of its doctrine, but by the mild disinterested peace-making spirit of its teachers.

Will not the dignitaries of the church interpose on such an occasion? how painful must it have been to them, the teachers of the gospel, and therefore enemies to the shedding of blood, to have thought themselves under the repeated necessity of applying to parliament for sanguinary laws; the most sanguinary laws on your statute books are tithe-bills; the White-boy act is a tithe-bill; the Riot act is a tithe-bill.

How painful to those dignitaries must it be to feel themselves in the office of making perpetual complaints against their own flock, and to be conscious, in some instances, of having jaded and disgusted the ears of the court, by charges against the peasantry? How painful to them to have repeated recourse to the military in their own case, and to think that many of their sinful flock, but their flock notwithstanding, were saved from the indiscriminating edge of the sword by ecclesiastical zeal, tempered and withheld, and in some cases disappointed by the judicious mercy of military command?

We, the laity, were right in taking the strongest measures the last session: it was our duty to assert; but of these churchmen, it is the duty, and I suppose the nature, to deprecate, to incline to the mild, the meek, the dispassionate, and the merciful side of the question, and rather to prevent by moderation than punish by death.

Whether these exactions were in themselves sufficient to have produced all the confusion of the last year, I know not, but this I do believe, that no other cause had been sufficient without the aid of exaction; if exaction had not existed, the south would not, I believe, have been convulsed. A controverted election alone could not well have been an adequate cause; the objects of attack must, in some cases, have been something more than partizans, and the flame spread by contagion; the first torch must have been an accident, but the people were rendered combustible by oppression.

The Whiteboy should be hanged; but I think the tithe-farmer should be restrained; I would inflict death on the felon, and impose moderation on the extortioner; and thus relieve the community from the offences of both.

But do not let us so far mistake the case, as to suppose it a question between the parson and the Whiteboy; or that the animosity which has been excited is confined to felons; no, it is extended far more generally; it is extended
to

to those who have been active in bringing those felons to justice; and men will appear at your bar who have suffered under excess of demand, and have acted to restore peace, the instrument of quiet, and the objects of exaction: let us therefore examine the subject, and having already with great propriety taken the most decisive steps against the insurgent, let us enquire now into the cause of the outrage, and see whether exaction might not have had some share, at least, in the origin of it; and if so, let us strive to form some plan which may collect the riches of the church, without repetition of penal laws or of public disturbance.

In forming a plan for the better provision of the church, the first thing to be considered is the quantum of provision; the second consideration is the fund from whence that provision is to arise; the quantum of provision should be the usual net income on an average of years, except in some parishes of great exaction; I say usual, because I would not materially alter their allowance; I say on an average of years, because I would not make recent incroachment property; I say net, because when the public shall become the tithe proprietor's agent, the public will have a right to the benefit of the agency.

That their income is discoverable I affirm, and I affirm it under the authority of their own act, and their own practice; without going farther back than the last session, you will find the compensation act requires the person suing on the act to make a discovery of his customary income, and in some cases discovery of his ratages for three years back on oath; it requires that he should, in his affidavit, set forth that the valuation of 1786, is made as near as possible the ratage of the three former years; it requires that where a valuation of the tithe of 1786 could not be made, a valuation of the customary tithe for three years back should; it enables the court to appoint persons to enquire into the fact, and call for parties and papers, and thus establishes two principles, which were denied; that the annual income of benefices is discoverable, and that the particular ratage is discoverable also: I might go back to the act of Henry VIII. which requires that a commission should be directed to enquire into ecclesiastical benefices, and report the value of the same; and I might further adduce the act of William III, which gives to the ecclesiastical person who builds, two-thirds of the sum expended, which sum is to be ascertained by a certificate; which certificate, by the 12th of George II. shall contain an account of the clear yearly income of the benefice.

neffice. After these instances, I hope no man will deny that the income of the clergyman is discoverable; particularly, when the compensation act of the last winter requires such a discovery to be made on the oath of the parson. That act was supported by the whole bench of bishops; it was probably framed with their advice and suggestions. They would not require their clergy to report on oath what they themselves conceived, or had maintained to be impossible; as if it was impossible to make a discovery for the purpose of commutation, but for the purpose of compensation, easy and obvious. Thus, when I affirm the discoverability of the clergyman's income, I have not only the authority of the church, but its oath. The net return should be the parson's perpetual income, subject to the exception stated above; but in order to guard him against the fluctuation of currency, I would fix the value of that income in grain; it should be the value of so many barrels of wheat, to be estimated every seven years by the corn-office, or the clerk of the market, who now quarterly strikes the average value of corn throughout the kingdom. Thus, his income should not be absolutely either corn or money; but the value of so much corn to be paid in money.

As to the fund from whence these receipts should arise, that fund should be a charge on the barony, to be levied like other county charges; this method is easy, for it is already in use; the head constable should be the parson's collector, and the county should be his security.

To this I know the objection, and it is an objection which can be best answered by those who make it. It will be said, that this scheme prevents the division of unions, and the increase of poor livings. Apply the first fruits as they ought for the increase of poor livings, and the repairs of the church, and then you will answer your own argument; but a fictitious and remote valuation for the benefit of the rich clergy has been made of these charitable funds, frustrating the purpose of the charity equally to the neglect of the church and poor. The luxury of the priest has usurped the funds of the poor and of the church, then sets up against both a miserable modus, and prescribes in this instance against charity and religion.

However, if the dignitaries of the church will not, parliament may answer this argument, and provide for more clergy as occasion shall permit. You impairish by act of parliament; with proper provision, when you see the necessity, you may divide. The care of religion is placed no where better than

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in the legislature. Popery will tell you, that when it was entirely left to the care of the priesthood, it was perverted and destroyed.

But if difficulties should be made to this plan—and in order to give the church the growth of the country—there is another plan, a *modus*; let every article which shall be subject to tithe be set forth in a tithing table, with certain ratages annexed—let those ratages be taken, and set forth in the tithing table as now equivalent to so many stone of bread corn.

Let the act provide, that there shall be a septennial valuation of bread corn, by the clerk of the market, or the proper officer.

Let there be exemption for the rudiments of manufacture, and a saving for all local custom and exemptions—such as potatoes in most places, hay in several, and such like.

In order to form this *modus*, which should be provincial, not universal, let four provincial committees be appointed. You will see a precedent in your journals; on the report of these provincial committees, form your bill. In your bill you will probably think proper to give agistment, or a certain sum for head-money, not in addition to, but in ease of ratages on tillage.

In forming your ratages, you will probably enquire into the acreable ratages now established, and adopt them where they are reasonable, and reject them where they are exorbitant—where there are no acreable ratages established, the contiguous parish or county, where they are established, will furnish you with a rule.

If once you appoint committees, the parson and parish will both come forth with information—and from both you will collect the present ratages, and be enabled to make a rule. In forming this rule, you will probably think proper to exempt the poor man's garden in the south from the tithe of potatoes.

The true principle with respect to your peasantry, is exoneration; and if I could not take the burden entirely off their back, I would make that burden as light as possible; I would exempt the peasant's cow and garden from tithe; if I could not make him rich, I would do the next thing in my power; I would consider his poverty as sacred, and vindicate against an extortioner the hallowed circle of his little boundary. The loss to the church might be easily compensated, particularly if you give agistment or head-money in ease of tillage.

I would also relieve the north from small dues, as I would relieve the poor of the south from the tithe of potatoes; and where these small dues had long
obtained,

obtained, I would make the parson compensation, either by giving him head-money, or by making an estimate of these dues, and raising them in the way of other county charges. Should it be said that we should as well exempt the peasant from rent as from tithe; to that uncharitable and unchristian observation, I answer, no. The land is not his own, but his labour is his own. The peasant is born without an estate; he is born with hands, and no man has a natural right to the labour of those hands, unless he pays him: thus, when you demand the peasant's rent, you ask for your own estate; when you demand tithe, you ask for a portion of the peasant's estate, the poor man's only estate, the inheritance which he has in the labour of his hand, and the sweat of his brow.

Human laws may make alterations, and when made, must be observed; but it should be the policy of human laws to follow the wisdom of the law of nature.

The result of these principles, and of these committees proceeding on the rules I have submitted, would be the benefit of the church, as well as the relief of the farmer, for establishing a modus on the average ratages of a certain number of years, except in cases of exaction, you would give the church as much as they have at present, except in those instances of unconscionable demand; and as the ratages would come net to the owner of the tithe, you would in fact, on this principle, give the church more; the spoil of the tithe-farmer would, therefore, enable you even to lower the ratage, and yet, give more to the church; so that the result would probably be, that the moderate clergyman would get more, and the uncharitable clergyman would get less, which would be a distribution of justice, as well as of property. Having once agreed on the modus, I would wish to give the clergy or lay-impropriator, for the recovery of their income, any mode they choose to appoint, civil bill, or any other method, and then you will save them the charge and disgrace of an expensive agency, which expence arises from the difficulty of the recovery and the uncertainty of the demand; and if you add the facility and cheapness of collection with the certainty of income to the quantum under the modus on the principles I have stated, you will find the value of the church property would, even in the opinion of a notary public, be increased, though the imaginary claim would be circumscribed and diminished. This is no commutation, no innovation; here is only a regulation of tithe, and an abolition of tithe-farmers, and of those

those abuses which have grown out of the uncertainty of title; it takes from tithe its deadly sting, uncertainty, and makes it cease to be a growing penalty on extraordinary labour; and it puts the question directly to the moderation of the church, will you insist on indefinite demand, and unconscionable ratage, as an essential part of the Christian religion, or the Protestant establishment? The Bill is the answer to this question, even though the clergyman should be silent; and it is therefore I press this method the more, because it does not involve the subject in speculation, nor rest the redress of the peasantry on the ingenuity of system, but makes that relief a matter of moderation, and of Christian charity: were you disposed to go farther you might form, on this regulation, a commutation which should more effectually relieve the plow, and should, at the same time, give the benefit of the growth of the country to the church: let a person in each parish be appointed in vestry by the parson and the parishioners, and if they do not agree, let each appoint their own, who shall every year make a return of acres under tillage to applotters, who shall make a valuation of the same according to a tithing table, such as I have stated to be established by act of parliament, and that valuation to be raised in the manner of other baronial charges; thus the parson's income would encrease with the extent of tillage, without falling principally on the plow. The principle of this plan, if you choose to go beyond a modus, is obvious; the mechanical part of this, and of the other regulation which I have submitted, will be best detailed in the provincial committees, if you shall choose to appoint them, for, in fact, your plan must arise out of the enquiry, and the resolutions of these committees, and the great difficulty on the subject is your aversion to the enquiry. There are other difficulties, I allow, the difficulties of pride, the difficulties of passion, the difficulties of bigotry, contraction of the head, and hardness of the heart. Tithes are made more respectable than and superior to any other kind of property. The high priest will not take a parliamentary title; that is, in other words, he thinks they have a divine right to tithe.

Whence? None from the Jews; the priesthood of the Jews had not the tenth; the Levites had the tenth, because they had no other inheritance; but Aaron and his sons had but the tenth of that tenth; that is, the priesthood of the Jews had but the hundredth part, the rest was for other uses; for the rest of the Levites, and for the poor, the stranger, the widow, the orphan, and the temple. But supposing the Jewish priesthood had the tenth, which

they certainly had not; the Christian priesthood does not claim under them. Christ was not a Levite, nor of the tribe of Levi, nor of the Jewish priesthood, but came to protest against that priesthood, their worship, their ordinances, their passover, and their circumcision. Will a Christian priesthood say it was meet to put down the Jewish, but meet likewise to seize on the spoil; as if their riches were of divine right, though their religion was not; as if Christian disinterestedness might take the land, and the tithe given in lieu of land, and possessed of both, and divested of the charity, exclaim against the avarice of the Jews?

The Apostles had no tithe, they did not demand it; they and he whose mission they preached, protested against the principle on which tithe is founded. "Carry neither scrip, nor purse, nor shoes; into whatever house ye go say, peace." Here is concord and contempt of riches, not tithe. "Take no thought what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, nor for your bodies what ye shall put on;" so said Christ to his Apostles. Does this look like a right in his priesthood to a tenth of the goods of the community?

"Beware of covetousness—seek not what ye shall eat, but seek the kingdom of God."

"Give alms—provide yourselves with bags that wax not old, a treasure in Heaven which faileth not." This does not look like a right in the Christian priesthood to the tenth of the goods of the community exempted from the poor's dividend.

"Distribute unto the poor, and seek treasure in Heaven."

"Take care that your hearts be not charged with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and the cares of this life."

One should not think that our Saviour was laying the foundation of tithe, but cutting up the roots of the claim, and prophetically admonishing some of the modern priesthood. If these precepts are of divine right, tithes cannot be so; the precept which orders a contempt of riches, the claim which demands a tenth of the fruits of the earth for the ministers of the gospel.

The peasantry in apostolic times had been the object of charity, not of exaction. Those to whose cabin the tithe-farmer has gone for tithe of turf, and to whose garden he has gone for the tithe potatoes, the Apostles would have visited likewise; but they would have visited with contribution, not for exaction: the poor had shared with the Apostles, though they contribute to the churchman.

The

The gospel is not an argument for, but against the right divine of tithe; so are the first fathers of the church.

It is the boast of Tertullian, "*Nemo compellitur sed sponte confert hæc quasi deposita sunt pietatis.*"

"With us men are not under the necessity of redeeming their religion, what we have is not raised by compulsion, each contributes what he pleases; *modicam unusquisque stipendium vel cum velit, et si modo velit, et si modo possit*; what we receive we bestow on the poor, the old, the orphan, and the infirm."

Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage, tells you, the expences of the church are frugal and sparing, but her charity great; he calls the clergy his *fratres sportulantes*; a fraternity living by contribution.

Forake, says Origen, the priests of Pharaoh, who have earthly possessions, and come to us who have none: we must not consume what belongs to the poor; we must be content with simple fare, and poor apparel.

Chrysostome, in the close of the fourth century, declares, that there was no practice of tithes in the former ages; and Erasmus says, that the attempt to demand them was no better than tyranny.

But there is an authority still higher than the opinions of the fathers; there is the authority of a council; the council of Antioch, in the fourth century, which declares, that bishops may distribute the goods of the church, but must take no part to themselves, nor to the priests that lived with them, unless necessity required them justly; "have food and raiment, be therewith content."

This was the state of the church in its purity; in the fifth century decimation began, and Christianity declined; then indeed the right of tithe was advanced, and advanced into a stile that damned it. The preachers who advanced the doctrine placed all Christian virtue in the payment of tithe. They said that the Christian religion, as we say the Protestant religion, depended on it. They said, that those who paid not their tithes, would be found guilty before God; and if they did not give the tenth, that God would reduce the country to a tenth. Blasphemous preachers—gross ignorance of the nature of things—impudent familiarity with the ways of God—audacious, assumed knowledge of his judgments, and a false denunciation of his vengeance. And yet even these rapacious, blasphemous men did not acknowledge to demand tithe for themselves, but the poor—alms! the debt of charity—the

poor's patrimony. "We do not limit you to a precise sum; but you will not give less than the Jews"—*decimæ sunt tributa egentium animarum redde tributa pauperibus*. Augustine goes on and tells you, that as many poor as die in your neighbourhood for want, you not paying tithe, of so many murders will you be found guilty, at the tribunal of God—*tantorum homicidiorum reus ante tribunal eterni judicis apparebit*. Let us, says St. Jerome, at least follow the example of the Jews, and part of the whole give to the priest and the poor. To these authorities we are to add, the decree of two councils—the provincial council of Mafcon, in the close of the sixth century, and the decree of the council of Nantz, in the close of the ninth. The first orders that tithes may be brought in by the people, that the priest may expend them for the use of the poor, and the redemption of captives. The latter decrees, that the clergy are to use the tithes, not as a property, but a trust—*non quasi suis sed commendatis*.

It was not the table of the priest, nor his domestics, nor his apparel, nor his influence, nor his ambition; but a Christian equipage of tender virtues—the widow, the orphan, and the poor; they did not demand the tithe as a corporation of proprietors, like an East India Company, or a South Sea Company, with great rights of property annexed, distinct from the community, and from religion; but as trustees, humble trustees to God, and the poor, pointed out they presumed by excess of holiness and contempt of riches. Nor did they resort to decimation, even under these plausible pretensions, until forced by depredation committed by themselves on one another. The goods of the church of whatever kind, were at first in common, distributed to the support of the church, and the provision of the poor; but at length the more powerful part, those who attended the courts of princes; they who intermeddled in state affairs, the busy high priest, and the fervile, seditious, clerical politician; and particularly the abbots who had engaged in war, and had that pretence for extortion, usurped the fund, left the business of prayer to the inferior clergy, and the inferior clergy to tithe and the people.

Thus the claim of tithe originated in real extortion, and was propagated by affected charity; at first, for the poor and the church, afterwards subject to the fourfold division, the bishop, the fabric, the minister, and the poor; this in Europe.

In England tithe is not founded on divine right, but was said to be introduced by murder. A King of Mercia in the seventh century assassinated another

ther Prince in a most barbarous manner, and grants, with what power I know not, the tenth of his subjects' goods, for absolution; but in England, as elsewhere, the fourfold division took place; so says Blackstone.

Nay the preamble of the grant of Stephen recognizes tithe to be alms.

Since it is divulged far and near by the church, that souls may receive absolution by the grant of alms, "I, Stephen, to save my own soul, that of my father's, and that of my mother's, and my relations."

Then he goes on and grants or confirms tithes and other things.

Nay, there are two acts of parliament express, one the 13th, Richard II. providing that for the appropriation of benefices, there shall be provision made for the vicar and the poor.*

The cause of this act of parliament were benefices given to persons who did not, or could not preach, lay persons, sometimes nuns, (as we give them to non-residents) to the neglect of the poor's portion.

These principles were departed from, and the trust most undoubtedly buried in oblivion; but let me add, the Christian religion was forgotten likewise.

Hence the reformation bringing back christianity to its old purity; and hence a superior and milder order of priests, who purged the spiritual and some of the temporal abominations, but did not entirely relinquish the claim to the tithe; though I must own great numbers have too much purity to insist on it; a claim which I have shewn to have been in its creation an encroachment on the laity, and in its application an encroachment on the poor. No divine right, no, nor natural right: the law of nature and the law of God are the same; the law of nature doth not give property, but the law of nature abhors that disproportion of property which is to be found in the claim of 900 or 1000 men to the 10th of the goods of 3,000,000; a claim in the 3000th part of the community to the 10th of its property; surfeit on the part of the few; famine on the part of the many; a distribution of the fruits of the earth; impossible, beastly, shocking in itself, and when accompanied with a claim to extravagant moderation and purity, ridiculous and

* Because divers damages and hindrances have oftentimes happened by the appropriation of benefices in some places; it is agreed, that in every license it shall be expressly comprised, that the diocesan of the place shall ordain, according to the value of such churches, a convenient sum of money shall be paid and distributed yearly out of the fruits and profits of some churches to the poor parishioners of some churches in aid of their sustenance for ever; likewise that the vicar be well and sufficiently endowed. Statute Henry IV. confirms this act.

disgusting;

disgusting; a claim against the proportions of Nature and the precepts of the gospel.

I know there are acts of parliament on this subject. The act of Henry VIII. which requires the setting out of the tithe; an act of collection, not creation; an act which had the lay impropiator in view, and which seems to take for granted a claim of superstition founded on the pretence of charity. I know there are many subsequent acts (which are called tithe bills) intended to assist the collection of customary, not full tithe, and in that confidence granted by parliament. I am not now enquiring whether the claim to the full tithe is legal, but whether the application of that tithe for the sole purpose of supporting the priest is an usurpation. And, I have shewn you that tithe was a charity, subject to the support of the poor in the first place, and the priest in the last. I have shewn you that tithe does not stand on the delicate ground of private property. I have shewn you, that it was a trust converted into a property, by abuse; which abuse the legislature may controul, without sacrilege or robbery. If a right to the full tenth is yet insisted on, give them the full tenth, on the principles on which alone they at first ventured to demand it, subject to a poor rate; let the trust be executed; let widows and orphans share it; let the house of industry and the various hospitals and infirmaries share it; let the house of God (now a hovel repaired at the expence of parliament, though, by the canon law, it should be repaired by the priesthood) share it; let the poorer order of peasantry share it. If the clergy will insist on taking the full tithes of his potatoes, if they take the staff out of his hands, they must carry the peasant on their shoulders. Thus, the clergy insisting on the *summum jus*, and the laity on the *summa justitia*, the former would not be richer by the change. I should on such a change, condole with the church, and congratulate the poor; and I should applaud the discretion, as well as the moderation, of those excellent pastors, who did not rake up from the ashes of superstition, this claim to the tenth, but were satisfied with competence and character, and brotherly love, and a right to live by their ministry, a right set forth in the gospel, and which nature had set forth, even though the gospel had been silent.

“Impracticable,—impracticable,—impracticable,” a zealous divine will say, any alteration is beyond the power and wisdom of parliament; above the faculties of man to make adequate provision for 900 clergymen who despise riches! were it to raise a new tax for their provision, or for that of a body less
holy,

holy, how easy the task! how various the means! but, when the proposal is to diminish a tax already established, an impossibility glares us in the face, of a measure so contrary to our practices both in church and state.

If you think the property of the church divine, and that when you affect it at all, you touch on holy things, then call the proposal and call the reformation prophane, sacrilegious, blasphemous, but never call the proposal impracticable. How are the clergy paid in Holland? by fixed salary. How in Scotland? by fixed salary, never less than 1000 marks, nor more than 3000; Are the clergy in Scotland deficient? Has history no obligation to the clergy of that sagacious people? How are the civil, military, and revenue establishments paid in Ireland? by fixed salary. You have not found it difficult, but fatally facile to create such salaries. In these last twenty years, you have created not a few, and you have done this for laymen, to whom salary was the principal object; but for the church, where the provision, the temporal consideration is but secondary, a moderate means for the support of the great duty of prayer; to suppose the regulation, or even moderation of that provision impracticable, annexes a most transcendent importance to what is gross and temporal, and a comparative insignificance to what is pure and spiritual, and throws a certain complexion of grossness, and inabstinence on certain devout and most learned controversialists.

If indeed you conceive what is given in commutation should be equal to the tenth of your produce, the impracticability is admitted. While I admire the enormity of the suggestion, I acknowledge the impracticability of the execution of it. I believe the legislature will never agree to give them the tenth either in commutation or tithe, both are impracticable, such a claim, and such a commutation, that 900 men should have the tenth of the property of 3,000,000; and you will find we are much more; the custom of the country, the modus of several places, your own vote of agistment, and above all the interest of religion, and of frugal piety forbid it; give them the tenth and you give away your religion; but if you mean a commutation for customary profits, not extravagant claims, I think I have shewn you that commutation is not impracticable; I have shewn you how their present livings can be discovered, and can be commuted: the value is not an impenetrable mystery; there is hardly a parish in which you could avoid to find twelve respectable parishioners who would ascertain their ratages, and their income; nor is there a clergyman who could not tell you, nor a tithe farmer, nor a tithe-proctor,

proctor, nor a bishop, for he in his traffic with the minister about translation generally gives in a schedule of the value of the livings in his diocese. I think it unnecessary to add, that there are several acts, and one of the last session, requiring such a discovery, and the ratages in certain cases to be made on oath.

Men are apt to argue as if an error in that discovery might be fatal, as if the essence of religion was in the quantum of solid food, and as if 30*l.* a year more, or 30*l.* less, would be a difference decisive as to the propagation of the gospel. The inaccuracy that may attend the various ways of information on this subject cannot be much, and if it shall in a small degree lower the great livings and raise the small, cannot be fatal.

I should not wish to give the ministers of the gospel less than they have at present, except in some cases of hardship and extortion; but suppose some of them did receive less, would the church fall? The importance and the difficulty of accuracy on this question are both over-rated.

This objection of impracticability therefore against a commutation is but a pretence, and against a modus is not even a pretence; or is it impracticable to enquire into the present ratages, and on that information to proceed? If so, if this step is impracticable, the abuses that grow out of tithes are incurable, and then you ought to reject the system of tithe as an incorrigible evil, and recur to another mode of paying your clergy. If a modus be impossible, a commutation is necessary.

We are too apt to conceive public cares impracticable; every thing bold and radical in the shape of public redress is termed impracticable.

I remember when a declaration of right was thought impracticable; when the independency of the Irish parliament was thought impracticable; when the establishment of a free trade was thought impracticable; when the restoration of the judicature of our peers was thought impracticable; when an exclusion of the legislative power of the council was thought impracticable; when a limited mutiny-bill with Irish articles of war in the body of it, and the declaration of right in its front, was thought impracticable; when the formation of a tenantry-bill, for securing to the tenantry of Ireland their leasehold interest was thought impracticable; and yet those things have not only come to pass, but form the base on which we stand. Never was there a country, to which the argument of impracticability was less applicable than Ireland.

Ireland

Ireland is a great capacity not yet brought into action; much has been civilized, much has been reclaimed, but something is to be redressed; the lower orders of the people claim your attention; the best husbandry is the husbandry of the human creature. What! can you reclaim the tops of your mountains, and cannot you improve your people? Every animal, except the tiger, (as I have heard) is capable of being reclaimed; the method is to feed, to feed after a long hunger; you have with your own peasantry began the process, and you had better complete the experiment.

Inadequate, inadequate! interposes the advocate for exaction; the rich will intercept the relief intended by parliament.

This objection supposes the condition of the peasantry to be poor in the last degree; it supposes that condition to arise from various complicated causes; low price of labour, high price of land, number of absentees, and other causes, and it refers the poor to the hangman for regulation, and to Providence for relief; and it justifies this abandonment of one part of the community, by a crimination of the other: on a surmise that the upper orders of men in this country are complete extortioners, and would convert abatement of tithe into increase of rent, and thus intercept the justice of parliament. Here I must absolutely and instantly deny the fact; the landlords are not as described; expensive frequently I allow; but an hospitable, a humane and affectionate people; the genius of the Irish nation is affection; the gentlemen are not extortioners by nature, nor (as the tithe farmer is) by profession. In some cases they do set their land too high, in many not, and on that head they are daily becoming more reasonable.

Your magistracy-bill, your riot-act, your compensation-bill, what becomes of the authority of these laws with the lower orders, if you argue them into a conviction, that the landlords of Ireland, that is the landed interest who passed these acts in their collective capacity, are in their individual capacity but so many extortioners? Look to the fact, to their leases for thirty-one years, or three lives; not like bishop's leases: look to their lands, not like church lands. See the difference between the lands of laymen, who have an interest in the inheritance, and of church men, who have only the *esprit de corps*, that is, a false and barren pride in the succession; look to the landlords' conduct; they passed a tenantry-bill, the bishops' rejected a lease-bill, and have almost uniformly resisted every bill that tended to the improvement of the country. If by the remotest possibility, their body could be in the finallest

degree prejudiced in the most insignificant of its least warrantable pretensions; but if still you doubt, call forth the tenantry, and put the question to them; do not take your opinion from the oppressor; ask the oppressed, and they will tell you what we know already, that the great oppression is tithe; the middle-man's over-reaching, as in many instances, I acknowledge he is, (compared to the tithe-farmer's) is mercy. Suppose him as destitute of compunction, he is not armed with the same powers of torture, though he had the same genius for oppression; he has not his own tribunals, nor can he put the countryman to expence of attending on Vicar's Courts, nor of watching his crop, nor of delaying his harvest home, nor of notices, nor summonses, nor of drinking at his ale-house, while the value of the tithe is computed, nor of all that train of circumstances and charge with which the uncertain dues of the church are now collected, at the expence of the morals of the people.

But if the charge was founded in fact, it is not an argument, and has nothing to say to the question, where similar exertions of oppression, if morally probable, are rendered legally impossible. The landlord cannot in consequence of exemption from tithe, raise his rent on his lessees, during the continuance of the term. Now, do you imagine that it is the cottier only, and not the lessee also, that complains of tithe? they are both aggrieved; the tenantry of Ireland are aggrieved, the lessee therefore, must be relieved by the plan, and the cottier cannot be equally oppressed, because he agrees for his rent before he sows his crop, but pays his tithe afterwards; the latter of course must be, and the former cannot be, a charge for his extraordinary labour. Rent is a charge on land, tithe on labour, the one definite, the other indefinite; they are not convertible; encrease your rent under any pretence, still it must avoid the essential evil of tithe; the evil of being arbitrary; a tax rising with industry. Suppose the severest case, one pound an acre advanced rent for potatoe ground, the cottier by extraordinary labour, works himself comparatively out of his rent, and into a greater tithe; thus extortion by rent, is but a cruel compulsion on extraordinary labour, but tithe a penalty.

There are certain arguments, which leading to something absurd and nonsensical, are stricken out of the tribe of logic; those arguments should meet the same fate which lead to something that is worse than either nonsense or absurdity, to cruelty and to oppression. Of this tribe is the reasoning I now combat, an argument which would leave the landlords without character, to leave the common people without redress; I condemn the premises, but I abhor

hor the conclusion. What! should the clergy oppress the poor, because the landlords (as is alleged) do so already? because the latter (as is alleged) over value land, shall the church overcharge labour? because the peasant pays (as is alleged) sometimes five or six pounds per acre for his land, shall he pay twelve or twenty shillings to the parson for his potatoes? The premises of this argument impeach the character of the higher order, and the conclusion would steel one order against the other, and the result of such reasoning would leave you (what it affects to find you) wicked and miserable; and common sense and Christian charity lift up their hands against such an opprobrious premise, and such a pernicious conclusion.

If such were the state of our country, the church should interpose and give a good example, and not follow a bad one; they should say, we will take the lead; we will ourselves moderate the exactions which oppress the poor; if the rich take the advantage, and frustrate our pious intentions, we are not in fault; the character of religion is free, her ministers do not participate the plunder of the people. The vote of agistment left the measure I propose practicable, and made it necessary; by that vote you sent the parson from the demesne of the gentleman into the garden of the cottager; by that vote you said you shall not tax us; it remains for you to say, you shall not tithe the poor unconscionably; but, going as far as that vote and no farther, you declare to the proprietors of tithe, "Tithe the poor as you please, provided we do not pay you," and this is what some mean by their zeal in the support of the church; this is the more exceptionable, when you recollect that of the poor who pay your clergy, there are numbers, of a different religion, who of course receive no consideration from your clergy, and must pay another clergy. The protestant interest may require that these should contribute to the Protestant establishment; but the proportion and the manner in which you now make them contribute, redounds but little to Protestant honour, either in church or state.

Aye! but will you encourage tumult? Will you reward the White-boy? Will you give a premium to disturbance?—Sir, do not advert so lightly to the state of this country, nor pass so superciliously over general distress, as to think that the Right-boy or White-boy, (or by whatever other vagrant denomination tumult delights to describe itself) are the only persons who suffer by the present state of tithes; there are two other descriptions who are oppressed by them, those who did nothing in the late disturbance, and those who took part to quell them. Can you suppose so many would have been neutral in the sup-

pression, if they had not been a party to the oppression? and have you complained of the languor of your magistracy, and the supineness of the Protestant country gentlemen, without adverting to the reason? The tumult was confined, but the suffering was extensive. But there is another body of men who suffer, they who took part to suppress. Have they any pretensions? Do you deny that they are sufferers? they will come to the bar and prove it; they will prove two things very material, very worthy your attention, their merit and their suffering.

Yes, but will you innovate? Admit this argument, and we sit here to consecrate abuses. The statutes of Mortmain were innovations; the suppression of monasteries innovation; the reformation innovation; for, what is the Protestant religion, but the interposition of parliament, rescuing Christianity from abuses introduced by its own priesthood?

Institutions divine and human corrupt by their nature or by ours; the best human institution, the British constitution, did so corrupt, that, at different periods, it was anarchy, oligarchy, despotism, and was restored by parliament.

The only divine institution we know of, the Christian religion, did so corrupt, as to have become an abomination, and was rescued by act of parliament.

Life, like establishments, declines, disease is the lot of nature, we oppose its progress by strong remedies, we drink a fresh life at some medicinal fountain, or we find a specific in some salubrious herb: Will you call these restoratives, innovation on the physical œconomy? Why then, in the political œconomy, those statutes which purge the public weal, and from time to time guard that firm animal man against the evils to which civil society is exposed, the encroachments of the priest and the politician.

It is then on a false surmise of our nature, this objection; we live by a succession of amendment; such is the history of man, such above all, is the history of religion, where amendment was ever opposed; and those cant expressions, the supporting church and state, were ever advanced to continue the abuses of both. On those occasions prejudices from the ragged battlement of superstition ever screened innovation. When our Elizabeth established the Protestant religion, she was called an innovatress; when Luther began the reformation, he was called an innovator; nay, when Herod and the high priest Caiaphas (and high priests of all religions are the same) heard that one had gone forth into the multitude preaching, gathering the poor like the hen under

under her wing, saying to the rich, give unto the poor, and look for treasures in heaven, and take heed that your hearts be not overcharged with luxury, surfeit, and the cares of this life ; I say, when Herod and the High Priest saw the author of the Christian religion, thus giving comfort and countenance, and hope to the poor, they were astonished, they felt in his rebuke of their own pomp and pride, and gluttony and beastliness, great innovation ; they felt in the sublimity of his moral, great innovation ; they saw, in the extent of his public care, great innovation, and accordingly they conspired against their Saviour, as an innovator ; and, under the pretence of supporting what they called the Church and State, they stigmatized the redemption of man, and they crucified the Son of God.

If we were desirous to retort on the church the argument of innovation—its own history is fertile ; what is the idea of property in the church, but an innovation ? their conversion of property from the great body of the Christians, to their own use ? innovation—their temporal power ? innovation—their application for donations, equal to tenth ? innovation—the conversion of these donations to their own use ? innovation—their excluding the fabric of the church as well as the poor, from the benefit of those donations ? innovations—their various tithe bills ? innovation—their Riot-act ? innovation—their Compensation-act ? innovation.

To judge of the objection of innovation against my plan, see what that plan does not do !

It does not affect the doctrine of our religion—it does not alter the church establishment—it does not effect the constitution of episcopacy. The modus does not even alter the mode of their provision, it only limits the quantum ; and limits it on principles much less severe than that charity which they preach, or that abstinence which they inculcate. Is this innovation ? Moderation, innovation ! as if the Protestant religion were to be propagated in Ireland, like the influence of a minister, by bribery ; or like the influence of a county candidate, by money ; or like the cause of a potwalloping canvasser, by the weight of the purse ; as if Christ could not prevail over the earth, unless Mammon took him by the hand. Am I to understand, that if you give the parson 12*s.* in the acre for potatoes, and 10*s.* for wheat, the Protestant religion is safe on its rock ; but if you reduce him to 6*s.* the acre for potatoes and wheat, then Jupiter shakes the Heaven with his thunder—Neptune rakes up the deep with his trident, and Pluto leaps from his throne ?—arguments and appetites which depart from Christian purity, are best illustrated by
Heathen

Heathen mythology. See the curate—he rises at six to morning prayers; he leaves company at six for evening prayer; he baptizes, he marries, he churches, he buries, he follows with pious offices his fellow-creature from the cradle to the grave---for what immense income!—what riches to reward these inestimable services? Do not depend on the penury of the laity. Let his own order value his deserts; 50*l.* a year; 50*l.* for praying, for christening, for marrying, for churching, for burying, for following with Christian offices his fellow creature from cradle to grave—so frugal a thing is devotion, so cheap religion, so easy the terms on which man may worship his Maker, and so small the income in the opinion of ecclesiastics, sufficient for the duties of a clergyman, as far as he is connected at all with the Christian religion.

I think the curate has by far too little—bloated with the full tenth, I think the church would have abundantly too much.

The provision of the church is not absolute property, like an estate, but payment for a duty: it is a salary for prayer, not the gift of God independent of the duty. He did not send his Son to suffer on earth, to establish a rich priesthood, but to save mankind—it is the donation of the laity, for the duty of prayer. The labourer deserves higher for doing his duty---he is paid not as a high priest, but a pastor in his evangelic, not his corporate capacity---when he desires to live by his ministry, he demands his right; when he desires the tenth of your wealth, he demands your right; and he presumes riches to be the right of the church, instead of supposing what he ought, the Gospel to be the right of the people, and competency for preaching the Gospel, not luxury, to be the right, as it is the profession of the church. A provision for the Minister of the Gospel on its own principles, keeping clear of the two extremes, poverty on one side, and riches on the other; both are avocations from prayer; poverty, which is a struggle how to live, and riches, which are an occupation how to spend. But of the two extremes, I should dread riches---and above all, such indefinite riches as the tenth of the industry, capital, and land of 3,000,000, would heap in the kitchens of 900 clergymen---an impossible proportion; but if possible, an avocation of a very worldly kind, introducing gratifications of a very temporal nature---passions different from the precepts of the Gospel—ambition, pride, and vain glory. Add to this acquisition of the tenth---the litigation which must attend it; and the double avocation of luxury and law: conceive a war of citations, contempts, summonses, civil bills, proctors, attornies, and all the voluminous train of discord,
carried

carried on at the suit of the man of peace---by the plaintiff in the pulpit, against the defendants, his congregation. It is a strong argument against the tenth, that such claim is not only inconsistent with the nature of things, but absolutely incompatible with the exercise of the Christian religion. Had the Apostles advanced, among the Jews, pretensions to the tenth of the produce of Judea, they would not have converted a less perverse generation; but they were humble and inspired men---they went forth in humble guise, with naked foot, and brought to every man's door in his own tongue, the true belief; their word prevailed against the potentates of the earth, and on the ruin of the barbaric pride, and pontific luxury---they placed the naked majesty of the Christian religion.

This light was soon put down by its own ministers, and on its extinction a beastly and pompous priesthood ascended. Political potentates, not Christian pastors---full of false zeal, full of worldly pride, and full of gluttony---empty of the true religion. To their flock oppressive, to their inferior clergy brutal, to their king abject, and to their God impudent and familiar; they stood on the altar, as a stepping stool to the throne, glozing in the ear of princes, whom they poisoned with crooked principles and heated advice, and were a faction against their king, when they were not his slaves; ever the dirt under his feet, or a poignard in his heart.

Their power went down; it burst of its own plethora, when a poor reformer, with the Gospel in his hand, and in the inspired spirit of poverty, restored the Christian religion---the same principle which introduced Christianity guided reformation. What Luther did for us, philosophy has done in some degree for the Roman Catholics, and that religion has undergone a silent reformation, and both divisions of Christianity, unless they have lost their understanding, must have lost their animosity, though they have retained their distinctions. The priesthood of Europe is not now what it was once; their religion has increased as their power has diminished. In these countries particularly, for the most part, they are a mild order of men, with less dominion and more piety therefore, their character for the most part may be described in few words---morality, enlightened by letters, and exalted by religion---such many of our parochial clergy, with some exceptions however, particularly in some of the disturbed parts of the kingdom---such some of the heads of the church---such the very head of the church in Ireland. That comely personage, who presides over a vast income, and thinks he has great reve-
nues;

nues, but is mistaken, being in fact nothing more than the steward of the poor, and a mere instrument in the hand of Providence, making the best possible distribution of the fruits of the earth ; nay, there are of the church some superior to the prejudice which on the subject of tithes may be expected. Of all institutions, says Paley, adverse to cultivation, none so noxious as tithe—not only a tax on industry, but the industry that feeds mankind ; it is true ! the mode of providing for the church is exceptionable, and in some parts of Ireland has been, I apprehend, attended with very considerable abuses : these are what I wish to submit to you ; you will enquire whether in some cases the demands for tithes have not been illegal, the collection of them oppressive, the excess of demand uncharitable, and the growth of it considerable and oppressive.

Whether in all cases the tithe-farmer has been a merciful pastor, the tithe proctor an upright agent, and even the vicar himself a most unbiassed judge.

In this enquiry, or in forming some regulations from this enquiry, you will not be withheld by the arguments of pride, bigotry, and prejudice ; that argument, which reflecting on God maintains the sacred right of exactions ; that other argument, which reflecting on parliament denies your capacity to give redress ; that other argument, which reflecting on human nature supposes that you inflame mankind by redressing their grievances ; that other argument, which traduces the landed interest of Ireland as an extortioner, and belies one part of the community to continue the miseries of the other---an argument, of calumny, an argument of cruelty. Least of all should you be withheld by that idle intimation stuffed into the speech from the throne, suggesting that the church is in danger, and holding out from that awful feat of authority, false lights to the nation, as if we had doated back to the nonsense of Sacheverel's days, and were to be ridden once more by the fools and bigots. Parliament is not a bigot---you are no sectary, no polemic—it is your duty to unite all men, to manifest brotherly love, and confidence to all men---the parental sentiment is the true principle of government. Men are ever finally disposed to be governed by the instrument of their happiness. The mystery of government would you learn it ?---look on the Gospel, and make the source of your redemption the rule of authority, and like the hen in the scripture, expand your wings and take in all your people.

Let bigotry and schism, the zealot's fire, the high priest's intolerance, through all their discordancy, tremble, while an enlightened parliament, with
arms

arms of general protection, over-arches the whole community, and roots the Protestant ascendancy in the sovereign mercy of its nature; laws of coercion, perhaps necessary, certainly severe, you have put forth already, but your great engine of power, you have hitherto kept back; that engine, which the pride of the bigot, nor the spite of the zealot, nor the ambition of the high, nor the arsenal of the conqueror, nor the inquisition with its jaded rack and pale criminal, never thought of: the engine which armed with physical and moral blessing comes forth, and overlays mankind by services; the engine of redress---this is government, and this the only description of government worth your ambition. Were I to raise you to a great act, I should not recur to the history of other nations; I would recite your own acts, and set you in emulation with yourselves. Do you remember that night, when you gave your country a Free Trade, and with your hands opened all her harbours. That night when you gave her a Free Constitution, and broke the chains of a century---while England, eclipsed at your glory and your island, rose as it were from its bed, and got nearer to the sun. In the arts that polish life, the inventions that accommodate, the manufactures that adorn it, you will be for many years inferior to some other parts of Europe; but, to nurse a growing people, to mature a struggling, though hardy community, to mould, to multiply, to consolidate, to inspire, and to exalt a young nation; be these your barbarous accomplishments?

I speak this to you, from a long knowledge of your character, and the various resources of your soul, and I confide my motion to those principles not only of justice, but of fire, which I have observed to exist in your composition, and occasionally to break out in a flame of public zeal, leaving the ministers of the crown in eclipsed degradation. It is therefore I have not come to you furnished merely with a cold mechanical plan; but have submitted to your consideration the living grievances, conceiving that any thing in the shape of oppression made once apparent---oppression too of a people you have set free---the evil will catch those warm susceptible properties which abound in your mind, and qualify you for legislation.

No. LXXIX.

Correct Lists of the MAJORITY and MINORITY on the Questions respecting the REGENCY; with a List of those Members who did not vote on those Questions. (P. 220.)

Majority on the Question respecting the Regency.

ABERCROMBIE, B. Clackmanan-	Blackburne, J. Lancashire
hire	Bloxam, M. Maidstone
Addington, H. Devizes	Bond, J. Corfe Castle
Addington, Hiley, Truro	Boone, C. Castle Rising
Aldridge, J. Queenborough	Bootle, R. W. Chester
Amyatt, J. Southampton	Boscawen, W. A. S. Truro
Annesley, F. Reading	Bowyer, G. Queenborough
Appley, Lord, Cirencester	Bramston, T. B. Essex
Arden, Sir R. P. Aldborough.	Brandling, C. Newcastle
Arden, Lord, Launceston	Brett, C. Sandwich
Banks, H. Corfe Castle	Brickdale, M. Bristol
Barclay, R. Kincardineshire	Brodie, Nairn County
Baring, F. Grampound	Brook, T. Newton, Lancashire
Baring, J. Exeter	Browne, J. Hawkins, Bridgenorth
Barne, Barne, Dunwich	Browne, F. J. Dorsetshire
Barre, Isaac, Calne	Brudenell, G. B. Rutlandshire
Barrington, J. Newton, Hants	Burges, J. B. Helstone
Barwell, R. St. Ives.	Burton, F. Woodstock
Bastard, Edmond, Dartmouth	Call, J. Callington
Bathurst, P. Eye	Calvert, J. Hertford
Bayham, Lord, Bath	Calvert, J. jun. Tamworth
Baley, N. Anglesea	Campbell, Lord F. Inverary
Bearcroft, E. Hindon	Campbell, Clay, Glasgow, &c.
Belgrave, Lord, Totnefs	Carew, R. P. Ryegate, &c.
Beaufoy, H. Yarmouth	Caswell, T. Brackley
Bellingham, W. Ryegate	Cawthorn, J. F. Lincoln
Berkeley, Hon. G. Gloucestershire	Cecil, Henry, Stamford
Bishop, Sir Cecil, Bramber	Chaytor, W. Heydon

Cocks,

Cocks, Hon. J. S. Grampound	Fane, Hon. H. Lyme Regis
Colt, R. Lymington	Fane, Hon. T. Plymouth
Cornwallis, Hon. W. Portsmouth	Fellows, W. Andover
Cotton, Sir R. S. Cheshire	Ferguson, Sir A. Edinburgh
Courtown, Earl of, Marlborough	Fife, Earl of, Elginshire
Crickit, C. A. Ipswich	Fitzroy, Lord C. St. Edmondsbury
Cruger, H. Bristol	Fleming, J. Southampton
Crutchley, Jeremiah, Horsham	Flood, Right Hon. Henry, Seaford
Curzon, P. A. Leominster	Fludyer, G. Chippingham
Darell, L. Heydon	Frazer, J. Gatton
Dashwood, Sir H. Woodstock	Gamon, R. Winchester
Daws, J. Hastings	Gascoine, B. Liverpool
Denham, Sir J. S. Lanarkshire	Gideon, Sir S. Coventry
Devaynes, W. Barnstable	Gilbert, T. Litchfield
Dickins, F. Cambridge Town	Gipps, G. Canterbury
Dimdale, B. Hertford	Goddard, Ambrose, Wiltshire
Dolben, Sir W. Oxford University	Gordon, Lord W. Invernesshire
Douglas, A. Forfarshire	Gordon, I. Stockbridge
Douglas, Sir G. Roxburghshire	Gough, Sir H. Bramber
Drake, W. sen. Agmondestham	Gower, Earl, Staffordshire
Drake, W. jun. ditto	Gower, Hon. J. L. Appleby
Drummond, H. Midhurst	Graham, Marquis, Great Bedwin
Drummond, J. Shaftesbury	Grant, I. Sutherlandshire
Duncomb, H. Yorkshire	Gregory, M. Newton, Hants
Dundas, H. Mid-Lothian	Grenville, Right Hon. James, Buck-
Duntze, Sir J. Tiverton	ingham
Edgecumbe, Hon. R. Fowey	Grenville, Right Hon. W. W. Speaker,
Edmonston, Sir A. Irvine Borough, &c.	Bucks
Edwin, C. Glamorganshire	Griby, J. Suffolk
Egerton, J. W. Brackley	Grimstone, Viscount, Hertfordshire
Egerton, W. Hindon	Grimston, Hon. W. St. Albans
Eliot, Hon. E. J. Liskeard	Grosvenor, Hon. T. Chester
Eliot, Hon. J. Liskeard	Hales, Sir P. Marlborough
Ellis, J. F. Lestwithiel	Halifax, Sir T. Aylesbury
Estwick, S. Westbury	Hamilton, J. J. St. Germain
Euston, Earl of, Cambridge Univerf.	Hamilton, I. Haddingtonshire

Hammet, Sir B. Taunton	Lenox, Lord G. Suffex
Hardinge, G. Old Sarum	Lethieullier, B. Andover
Harley, Right Hon. T. Herefordshire	Littleton, Sir Edward, Staffordshire
Hawkins, C. St. Michael's	Lincoln, Earl of, East Retford
Henniker, J. New Romney	Lewis, Sir W. London
Herbert, Lord, Wilton	Lygon, W. Worcestershire
Hill, Sir Richard, Shropshire	Long, Charles, Rye
Hill, J. Shrewsbury	Long, Sir J. T. Wiltshire
Hinchinbroke, Viscount, Huntingdon	Macdonald, Sir Arch. Newcastle under Lyne
Hobart, Hon. H. Norwich	Macnamara, J. Leicester
Houghton, Sir H. Preston	Macreth, R. Ashburton
Home, P. Berwickshire	Maddocks, J. Westbury
Horbart, R. Bramber	McDowall, A. Wigtown
Honewood, Sir J. Steyning	Mainwaring, W. Middlesex
Hood, Alex. Bridgewater	Manners, R. Bedwin
Hopkins, R. Dartmouth	Martin, J. Tewkesbury
Hopkins, B. B. Ilchester	Masters, T. Gloucestershire
Howard, Sir G. Stamford	Mawbey, Sir J. Surry
Howard, Hon. R. Steyning	Medley, G. East Grinstead
Hungerford, I. P. Leicestershire	Mesurier, Paul Le, Southwark
Hunter, J. Leominster	Metcalf, P. Horsham
Jekyll, J. Calne	Middleton, Sir C. Rochester
Jennings, G. Thetford	Middleton, W. Ipswich
Jervis, Sir J. Yarmouth	Milnes, R. S. York
Johnes, T. Radnorshire	Minchin, H. Oakhampton
Johnston, Sir James, Dumfries	Mitford, John Bearston
Irvine, A. East Looe	Munro, Sir Hector, Inverness, &c.
Kempe, T. Lewes	Montague, M. Bosciney, &c.
Kenington, Lord, Haverfordwest	Moor, J. Selkirk
Kent, Sir C. Thetford	Mornington, Earl of, Windsor
Knight, J. G. Aldborough	Mortimer, H. W. Shaftsbury
Kynaston, J. Shropshire	Musgrave, Lord, Newark upon Trent
Langhorn, Sir J. Northamptonshire	Muncafter, Lord, Milbourn Port
Langton, John, Sudbury	Murray, Hon. J. Perthshire
Lafcelles, E. Northallerton	Murry, Hon. D. Peeblesshire
Lawley, Sir G. Warwickshire	

Neville,

Neville, R. A. Reading	Scott, Sir J. Weobly
Nicholas, R. Cricklade	Scott, J. West Looe
Nugent, E. Buckingham	Selwyn, G. A. Luggershall
Onflow, Hon. T. Guildford	Selwyn, W. Whitchurch
Orchard, Paul, Callington	Shaft, R. Dowton
Pardoe, J. Plympton	Shuckburgh, Sir G. A. W. Warwickshire
Parry, J. Carnarvonshire	Smith, Samuel, jun. Worcester
Peachey, J. Shoreham	Smith, Samuel, St. Germans
Penn, Richard, Appleby	Smith, Robert, Nottingham
Pennyman, Sir James, Beverley	Smith, C. L. Leicester
Philips, E. Somersetshire	Smith
Phillipson, R. B. Eye	Smith, W. Sudbury
Phipps, W. M. Pool	Smith, Josiah, Devizes
Pitt, Right Hon. William, Cambridge	Smyth, J. Pontefract
Pochin, W. Leicestershire	Sneyd, W. Castle Riding
Popham, Alex. Taunton	Sotherton, W. Pontefract
Powney, P. P. Windfor	Stanhope, W. S. Kingston
Praed, W. St. Ives	Stanley, T. Chichester
Preston, Sir C. Kinghorn, &c.	Stephens, P. Sandwich
Preston, R. Dover	Stephenson, J. Plympton
Pringle, M. Selkirkshire	Steward, Gab. Weymouth
Pye, H. J. Berkshire	Strutt, J. Malden
Pulteney, W. Shrewsbury	Stuart, Hon. C. Boffiney
Rashleigh, P. Fowey	Sullivan, R. J. New Romney
Radcliffe, Sir C. F. Hythe	Sumner, G. Ilchester
Rich, Sir T. Marlow	Sutton, J. Newark
Robinson, John, Harwich	Sutton, Sir R. Boroughbridge
Robinson, C. Canterbury	Sutton, G. Grantham
Rolle, J. Devonshire	Sykes, Sir F. Wallingford
Rooke, J. Monmouthshire	Sykes, Sir C. Beverley
Rose, G. Lymington	Thistlethwayte, R. Hants
Ross, C. Kirkwall	Thomas, G. W. Chichester
Rouse, Sir J. Suffolk	Thornton, H. Southwark
Rouse, C. W. B. Evesham	Thornton, H. Kingston upon Hull
Roushart, Sir J. ditto	Thornton, R. Bridgewater
Ryder, Hon. D. Tiverton	

Thynne,

Thynne, Hon. T. Weobly	Westcote, Lord, Bewdley
Townshend, Hon. J. T. Newport, Hants.	Whitbread, S. Bedford
Tudway, C. Wells	Wilberforce, W. Yorkshire
Turner, Sir G. P. Thirk	Williams, W. Flint
Tyrconnel, Earl of, Scarborough	Williams, Sir H. Beaumaris
Vanfittart, G. Berkshire	Wilmot, J. Coventry
Vernon, R. Newcastle under Line	Wodehouse, Sir J. Norfolk
Villiers, Hon. J. C. Old Sarum	Wood, R. Minehead
Waller, R. Chiping Wycombe	Worcester, Marquis of, Monmouth
Watson, B. London	Wraxall, N. W. Lluggerhall
Weyms, W. Fifeshire	Yonge, Sir G. Honiton
Wenman, Visc. Oxfordshire	York, Hon. P. Cambridgeshire
	Younge, Sir W. St. Mawes

Minority on the Question respecting the Regency.

Acourt, W. P. A. Heytesbury	Calcroft, John, Wareham
Adam, W. Kintore, &c.	Campbell, John Pryse, Cardigan
Amcotts, Wharton, Retford	Carnegie, Sir Dav. Aberdeen, &c.
Anson, George, Litchfield	Cavendish, Lord George H. Derby
Anstruther, J. Anstruthercafter, &c.	Cavendish, Lord George, Derbyshire
Astly, Sir Edward, Norfolk	Christian, John, Carlisle
Bamfield, Sir Charles W. Exeter	Clayton, Sir Robert, Blechingly
Bastard, J. P. Devonshire	Clayton, Wm. Great Marlow
Basset, Sir Francis, Penryn	Cleveland, John, Barnstaple
Baham, Visc. Orford	Clive, Lord, Ludlow
Beckford, Rich. Arundel	Clive, William, Bishop's Castle
Bentinck, Ld. Edward, Nottingham	Codrington, Sir Wm. Tewkesbury
Benyon, Richard, Peterborough	Coke, Daniel Parker, Nottingham
Bertie, Hon. W. Salisbury	Coke, Edward, Derby
Bridgeman, Sir H. Wenlock	Colhoun, Wm. Bedford
Bridgeman, Orlando, Wigan	Collier, Sir George, Honiton
Bullock, John, Essex	Conway, Hon. Robert, S. Wotton
Burgoine, Rt. Hon. J. Preston	Basset
Burke, Rt. Hon. Edmund, Malton	Conway, Hon. George S. Oxford
Burrell, Sir Peter, Boston	Conway, Hon. Wm. S. Downton
Burton, Robert, Wendover	Conway, Hon. Hugh S. Tregony
	Cooper,

Cooper, Sir Grey, Richmond	Fletcher, Sir H. Cumberland
Cornwall, Sir George, Herefordshire	Fleming, Sir Michael Le, Westmor-
Cotes, John, Wigan	land
Cotsford, Edward, Midhurst	Foley, Hon. Andrew, Droitwich
Courteney, John, Tamworth	Foley, Hon. Edward, Worcestershire
Crespigny, Philip Champ. Alborough	Forester, George, Wenlock
Crewe, John, Cheshire	Fox, Right Hon. C. J. Westminster
Cunynghame, Sir W. A. Linlithgowsh	Francis, Philip, Yarmouth, Isle of
Dalrymple, Wm. Wigtown, &c.	Wight
Damer, Hon. George, Dorchester	Frederick, Sir John, Christchurch
Damer, Hon. Lionel, Peterborough	Fullerton, William, Lauder, &c.
Davers, Sir C. Bury St. Edmonds	Galway, Viscount, York
Dawkins, James, Chippenham	Garforth, J. B. Haslemere
Delme, Peter, Morpeth	Gould, Sir Charles, Breconshire
Dempster, George, Cupar, &c.	Gould, Charles, Brecon
Dickinson, Wm. Rye	Greville, Right Hon. C. Warwick
Downe, Visc. Petersfield	Grey, Charles, Northumberland
Duncannon, Visc. Knareborough	Hamilton, Right Hon. W. Ger. Wilton
Dundas, Sir T. Sterlingshire	Hanay, Sir S. Camelford
Dundas, T. Orkney	Harrison, John, Grimsby
Eden, Sir John, Durham	Heneage, John Walker, Cricklade
Edwards, G. Noel, Rutland	Honeywood, Filmer, Kent
Elliot, Sir Gilbert, Berwick on Tweed	Howell, David, St. Michael's
Ellis, Right Hon. Welbore, Wey-	Hunt, Thomas, Bodmyn
mouth, &c.	Huffey, William, Salisbury
Elphinstone, Hon. G. K. Dunbar-	Jervaise, J. Clarke, Hants.
tonshire	Jervaise, T. Clarke, Yarmouth
Erskine, Sir James, Morpeth	Inchiquin, Earl of, Richmond
Evelyn, Wm. Hythe	Jolliffe, William, Petersfield
Ewer, W. Dorchester	Keene, Whitshed, Montgomery
Farrer, T. Wareham	Kenrick, John, Blechingly
Fetherstonhaugh, Sir H. Portsmouth	Kinmill, Robert, Tregoney
Fielding, Viscount, Bereafston	Knight, Richard Payne, Ludlow
Fitzherbert, T. Arundel	Ladbroke, Robert, Warwick
Fitzpatrick, Right Hon. R. Tavistock	Lambton, W. H. Durham

Laurie, Sir Robert, Dumfrieshire	Myddleton, Richard, Denbigh
Laurence, William, Ripon	Nedham, William, Winchelfea
Lee, John, Clitheroe	Nesbit, John, Winchelfea
Legh, T. Peter, Newton, Lancashire	Newhaven, Lord, Gatton
Lemon, Sir William, Cornwall	Newnham, Nathaniel, London
Lemon, John, Saltafh	Forth, Lord, Banbury
Lisburne, Earl of, Cardiganshire	North, Hon. G. A. Wotton Bassett
Lister, Thomas, Clitheroe	Norton, Hon. Chapple, Guilford
Long, Dudley, Grimsby	Ord, John, Wendover
Lowther, Sir William, Cumberland	Osbaldfiston, George, Scarborough
Lowther, John, Haslemere	Owen, Hugh, Pembroke
Lowther, James, Westmorland	Owen, William Mostyn, Montgomeryshire
Loveden, Edward L. Abington	Page, Francis, Oxford University
Ludlow, Earl, Huntingdonshire	Palmerstone, Viscount, Boroughbridge
Mackbride, John, Plymouth	Parker, Sir Peter, Malden
Mackenzie, Francis Hum. Rosshire	Parkyns, Thomas, Boothby, Stockbridge
Mackworth, Sir Herbert, Cardiff	Payne, John Willet, Huntingdon
Macpherson, James, Camelford	Pelham, Right Hon. Thomas, Suffex
Maitland, Viscount, Malmesbury	Pelham, Hon. Henry, Lewes
Marham, Hon. Charles, Kent	Pelham, Charles A. Lincolnshire
Malden, Viscount, Oakhampton	Penrhyn, Lord, Liverpool
Masters, Richard, Cirencester	Penton, Henry, Winchester
Melbourne, Viscount, Malmesbury	Philips, J. G. Carmarthen
Middeton, Sir W. Northumberland	Pierrepont, Charles, Nottinghamshire
Miller, Sir John, Newport, Cornwall	Plumer, William, Herts.
Middleton, Lord, Whitchurch	Popham, William, Milbourn Port
Molefworth, Sir William, Cornwall	Powys, Thomas, Northamptonshire
Monckton, Hon. Edward, Stafford	Purling, John, Weymouth
Montagu, Right Hon. Frederick, Higham-Ferrers	Rawlinson, Sir Walter, Huntingdon
Molineux, Crisp, King's Lynn	Rawlinson, Abram, Lancaster
Morgan, John, Monmouthshire	Ridley, Sir Mathew White, Newcastle on Tyne
Morhead, Sir John, Bodmyn	Rushworth, Edward, Newport, Hants.
Mostyn, Sir Roger, Flintshire	Ruffel, Lord John, Tavistock
Moysey, Abel, Bath	
Mundy, Edward, M. Derbyshire	

St. Aubin, Sir John, Penryn	Swinburne, Sir J. E. Launceston
St. John, Hon. St. Andrew, Bedfordshire	Taylor, Clem. Maidstone
Salt, Samuel, Aldborough	Taylor, Michael Angelo, Poole
Satterthwaite, J. C. Cockermouth	Tempest, John, Durham City
Saville, Hon. R. Lumley, Lincoln	Thorold, Sir John, Lincolnshire
Sawbridge, John, London	Townshend, Lord John, Westminster
Scott, Thomas, Bridport	Vanneck, Sir Gerard William, Dunwich
Scudamore, John, Hereford	Vaughan, Hon. John, Berwick on Tweed
Senhouse, H. Cockermouth	Vyner, Robert, Thirsk
Sheridan, Richard B. Stafford	Upper Ossory, Earl of, Bedfordshire
Sinclair, Sir John, Lestwithiel	Walpole, Hon. Horatio, Lynn-Regis
Skene, George, Aberdeenshire	Walwyn, James, Hereford
Sloane, Hans, Christchurch	Warren, Sir George, Lancaster
Sloper, William Charles, St. Alban's	Webb, John, Gloucester
Smyth, Sir Robert, Colchester	Weddell, William, Matton
Spencer, Lord Charles, Oxfordshire	Whitmore, Thomas, Bridgenorth
Spencer, Lord Robert, Oxford City	Wilbraham, Roger, Helston
Stanley, Thomas, Lancashire	Windham, Right Hon. William, Norwich
Stephenfon, Roland, Carlisle	Winnington, Edward, Draftwich
Stewart, Alexander, Kircudbright	Wrightson, William, Aylesbury
Strachey, Henry, Bishop's Castle	Wynn, Glynn, Carnarvon
Stuart, Hon. James, Buteshire	Wynn, Sir W. Williams, Derbyshire
Stuart, John Shaw, Renfrewshire	
Sturt, Charles, Bridport	

List of those Members who have not voted on the Question respecting the Regency.

Adeane, J. W. Cambridge	Clavering, Sir Thomas, Durham County
Ambler, Charles, Saltafh	Compton, Lord, Northampton
Aubrey, Thomas, Wallingford	Cunninghame, Right Hon. Robert, East Grinstead
Aubrey, Sir John, Bucks.	Cust, Francis, C. Grantham
Barnard, Viscount, Totness	Eden, Right Hon. W. Heytesbury
Beckford, William, Wells	Ferguson,
Campbell, Sir James, Culrofs, &c.	

Ferguson, James, Bamffshire	Pitt, Hon. George, Dorsetshire
Goodricke, Sir John, Ripon	Rumbold, Sir Thomas, Weymouth
Hare, James, Knarefborough	Ruffel, Lord William, Surrey
Lewis, Edward, New Radnor	Smith, Nathaniel, Rochester
Luttrell, John Fownes, Minehead	Trevanion, John, Dover
Manfell, Sir William, Carmarthenshire	Trevelyan, Sir John, Somersetshire
Milford, Lord, Pembrokehire	Trottman, F. Northampton
Mitford, William, Newport, Cornwall	Vaughan, E. Lloyd, Merionethshire
Montgomerie, Hugh, Airshire	Watherstone, Dalhousie, Boston
Orde, Right Hon. Thomas, Harwich	Wilks, John, Middlesex
Palk, Lawrence, Ashburton	Wycombe, Lord, Chip. Wycombe
Peyton, Sir Henry, Cambridgeshire	

No. LXXX.

Protests upon the Regency. (P. 247.)

DISSENTIENT.

BECAUSE the undoubted right and indispensable duty declared in the said resolution to have been exercised and discharged by the lords and commons of Ireland, and to which it is alleged they are alone competent, do not in any legal or sound sense appear to us to have any existence. And because the assuming a right in the lords and commons alone to confer upon his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales the government of this kingdom, under the stile and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, to exercise and administer according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom, all regal powers and prerogatives to the crown and government thereof belonging, or the addressing his royal highness to take upon himself such government in manner aforesaid, before he be enabled by law so to do, seems to us altogether unwarrantable, and to be highly dangerous in its tendency to disturb and break the constitutional union, whereby this realm of Ireland is for ever knit and united to the imperial crown of England, on which connection the happiness of both kingdoms essentially depends; and we are the more apprehensive of danger, lest the so doing should be considered

sidered as tending to the prejudice, disturbance or derogation of the king's majesty in, of, or for the crown of this realm of Ireland.

Mountmorris, by proxy	Lifford, C.
Courtown, by proxy	R. Dublin
Enniskillen, by proxy	Conyngham
Mornington, by proxy	Tyrone
Altamont, by proxy	Beſtve
John Clogher, by proxy	Chetwynd
George Lewis, Kilmore	Valentia
William Leighlin and Ferns	Longford
Powerfcourt	Glandore
Hillſborough	Ranelagh
Carhampton	Harberton
Laneſborough	Bellamont
William Offory	

Difſentient.

BECAUSE when his excellency the lord lieutenant, his majeſty's repreſentative here, hath told us that under the impreſſions of his official duty and of the oath that he hath as chief governor of this kingdom, he is obliged to decline tranſmitting to Great Britain the addreſs of both houſes of parliament to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, it doth not conſiſt with that decorum, with that juſtice, and that grave proceeding, in which this houſe, the great and dernier court of juſtice, will ever aſt, to proceed to a condemnation and cenſure of his excellency without being allowed to enquire and look into the conſtitution of his office or into his oath. And beſides, we cannot conſider it as a want of reſpect to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, the not tranſmitting the ſaid addreſs to him, as it would expoſe his royal highneſs to difficulty and embarraſſment, by laying him under the diſagreeable neceſſity of deciding upon great legal and conſtitutional principles, in which his royal highneſs's future intereſt, and the rights of that imperial crown, which he is born to inherit, may be very deeply concerned, and moreover, we conceive this houſe ought ever to be mindful of the ſtation, in which the conſtitution hath placed it, and ought to reſiſt every thing, which partakes of intemperance and exceſs.

Mountmorris, by proxy	Mornington, by proxy
Courtown, by proxy	Enniskillen, by proxy

Altamont, by proxy	Lifford, C.
George Lewes Kilmore	Tyrone
John Clogher, by proxy	Langford
W. Leighlin and Fems	Glandore
Lanesborough	Beſtive
Powerfcourt	Harbertown
Hillsborough	R. Dublin
Carhampton	Ranelagh
Bellamont	W. Offory
Valentia	Conyngham

Dissentient.

BECAUSE although deſirous to expreſs our humble thanks to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, for his gracious anſwer to the addreſſes of both houſes of parliament, and that to a degree, which might induce us to paſs over the departure, which there ſeems to be in the mode and form of this addreſs from the uſual courſe and proceedings of parliament, yet we cannot agree to this addreſs, which doth not conſiſt, as we conceive, with thoſe conſtitutional principles, which are maintained in our proteſts of February laſt, and to which we adhere.

Harberton	Lifford
Tyrone	R. Dublin
Lanesborough	Ranelagh
William Offory	Chetwynd
Glandore	Langford
Mountmorris	Altamont

No. LXXXI.

(Page 249.)

*House of Lords, on a Motion for adjourning the Conſideration of the Ad-
dreſs to the Prince of Wales to a diſtant Day, the Diviſion was as fol-
lows:*

AGAINST.

Arch. Caſhel Tuam	Earl Meath
Duke Leinſter	Drogheda

Granard,

Earl Granard	Visc. Defer
Shannon	Clifden
Clanbrayfil	Gasford
Belvidere	Doneraile
Louth	Pery
Arran	Bishop Waterford
Miltown	Cloyne
Charlemont	Limerick
Grandifon	Killala
Rofs	Baron Kinfale
Clanwilliam	Dunfany
Aldborough	Castle Stewart
Mountcashel	Belmore
Portarlington	Welles
Farnham	Leitrim
Visc. Mountgarret	Landaff
Strangford	Donoughmore
Allen	Loftus

(Teller, Lord Farnham)

FOR

Chancellor	Visc. Chetwynd
Archb. Dublin	Enniskillen
Earl Tyrone	Erne
Hilfborough	Bishop Kilmore
Beative	Offery
Laneborough	Ferns
Bellamont	Baron Longford
Glandore	Conyngham
Carhampton	Harberton
Visc. Valentia	Earlsford
Ranelagh	

(Teller, Lord Bellamont.)

Proxies.

AGAINST.

Earl Roden	Lifmore
Baron Muskery	

Earl

Earl Altamont	For	Vise. Mountmorris
Courtown		Baron Carysford
Mornington		Arden

Against the Adjournment in the Commons.

Hon. Arth. Acheson	Sir E. Crofton
Thomas Adderley	Ath. Dawfon
George Ager	Thomas Dawfon
Hen. Alcock	Simon Digby
James Alexander	Robert Dillon
Hon. Alexander	John Dunn
Mer. Archdall	George Dunbar
Sir Fitz Aylmer	Sir Thomas Fetherston
Thomas Burton	Lord Hen. Fitzgerald
John Blakeney	Warden Flood
Sir John Blaquiere	Hon. William Forward
Henry V. Brook	Sir John Freke
Athur Brown	Daniel Gahan
Right Hon. W. Brownlow	Right Hon. Henry Grattan
Hon. Bruen	Godfrey Greene
George Bunbury	Richard Griffith
George Burdett	William Handcock
Thomas Burgh, (Old Town)	Francis Hardy
George P. Bushe	Travers Hartley
William Burton	Sir Henry Hartstone
And. Caldwell	Henry Hatton
Hugh Cane	Samuel Hayes, (Dunbo)
Eph. Carroll	Joseph Hare
Sir H. Cavendish	Sir Francis Hutchinson
Sir H. Colthurst	Denham Jephson
Right Hon. T. Conolly	John Hely Hutchinson
Henry Cope	Lord Jocelyne
Isaac Corry	Ger. Jocelyne
J. L. Cotter	William Todd Jones
Roger Cotter	Sir Allen Johnson

Hon.

Hon. Thomas Knox	Hon. Her. Rowly
Sir Hercules Langrishe	Right Hon. H. L. Rowley
Robert Langrishe	George Sandford
Charles Leslie	Charles Francis Sheridan
Thomas Loftus	Mich. Smith
John Metge	Sir Skeffington Smith
Alexander Montgomery	John Staples
John Montgomery	Sir Annesley Stewart
Nathaniel Mantz Moor	James Stewart (Tyrone)
Hon. John Moor	Hon. John Stratford
John Moor	Daniel Toler
Lodge Morris	Charles Tottenham
Sir William Morris	R. Tottenhan
Sir Richard Musgrave	N. Loftus Tottenham
Thomas Nesbitt	John Townshend
Richard Neville	James Uniacke
Sir Edward Newenham	Robert Uniacke
T. B. O'Flaherty	John Usher
Right Hon. George Ogele	John Warburton
Charles O'Hara	Hon. Edward Ward
Right Hon. John O'Neill	Augustus Warren
Edm. Pery	Robert Welsh
Thomas Pegatt	Nic. Westley
George Ponsonby	John Wolf
John Preston	Hon. Major Cuffe
Joseph Preston	Hugh Howard
Henry Pritty	J. Leigh
Thomas Richardson	Sir James May
William Richardson	Thomas Hobson
(Tellers Mr. Grattan and Mr. Conolly.)	

For the Adjournment.

Richard Annesley	John Chatterton
Right Hon. J. Beresford	Theo. Clements
Sir J. Browne	Charles H. Coote
Robert Boyd	Henry Coddington
Thomas Bugh	Maurice Copinger

John

John Craddock	Sir N. Lawless
William Cunningham	Peter Latouche
Denis Daly	Richard Longfield
Sir Charles Defvoux	Mont. Longfield
Lord Delvin	Georges Lowther
James Fitzgerald (Prime Serjeant)	R. Magennis
John Fitzgibbon	M. Mafon
Sir Fred. Flood	John M'Clontack
Alleyne Fitzherbert	Sir R. G. Meredyth
T. J. Foster	George Molyneux
Luke Gardener	Sir L. O'Brien
John G. Leitrim	L. Parsons
Sackville Hamilton	C. Price
Sir J. S. Hamilton	Hon. Thomas Packinham
J. Harrifon	Sir John Parnell
L. H. Harmon	George Rawfon
Samuel Hayes, (Avondale)	Richard Penefather
Sir Hugh Hill	Sir B. Roche
Lord Headford	R. Rofs
R. Herbert	John Reilly
Hon. Mr. Hewitt	Prendergast Smyth
R. Hobert	William Smyth (Westmeath)
Peter Holmes	Henry Stewart
Sir Richard Johnfon	Edward Tighe
R. Johnfon (Counsellor)	Fred. Trench
Theo. Jones	John Toler
Lord Kilwarden	John Tydd
Edward King	R. Vowel
Lord Kingsborough	Nat. Warren
David Latouche	A. Wolfe
John Latouche	

(Tellers, Lord Kilwarden and Mr. Fitzgibbon.)

No. LXXXII.

Report of the Commissioners on the Police Bill. (P. 269.)

MR. SPEAKER,

YOUR committee appointed to examine the accounts of the commissioners of police, having met according to order, and called for such papers as appeared to them to be necessary, and also examined several witnesses relative to the state of the said accounts, in the most solemn manner, directed me to report as follows :

Your committee having examined the accounts laid before them by the commissioners of police, do find, that in the two years and a half, which their institution has subsisted, ending the 25th of March last, they have spent more than 51,000*l.* of the money of the public.

They find further, that the total expence of the first year, including the salaries paid to the commissioners and divisional justices, amounted to 20,197*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.* and of the second year to 19,981*l.* 0*s.* 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* of which sums your committee find that the sum of 9,682*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* was the charge for the watch in the first year, and 9,500*l.* in the second year, and that the remainder (being a sum of 10,514*l.* 16*s.* in the first year, and 10,481*l.* 0*s.* 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* in the second) has been expended in salaries and other charges, which have attended this establishment.

Your committee then proceeded to examine into the particulars of these last sums, and find, that a sum of 4,000*l.* and upwards has been expended for the police house, and the houses and offices of the divisional magistrates, and of the high and chief constables, and for furniture.

Your committee further find among many other unsuitable and objectionable articles composing the last mentioned sum of 4,000*l.* there is a charge of 138*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* for looking glasses, and 99*l.* 8*s.* 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* for Wilton and other carpets.

Your committee proceeded further to examine the expence of the police cavalry, and find that above 4,600*l.* have been expended for the forty horse of the police establishment in the two first years, although it appears to the committee, that the keeping any horse policemen was, and is unnecessary, and consequently that the last mentioned sum was an expence useless to the public.

It also appears to your committee, that the additional watch at 9*d.* per day has not answered the desired effect.

Your committee having observed an excessive charge for the article of coals, and enquired into the application thereof, do find, that about 406 tons have been, on an average, the annual consumption, of which 48 tons have been the allowance to the four divisional magistrates; about 20*g* to high and chief constables, the house of correction, and watch houses; and for the remaining quantity of above 180 tons, there appears no account except for such part thereof, as may have been consumed at the police house.

Your committee have further to observe, that the commissioners appear to have made an improvident contract, in paying 20*s.* a ton in the second and third years, the coal factor who furnished the first year having declared his readiness to continue his contract at 19*s.*

Your committee then proceeded to consider the charge under the head of stationery, and find it to be for the two years and a half 3,316*l.* 6*s.* 6½*d.* On this extraordinary charge your committee have to observe, that upwards of 150*l.* were paid for gilt paper, and 49*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* for sealing wax, in the first year and a half, ending the 25th of March, 1788; charges unwarrantable and unnecessary, which are confirmed by the charge of 13*l.* being found sufficient for both those articles in the following year.

Your committee find a considerable and very extraordinary charge for books, some of which appear to be unnecessary, and by no means appertaining to the business of the police, the catalogue of which was presented to the house last session.

Your committee also find, that the commissioners of police have, for the last year and three quarters, paid by agreement to their stationer 104*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* per quarter (which is about 8*l.* a week), for compiling and printing the Hue and Cry, and for occasional hand bills, of which sum he allows one guinea per week to a clerk for compiling the Hue and Cry, and he calculates the occasional hand bill at seven shillings per week, which leaves about 6*l.* 10*s.* to said stationer, for printing the said Hue and Cry.

Your committee then examined John Chambers and Thomas M'Donnel, master printers, and found they would undertake to print the Hue and Cry, on a paper, and with a type of the same kind, as those made use of for it, for about 3*l.* 13*s.* per week less than is now paid by the commissioners.

Your committee think it necessary also to take notice, that a sum of 246*l.*

18*s.* 8*d.* was paid in the first year, and 153*l.* 14*s.* 7½*d.* in the second, for advertisements in newspapers.

Your committee think it their duty to observe, that there is a charge of 176*l.* 7*s.* 1½*d.* for a survey and maps of the metropolis district.

Your committee further find, that about 900*l.* have been expended in law suits, in the greater part of which the commissioners of police have been unsuccessful.

Your committee proceeded to examine into the stoppages made from the police watchmen, and find, that 1½*d.* per day, amounting to 2*l.* 13*s.* 2¾*d.* a year, is stopped for clothing from the daily pay of each police night watchman, which (for the 400 men) amounts to 1064*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* a year; and that 2¼*d.* per day, amounting to 3*l.* 8*s.* 5½*d.* a year, is stopped for clothing from each watch constable, which, for 40 men comes to 136*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* a year, which stoppages amount in the whole to 1,201*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* per annum.

Your committee further find, that the clothing, to which such stoppages is applied, consists, for the night watchmen, of coat, waistcoat, breeches, flannel under waistcoat, one pair of long gaiters, and hat and cockade, for all which the price paid by contract amounts to 2*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* per man yearly, and for the 400 men to 888*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and that the clothing of 40 watch constables consists of the aforefaid articles, and also of silver lace, loop and button for the hat, and of a silver epaulet, all which clothing costs 2*l.* 19*s.* 1¾*d.* per man, and for 40 men costs 118*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* which sum added to the aforefaid sum of 888*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* makes 1,006*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* per annum.

And your committee find, that the difference between the actual clothing expences of the police night infantry, and the aforefaid stoppages amounts to 194*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* per annum, for which saving it does not appear, that the commissioners of police have given credit in their accounts to the commissioners of account or elsewhere.

It further appears to your committee, that during the first year of the police institution, neither flannel waistcoats nor long gaiters were given to the watchmen, and that consequently (though the contract price was then seventeen pence a suit higher than at present), yet the clothing of each of the 400 private men did not exceed 2*l.* 0*s.* 11*d.* per annum, and therefore gave opportunity for a saving of 70*l.* more than their clothing admits in the current year.

Your committee also find, that exclusive of the aforefaid stoppage, and of

a stoppage for the surgeon, there has been stopped one penny per night from each of the 400 police night watchmen, seven eighths of a penny per night from each of the 40 watch constables, and one penny five eighths per night from each of the 40 horsemen, which different stoppages amount to 760*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* per annum, and this sum is alleged to have been paid in some subsequent period to such police men as have not been dismissed for misbehaviour.

Your committee also find, that in the accounts laid before them by the commissioners of police, credit is not given to the public for more than the sum of 124*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.* under the head of arrears, which article is in the second year's charge, and that consequently 646*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.* (which is more than five sixths of the whole of the above stoppages of the first year) is by the account implied to have been paid in or before the second year to the police men as arrears; but no account has been produced to this committee of the payments to the police men of that large proportion of those arrears so stopped from them during the first year, and not credited to the public, but it is alleged said arrears have been paid.

It appears that no credit whatsoever has yet been given to the public for the aforesaid stoppages for the second year, ending at Michaelmas last, and amounting to a like sum of 760*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* although police accounts for the half year, ending the 25th of March, 1789, have been laid before the committee; (the reason alleged for which, by one of the commissioners is, that there are some of those arrears, which have not yet been paid to the men.)

Your committee think it right to observe that a greater sum has been received by the commissioners of police, for non-effective men, in the accounts of the two first years, than the sums therein credited to the public.

Your committee further find, that a secretary, with a salary of 200*l.* a year, and three clerks under him, whose salaries amount to 240*l.* per annum, attended the police house, exclusive of the accountant and his clerk, and of the stationer's clerk, who compiles the Hue and Cry.

And that George Parker, one of those three clerks, enjoying a salary of 70*l.* per annum, has not been in Ireland during the last half year.

They also find, that each of the four divisional justices has two clerks, for whom the public is charged 125*l.* making for the eight clerks a sum of 500*l.* a year.

Your committee observe further, that the general accounts of the police, laid before the commissioners of account, and afterwards before this committee

mittee, are ill arranged, and many of the articles not distributed under their proper heads; and that having examined the accountant as to that point, he alleged, that the arrangement of all accounts of expenditure originated from the commissioners.

And your committee came to the following resolutions :

I. Resolved, That it appears to this committee, that the police establishment has been attended with unnecessary patronage, waste, and dissipation.

II. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the peace and protection of the city of Dublin might be more effectually maintained at a lesser expence, and that the present system of police establishment ought to be changed.

No. LXXXIII.

Mr. GRATTAN'S Second Speech on Tithes. (P. 270).

MR. GRATTAN presented to the house according to order, a bill to appoint commissioners for the purpose of enquiring into the state of tithes in the different provinces of this kingdom, and to report a plan for the ascertaining the same.

He said, the advocates for tithes and their abuse, having declined a public enquiry, thought they best consulted the dignity of the church by resorting to a paper war: this paper war has been conducted under the mitred auspices of certain bishops: these bishops have in the course of it accused me of making an attack on the Protestant clergy of the South. You know, they know, how totally unfounded such a charge is; I did prefer then, and I prefer now, certain allegations, that in some parts of the South there existed illegal demand, increasing demand, excessive demand, an abuse of the compensation act; tithe-proctors who extort fees, tithe-farmers who lay the poor under contribution; these charges I did not affirm to affect the major part of the Southern clergy, but I did, and I do now affirm, that they do affect in degree and extent such a proportion of district as to call for the interference of parliament. Two pamphlets on this subject, entitled my Speech, were published, different from each other, or resembling each other in nothing except in not being my speech, and in not being published by my authority; to these pamphlets the dignitaries above alluded to have replied: convinced that I neither spoke nor wrote the contents of either, they have charged me with both.

This

This unfounded charge on me they have thought proper to mask by calling it a Defence of the Protestant Clergy of the South, and have thus endeavoured to disperse through the community a false alarm, and a groundless accusation. This alarm and accusation, called a Defence, sets forth, that the bishops of the South, in the year 1786, wrote circular letters to their clergy, desiring returns of their respective ratages; with a recommendation that these returns, if possible, should be made on oath. The Defence sets forth, that returns were made. I own I should be very glad to see them; not one syllable—the Defence suppressed the returns of the clergy, and gives the public in their place its own calculation, which it professes to be an average formed on these returns—Even so, let us admit such evidence; where the bishops contend, let the party be the evidence, and the advocate be the judge. The authors of the Defence having stated, that a most minute and general enquiry has been made, allege,* that, in the whole extent of that enquiry, they no where find the rate for potatoes higher than 12s. the plantation acre; these are their words, and on the veracity of this allegation, depends whatever attention should be paid to their defence. I have from private hands assurances innumerable, in the most positive and direct manner, contradicting that allegation. I have from private hands affidavits without number disproving that allegation. I will reject them all. I will, for argument, give the pastors a victory over their flock, and the fruits of their care, and suppose, for a moment, their parishioners to be perjured, yet what shall we say of the clergy, who have, by themselves, or their witnesses, sworn the same thing? I will read you a report from the judge who went the Munster circuit of the spring of 1788. It is as follows: “At the last assizes held for the county of Kerry, at Tralee, a civil bill was brought before me, upon the compensation-act, for the value of certain tithes. From the evidence of the plaintiff’s own witnesses, and the schedule, the demand appeared as follows: tithe of potatoes, one acre and a half, 2*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.*” (Gentlemen will recollect, that, by the compensation-act,

* Defence of the Protestant Clergy, p. 93.—“But it must be remembered, that from the vicinity of these parishes to Limerick, and the great fertility of the ground, the average value of the crops of potatoes is twenty pounds, the tithes two pounds, and other crops in proportion. Now, is twelve shillings an unreasonable demand for what is worth two pounds? I further remark, that *I no where find the rate higher than twelve shillings the plantation acre*; and the crop, wherever it is charged, not worth less than eleven or twelve pounds, more generally sixteen or twenty.

the bill or petition is not to be brought for the value, but the customary charge). I will read another document, equally authoritative from Cork.

Rates of Tithes, on Petitions, for the year 1786, in the County of Cork.

I R I S H A C R E.

Potatoes		Wheat		Barley		Oats		Meadow	
from	to	from	to	from	to	from	to	from	to
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
12 9½	16 0	8 0	9 7	8 0	9 7	3 2	4 9½	3 2	0 0
16 0	0 0	12 9½	16 0	12 9½	0 0	4 9½	6 4½	6 4½	0 0
12 9½	0 0	9 7	0 0	0 0	0 0	4 9½	0 0	4 9½	0 0
8 0	12 9½	6 4½	9 7	6 4½	0 0	1 8½	4 0	3 2	4 0
12 9½	16 0	12 9½	0 0	8 0	9 7	8 0	0 0	4 9½	6 4½
11 2	14 4½	11 2	14 9½	8 0	11 2	4 0	6 4½	3 2	0 3
9 7	14 4½	6 4½	9 7	8 0	0 0	3 2	6 4	3 2	5 2
11 2	12 9½	8 0	9 7	0 0	0 0	1 7	4 9½	1 7	4 0
8 0	16 0	11 2	0 0	9 7	0 0	5 2	0 0	4 9½	0 0
12 9½	16 0	8 0	9 7	8 0	9 7	4 0	4 9½	3 2	0 0
12 9	0 0	9 7	0 0	11 2	0 0	4 9	0 0	3 2	0 0

I must here again observe, that the petition is by the act to be brought for the customary charge.

I must observe also, that only nineteen petitions were tried for 1786, wherein rates were specified, and of the nineteen, eleven exceeded the rate of 12s. the plantation acre; a rate, the Defence affirms, has never been exceeded; I must also observe, that these petitions must have been supported by the oath of the clergy or their witnesses, and do directly falsify the allegation of the Defence---What becomes of the Defence now? not refuted, but convicted, convicted on oath, the oath of the clergy themselves or their witnesses, taken at a public trial. Thus the defence of the bishops is put down by the oaths of the clergy.

Here I might leave the Defence, if it did not advance another proposition too glaring to pass without observation: * It states (in a very confused man-

* Defence of the Protestant Clergy, p. 47.—“ It is incontrovertibly true, that in most places the rates of tithe have not varied for the last thirty years.”

And in p. 41.—“ But sure I am, from the present state of ratages, collected from exact information, the average increase, through any entire county, diocese, or parish, if any there has been, can be but very small indeed, and that in very few parishes only, but certainly not throughout any diocese or county.”

ner I own, but it does state), that the average ratages have not in any southern county or diocese increased these thirty years. The gross improbability of this assertion must appear to every man, who reflects on the progress of things since the year 1756, (the period to which the Defence refers); who reflects how the mode of living has changed, and become more expensive since that time, and how much the style and tone of modern clergymen excels in expence and display, the old ministers of the gospel. The improbability of this assertion would appear more fully, if I were permitted to bring to the bar of this house the parishioners, who could most feelingly attest the direct contrary; or were I permitted to produce affidavits which swear the direct contrary. But I will for a moment reject all this, and I will refute their case by nothing less than the authority of their own oaths, and the acknowledgment of their own vindication. The Defence states, that the average-ratages of the poor dioceses of Cloyne and of Cork, are above 10*s.* an acre, potatoes, and of Cork above 7*s.* 9*d.* wheat, and Cloyne above 9*s.* wheat. While in the rich diocese, potatoes are, as the Defence states, 7*s.* the acre, and wheat 6*s.* 6*d.*

The Defence endeavours to account for the disparity, and ascribes it to a number of corn mills established in the county of Cork, and to the export trade of corn from the ports Youghal, Cork, Kinfale, and Dunganarvan. Now these mills, and this export trade, are almost entirely the effect of the corn bounty, the inland bounty, which did not take place till the year 1758, and still more, the export bounty, which did not take place till the year 1773, and which, with the inland bounty, has been gradually, and more abundantly, operating ever since.

The Defence has then assigned a cause, which cause began to exist within thirty years of the date of the enquiry; it follows, that the effect must have taken place within that period; it follows, that an increase of average ratage has taken place in some dioceses within those thirty years; it follows, that the other great position of the Defence is unfounded.

Thus the two great positions of the case fail: the first is refuted by the oath of the party, and the second by the admission of the Defence: the Defence acknowledges what it denies, that the clergy have increased the average prices of some dioceses within these thirty years; it acknowledges, what it also denies, that they have tithed the bounty; but I will wave all this, and yet will shew their case to be inadmissible: it states that they have procured returns from the clergy, what kind of returns you have heard; but it does not pretend to have gotten any from the lay impropiators; and it affirms,
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that this share amounts to one-third of the tithes of this kingdom: it acknowledges then, that the enquiry has omitted one-third of the question, and on such an enquiry they propose to decide the state of Munster and all its peasantry. Allow their Defence—biased, as it must be thought; fallacious, as it has been sworn; self-convicted as it has been proved; however, in compliment to its authors, let us for a moment allow it. Yet still it is not the state of the tithes of Munster, it is not commensurate with the question it presumes to cover; it does not affect to touch at all one of the three parts of the case; and when it affects to touch the other two, I have shewn it to be but affectation. With every respect to the clergy of Munster, the question is not, whether they are the oppressors? it is higher, it is, whether the people are oppressed. To acquit the clergy, supposing such a defence, which proves nothing but its own contradiction, could do so, decides only an inferior question; to obtrude that decision as disposing of the whole of the case, is to make a criminal use of their supposed innocence; and as the defence would acquit the parsons on their own evidence, so would it dismiss the peasant unredressed, without any evidence at all. In answer to such a proposal, we ask of right reverend authority, where is your flock? what, is there no wolf but the shepherd? Bring us a better account of your charge; go back to your fold. But I might wave all this, yet the Defence is still inadmissible, because false in its conception. The exhibiting the average rates of the different dioceses of the south, does not enable the public to judge of its condition. In order to expose the art of deciding any thing by those clerical averages, it is sufficient to recollect the famous average of a dignified writer, who, estimating the average income of the Irish clergy, excluded the bishoprics, and included the curates, to give the reader a just and fair sense of the property of the church. And still further to expose a defence founded on average ratages, it is sufficient to examine the decrees of the court of Cashel, whose average decrees are stated for the five years previous to 1786, to be 8s. an acre potatoes, but whose particular decrees appear from the books in some cases to have exceeded 20s. The average ratages of the different dioceses give the public no knowledge of the case. It may happen, that the average ratage of a diocese shall be moderate, and yet the ratages universally exceptionable. Suppose one half of the diocese under the ratage of Dr. Atterbury, and the other under the ratage of Captain Right, the average might perhaps be moderate, but that apparent moderation of ratage would arise from the very

circumstance which made it peculiarly culpable, from the double grievance, from the two extremes, from the opposite offences; it may happen that the proprietors of tithe in some cases crouch to the rich, and encroach on the poor; the average, under such circumstances, might appear moderate, but the moderation would arise from the compound of crimes, from crouching and encroaching, from meanness and extortion. The moderation of average price therefore proves nothing; it is a method which not only conceals, but inverts the case. It makes the parish of A. appear better from the circumstance that makes her worse, from comparative misery; it makes the parish of A. when rated too high, appear to be actually relieved when the parish of B. is rated too low; as if the former derived a paradoxical relief from the sense of its own peculiar hardship, and obtained a preternatural respiration from burthens, because they were heaped with uncommon measure on herself; it is a clerical chemistry, which extracts a complexion from the consumption of the case; oppression alone would not do; but add partiality, and the compound is vended by the right reverend authors, as an image of their charity, and a case for their clergy. And as a defence founded on an exhibition of average prices only, is unjust to the parish, so it is injurious to the parson; it makes the moderation of parson A. state in favor of parson B. who is an extortioner, and the exaction of B. state against A. who is moderate; as if A. derived riches from the extortion of B. and consolation from the reflection, that if he himself got too little, his neighbour B. whose example he condemned, got too much; and it supposes that A. had a further consolation from the experience, that if he did not share the profit, he divided the infamy. This process by average is a confusion and incorporation of vice and virtue, fame and infamy; it is resorted to from an indifference about the real state of the peasantry, suggested by the spirit of corps, at the expence of the best members of the church, and by a false tenderness of some peccant individuals, who may atone for the crimes of an exactioner, by the virtues of a sycophant, and by adulation to their bishop, may secure absolution for every other abomination. The exhibiting average prices therefore gives no information. From those submitted in the Defence, nothing can be collected, except that they are not founded in fact. They are stated to be formed on returns, which do not exceed 12*s.* the plantation acre; though from the oaths of the clergy, or their witnesses, the prices are proved to go to 27*s.* Waving therefore other objections, this defence must be rejected on two grounds: first,

first, because the average price is not the true defence. Second, because this Defence is not the true average. But though right reverend authority has not made out a case for the clergy, it has made out a case for the people. So it frequently happens; men are but instruments of Providence, and without knowing it, fulfil her ways. The zealot is but an inflamed organ, bursting forth with unpremeditated truths; reverend writers endeavouring to establish a right in the Protestant clergy to a tenth of the peasant's labour, as prior to the Protestant religion, paramount to all other rights of property, and therefore prior not only to the Protestant, but to the Christian religion, have only served to bring forth proofs, that such a right, if any, resides in the poor, and that the parson was only his trustee: so now the bishops in their defence, state the average ratages of three out of the five dioceses to which their acreable ratages refer, to amount to above 10s. the plantation acre for potatoes; and in forming this average they acknowledge they exclude all particular ratages above 12s. and therefore their average is less than the fact; and they do not pretend to include one or two shillings in the pound, notoriously paid to the tithe proctor by the peasant, though reluctantly acknowledged by the Defence, and omitted in the average, which, on that account, is a still further departure from the fact. This 10s. the acre, demanded and received without any consideration of charity, which was the object of tithe; of building and repairing churches, as is required by the canon law; without parochial schools, as are required of the clergymen by the statute law, and in some places without residence, which is required by canon, common, and statute laws, arises not only from the produce that feeds mankind, but from the only produce which in Ireland sustains the poor and most numerous description of mankind, who have not poor rates as in England, and who have another order of clergy to pay, which is not the case in England: this heavy burden is more sensibly felt, by being peculiar to the south, which by the Defence of the Clergy is admitted and represented to be in a state of not only actual but comparative misery. For the continuation of this partial wretchedness, they state that one-half of the tithe of the south arises from that very wretchedness, viz. from tithe of potatoes; the other half arises from wheat, which they state in these dioceses to be from above 7s. to above 9s. the Irish acre; from barley, which they state to be from near 7s. to near 9s.; from oats, which they state to be from near 4s. to above 5s.; from hay, which does not pay tithe in Connaught; from flax, which does not pay

tithe in Ulster; from cows and sheep and lambs, which they omit in their statement, but from which the clergy of the south receive a considerable income. In short, from what does, and what does not pay tithe elsewhere. I congratulate the southern clergy on all these advantages; but the Defence interrupts me, and says, that all this is only one-half of their income, there is another gotten from potatoes. Hear the description of the men from whom that half principally arises—beggars! men publicly pronounced, and by all admitted to be trodden down to the earth, men who get 5*d.* a day for their labour, and pay 6*l.* a year by the acre for their potatoe garden, which heavy rent is acknowledged to be aggravated by a tithe of 10*s.*; for the continuance of which heavy tithe, the heavy rent is by the advocates of exaction made the apology. Poor people! “If we relax, the landlord would encroach; he “is worse than the parson.” These charges are further aggravated in some places by the disposition of the man who makes them, the tithe farmer. The Defence states, that while the rich diocese of Cashel and Emly pays 7*s.* the acre potatoes, the poor dioceses of Cloyne and of Cork pay above 10*s.* It states the cause of this inequality to be the tithe farmer. It states two causes of high ratages in these dioceses, a brisk corn trade, and the tithe farmer. The latter cause alone is referable to potatoes. It describes these tithe farmers, vagabonds, fishermen; but fishermen, it says, who do not live by fishing; and who, it also says, till nothing; and who, it is concluded to say, live by no labour, except the labour of exaction. The leasing the tithe to such a crew is made a matter of mercy: “poor people, they,” so runs the canting Defence, “have nothing else to live by.” Thus the equity in favor of the tiller of the soil, is made an equity in favor of a crew who bid against him; this equity, however, they own to be nothing more than setting the tithe to the highest bidder; and when these bidders are the cause, as the Defence states, of raising the tithe of potatoes in the dioceses of Cork and of Cloyne, to above 10*s.* the acre, which tithe, in the diocese of Cashel and Emly, they state to be but 7*s.* that is, when these canters raise the tithe above 30 per cent. the defence does expressly applaud them for their moderation.

I have stated, that the Defence of the southern clergy had made out a case for the poor. It has done so: it has proved the poor of those districts to be in worse situation than in any other part of Ireland; but it has gone farther, it has proved the clergy to be in a better; it sets forth, that from a number of corn mills, and from a brisk export of corn, the extent of tillage in those parts

parts has greatly increased ; it states, that from those causes, the ratage on tillage has increased likewise ; and thus it allows, what however in another part it denies, that the clergy have the double advantage, an increase of tillage, the effect of bounty, an increase of ratage, the effect of tithing that bounty. The defence states, that the clergy of the fourth have also a tithe of potatoes, the effect of their peculiar good fortune, which tithe the Defence admits to be nearly equal to all the rest. The Defence does not state, but we do and can prove, that in some of these disturbed parts, the livings of the clergy have of late years doubled. I might appeal to individuals, some of them will acknowledge it, none of them can deny that the increase has been abundant. Hence it follows, that the authors of the Defence cannot set up the plea of poverty against the relief of oppression ; and as they have made out a case for the poor, so have they suggested the facility of a remedy. They have in their Defence stated, that in the fourth the ratages have not in any county or diocese, for these thirty years, varied ; that is, they have in their defence set up a modus, a ratage of thirty years is a modus in fact, though it is not a modus in law, and does most decisively ascertain the possibility of establishing a modus by law. What now becomes of the solemn asseveration of the impossibility of paying the clergy in any manner, other than that of tithe ? Either they who superintended the Defence, believe that the ratages have not varied, and their argument of impossibility is a pretence, or they do believe they have varied, and their Defence in this particular has exceeded the boundaries of reality, yet it does not so egregiously depart from them, as not to conclude the authors of the Defence, as to the practicability of fixing a standard, and is an argument sufficient for a modus, though not for a justification. The bill now submitted to your consideration, proposes that commissioners should be appointed to enquire and to report : as to the commissioners, I do not mean that their number should be confined to the members of parliament ; I would admit men more familiar with the subject. As to the enquiry, it would be much facilitated by what has been done and written already ; here it will appear, that the proprietors of tithe in the districts lately disturbed, have, for the most part, proceeded by an acreable ratage, that where they have not, they have proceeded by a mode peculiarly capricious and oppressive ; and as in the former case, they have made a modus easy, so in the latter they have made it necessary. Your commissioners will discern where the ratage increased from the activity of the tithe farmer, from
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the advantage of the bounty, or the exceptionable conduct of the clergyman. Possessed of a knowledge of the criminal causes of increase, your commissioners will disavow all such in the formation of a modus, or tithing table, for the different articles which are to be subject to tithe. They will, in the tithing table, estimate each rate as equivalent to so many stone of bread corn, to be valued at stated years, and at the desire of the owner of tithe.

Your commissioners will naturally think it advisable in any plan they form, to exempt the cottager's potatoe garden from tithe; the proprietor of the tithe to be compensated by a presentment, or an agistment, equal to the sum at which the garden is rated; they will also relieve the parishioner from small dues, and where such have been usually paid, they will probably think to compensate the clergyman in the manner above mentioned. They will then think it advisable to relieve the proprietors of tithe, as well as the farmer and the poor, by giving the said proprietors for the recovery of their income a remedy effectual and summary.

Your commissioners may form a modus, as I have stated above, or they may go a step further, and submit a plan, by virtue of which, surveyors shall be appointed annually, by the parson and parish, to survey, and make a return of the number of acres under tillage. The acres to be rated according to the tithing-table, and the gross sum to be levied in the manner of other county charges. When I say the commissioners will adopt such a plan, I only mean that if you appoint them, I will assist them by submitting such plan. I have stated it in general terms; but the mechanical part I have digested into two bills. The appointment of commissioners should precede the introduction of such bills, because the enquiry necessary to lay the foundation of such bills, should not be left to an individual, but entrusted to a body empowered and appointed by parliament. To an individual, however active his enquiry, authentic his information, the answer will ever be, we do not know all this, and therefore it is, I submit to you to enquire into all this yourselves. And in order that this system of reform should be a means of coercion, as well as of relief, I would have a provision, by which any parish rising up in tumult, such as was committed in 1786, and as is described in our laws, shall for blank time forfeit the benefit of the act, by paying an extraordinary ratage, the increased sum to go to some public use.

But whatever redress is intended, that redress must come from you, it will not come from the clergy: the parochial clergy may wish for a regulation,
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the bishops do not. One dignitary has denied that tithe can by any possibility be an oppression ; other kinds of property may, but the full tenth of your capital, land and labour paid to the church, we are informed, carries along with it an inherent impossibility of being a burthen ! A heavenly-gifted and mysterious property it seems, which cannot corrupt, but must for ever abide by original purity, and primæval perfection ! Should an argument, which depends more on faith than on reason, find no reception in your mind, another dignitary has told you *that the poor are not to be relieved, if the clergy are to be at the expence*. When a bill for the improvement of barren lands, and the encouragement of industry among the lower orders of the people, was on the last session resisted by the spiritual peers, a right reverend prelate was said to have declared as a principle, that the poor should not be relieved, if the clergy were to be at the expence. Such a sentiment coming from a Christian and a Protestant bishop, must have smote every breast with deep and sincere affliction : but, if we are cast down by so great and grave an authority on the one side, we are consoled again by a still higher interposition, the express commands and practice of the scriptures on the other. The Saviour of man suffered on a principle different from that which the right reverend prelate has introduced. The apostles, the martyrs, and that flaming constellation of men that in the early age of Christianity shot to their station in the heavens, and fell, and falling illumined the nations of the earth with the blaze of the gospel, rose and fell with inspirations of a very different kind. Had Christ been of the prelate's opinion, he never had been born, and we had never been saved. Had he said to his apostles, ' The poor are not to be fed, the valley is not to laugh and sing at the expence of our church ;' or, had the apostles said to the nations of the earth, ' Ye are not to be benefited at the expence of Christian pastors ;' or, had the martyrs expostulated with themselves, ' We will not suffer for mankind,' what had become of the Christian religion ? Let the Pagan priest of Jove, or the sensual priest of Mahomed, deliver such doctrine, but do not you part with the palm of Christianity, nor relinquish the lofty self-surrendering precepts of your gospel, to poach in politics, for little and wicked tenets, in order to brand your Prayer Book with the image of a sorry selfishness, which would disgrace the frontispiece of Machiavel. With all his errors on his head, the Pope himself is too discreet to commit himself with the Bible, by inculcating self-interest as a part of his creed. He has proclaimed, that the support of the poor is necessary, according to the true ancient discipline

pline of the church ; and he has taxed church-benefices accordingly. There are some indiscretions, compared with which, hypocrisy would be decorum ; dissimulation would be virtue. I am not reflecting on what fell from a bishop, so much as I am defending Christianity, by whose principles, on the last day, even the proudest of the priesthood must be tried. Let me suppose that day to have arrived, and, at the dread tribunal, the mitred head to be confronted with the naked peasant—" I was an hungred, and you fed me not : I was naked, and you clothed me not." Will you then answer your God as you have answered your country ? " The poor were not to be relieved at the expence of the clergy." But this is putting human infirmity to too severe a trial, and suggesting gloomy scenes of death and judgment, for which men occupied by the riches, engaged in the amusements, and fretted somewhat in the politics of the world, are but little prepared. It was a declaration of indiscretion, of passion ; to speak severely of it, of a warm judgment : to say the worst of it, of a fallible temper, and entirely to be forgiven, provided it shall be never repeated. I shall therefore hope, on recollection, it will not as a general principle be laid down, that the clergy should not contribute a little to the relief of the poor. Alas ! that will not do ; we are told the poor in Ireland do not deserve relief.—' Suspicious subjects, Presbyterians inimical to the constitution, or Papists incredible on their oaths ;' that is, below the condition not only of other Christians, but of other men, Jews, Pagans, Mahomedans : now, as the Roman Catholics happen to be the most numerous part of the Christian church, it follows, if the charge be true, that the majority of the followers of Christ are the worst of the human species ; that the greater part of Christendom is the most reprobate part of the earth, and that the Redeemer of mankind has come in vain ; and the result of the two opinions, that by one right reverend dignitary entertained of the Catholic church, coupled with the other tenet suggested by another dignitary of the Protestant church, is, that the former church has done much mischief to man, and that the latter is not to be at any expence to do him service. However, I will suppose these opinions to relax ; the Presbyterian to be restored to his credit, the Catholic to be admitted to grace, yet there is another difficulty in the way of redress, the alleged poverty of the Irish church. The bishops allege in the Defence, that the people of Ireland pay incomparably less to their church. They acknowledge, that, on a dividend of the whole income, including bishopricks and colleges, each Irish clergyman would receive 230*l.* per annum, and each English clergy-

clergyman 150l. But then they compare the two aggregate funds, and because 1000 Irish clergymen do not divide as great an aggregate as 10,000 English, they affirm that Ireland pays incomparably less to her church. They do not deny that the English clergy are as ten to one, their fund as six to one; they cannot deny that the church of England men in England are more than ten times as many, and the people of England much more than ten times as rich; and then their pampered expostulation amounts to this, that the clergy of England, being ten times as many, having above ten times as much to do, get only six times as much, from a country which is perhaps twenty times as rich. In all this pathetic lamentation, how have they forgotten the presbyter! how have they forgotten the priest! and their humble pittance! and yet a poor priest shall defend the privileges of a man against proud oppression, and a presbyter shall be able to puzzle a mitre. With regard to the presbyter, I am clear his income should be increased; the *regium donum* is contemptibly small, one of the acts of a new administration should be to increase it.

When certain right reverend dignitaries insist on the poverty of the Irish church, compared with that of England, they suggest to the people of Ireland the following question: What induced those dignitaries to come to Ireland? Am I to understand that they left their great pretensions in the English church from a contempt of its riches? and sought preferment in the Irish church from a love of its poverty? Am I to understand that a contempt for dignity, added to a contempt of riches, has induced them to obstruct the progress of our native clergy? and happily fixes their humble eye upon the Irish mitre?—Exalted they are then at leisure to make pastoral observations on our people.—“The Squirearchy are tyrants—the common people thieves—the Presbyterians enemies to the constitution, and the Catholics incredible on their oaths.” Having made an estimate of the value of the income of the clergy; then they calculate, and, like the industrious ant, or the busy bee, *thymo crura plena*, depositing, in the episcopal cells, the bulky store of ecclesiastical revenue, they return to the crowd, and expostulate with their brethren on the poverty of the church.

I speak of some, not all. There are among them, men whom I revere. Such is one whom I do not name, because he is present; mild, learned, pious and benevolent; a friend to the meekness of the gospel, and a friend to man. Such is another whom I may name, because he is not present. He has the first episcopal dignity in this realm—it is his right—he takes it by virtue of

the commanding benevolence of his mind, in right of a superior and exalted nature. There are men possessed of certain creative powers, and who distinguish the place of their nativity, instead of being distinguished by it—they do not receive, they give birth to the place of their residence, and vivify the region which is about them. The man I allude to, I know not, or know him as we know superior beings, by his works.

I have, in the foregoing part, endeavoured to defend myself against an attack, published without the names of certain dignitaries of the church, but not without their authority : I shall now strive to answer another attack, published by their authority, and with their names annexed—the parochial clergy of Munster, at their annual visitations assembled.

A very respectable assembly ; how employed ? To assist the committee appointed by act of parliament to enquire into the scandalous abuses which have sunk the charitable funds of royal and private donation ?—No, from the Southern archbishop that committee has received no assistance.—To establish parochial schools, according to act of parliament, at their own expence ?—No, that work has been neglected.---To establish diocesan schools, at their own expence, as by law they are obliged ?---No, that too has been neglected or perverted.—To enquire into the state of charter schools, and to follow Howard in his pious and singular activity ?---No, the parochial clergy of the province of Munster, at their visitation, have been otherwise employed. They have read a speech concerning tithes, their property, and yet there were subjects more worthy of their interference ! Their God has been denied by the arguments of the Atheist ; his Son has been denied by the arguments of the Deists. English bishops, Presbyterian ministers have come forth.—The parochial clergy of Munster, and their six bishops—have they signalized themselves in this holy war ?---Their learning---their industry---their zeal on their natural subject—I look for—I cannot find them.---Their country, as well as their God, had been outraged---her trade crippled, her constitution destroyed, and her final judicature, of which the right reverend the lords spiritual compose an implicit part, usurped. What an opportunity here for their interposition during a long period ! Where are their spirited votes ? Where are their deep researches ?---A layman indeed, on that occasion, came forth, Molyneux came forth ; and, though he could not retake the citadel, he rescued the holy vestiges, the vestal fires of the constitution, and rescued them without aid from the dignified priests of the temple. A most successful struggle to recover trade
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and freedom was afterward made—what an opportunity here! The Presbyterian ministers came forward in every shape; the Roman Catholic priest afforded us his literary assistance; the parochial clergy of Munster, and their six bishops—not one syllable—on their part a sad blank—profound, uninterrupted taciturnity. When their God, their Redeemer, and their country are in question, they are silent; but, when a twelve-penny point on their tithe is brought forward, then they are vivacious; then the press groans with clerical Billingsgate; then a synod is held in the capital, in the seat of learning, under mitred auspices, training up the reverend youth of the country in the holy office of anonymous publication, and inoculating their tender minds with the scribbling itch of meagre production; and then the parochial clergy of Munster, deans, deacons, archdeacons, prebendaries and precentors, with six bishops, in holy order, and solemn march, advance—on what? On the principles of decorum and respect due to a member of the legislature: “The provincial clergy having read a speech, entitled by the publishers the Speech of Mr. Grattan, and by him not disavowed.” Their bishops should have informed their clergy, that, to justify the application, it is not sufficient the publication should not be disavowed, but necessary that it should be authorized. Giving a reason for the application, and giving a bad one, they convict themselves of making the charge, and of making it without foundation. Here I must suggest an established rule, which I scorn to insist on, but am forced to acknowledge. No man, no body of men, have a right to charge on a member of the legislature, as his speech made therein, an unauthorized publication. Against this rule have transgressed those anonymous and wrathful clergymen, who, in a flock of noisy publications, have attacked what I never published, and replied to what I never said. They are welcome; they have shewn that all of them can write, it remains for them to shew that some of them can excel—their patrons I hope will reward them! The flies of the vintage they gather about the press, and already taste, in devout expectation, the inspiring fruit. A light swarm! that they should travel over boundaries I am not astonished; but that the grave body, the parochial clergy of Munster, with their six bishops—they too are welcome. I should be the last man to avail myself of an intemperance, and they are the last body against whom I should insist upon it. Requesting therefore, that when the exalted of their body complain of encroachment, they may extend to others that indulgence, which they themselves (it appears) sometimes stand in need of, I shall wave the irregularity of

the attack, and suppose the parochial clergy of Munster to have come forward in a shape, in which they are not exposed to a censure, but entitled to an answer. 'Tis a matter of anxiety to know what is the evil they advance to combat—they state it, “Left an anonymous pamphlet should, in their own province, prejudice them in the opinion of men unacquainted with their persons or moderation.” If by such they mean people of the other provinces, I do not see how the parochial clergy of Munster can be specially affected in their own province, by the opinion of men who live out of it; but, if they wish to recommend themselves to such, if the opinion of such men is worth their attention, the parochial clergy of Munster must take measures very different from the manifesto; they must agree to an exemption for the potatoes of the peasant; they must agree to an exemption for the flax of the manufacturer; they must accede to a *modus*, not a manifesto. But, if the parochial clergy of Munster are indifferent about the opinion of the other provinces, and by men unacquainted with their persons and moderation, mean their own parishioners, I marvel much that these grave and enlightened men should alledge so flight and sarcastic a cause for their momentous interposition, assigning, on the first supposition, a very inadequate, on the second supposition, a very extraordinary, and on neither the real cause for their manifesto. When a great body condescends to give a reason for its proceedings, that reason should be excellent; and rather than have offered such a one as they have submitted, I think the parochial clergy of Munster had more consulted their dignity, by assigning no reason at all, by resting every thing on their authority, and by standing forth in the public prints, a great name without an argument.

Having professed such an object for interposing, the parochial clergy of Munster endeavour to accomplish that object by a manifesto, declaring that the prices set forth in the speech alluded to do greatly exceed the prices demanded by the clergy of Munster, and are gross misrepresentations. Here it becomes of moment, to know what are these prices set forth in the speech. I do not find, the speech relies on prices for wheat, which exceed 16*s.* the acre, or on prices for potatoes, which exceed 27*s.* the plantation acre. But such prices, or any thing near such prices, are bad enough in all conscience. Whether the prices are 10*s.* for wheat, or 13, 14, 16, 20, or 27*s.* the acre, for potatoes, they are unconscionable. I agree with the parochial clergy of Munster, in their honest indignation at the perusal of such charges; they are enormous, uncharitable, and unchristian: the next question is, where these charges have
been

been found?—In the returns of the judge, or of the proper officer, appointed by the proper court to try bills or petitions under the compensation act; charges, which by the act must be the usual charges of three years back, and which must be verified by affidavit; so that this manifesto is nothing more than a declaration, that the prices reported by the judges or triers, and verified by the oath of the parsons, or their witnesses, do greatly exceed the real prices, and are gross falsehoods; that is, that the witnesses in these cases concerned for the clergy, have been guilty of perjury. But as this is impossible, we must suppose, that these prices are not chargeable with falsehood, but so chargeable with excess, that they become incredible from their enormity; and thus this declaration of the parochial clergy of Munster is nothing more than a manifesto against the exactions of their own body. These clergymen---these tithe-farmers---or these tithe-proctors, who have recovered under this act, and who by themselves or their witnesses, have sworn to such scandalous charges, should take notice, that they are proclaimed by the parochial clergy of Munster, at the annual visitation assembled; that the prices demanded by said persons, are proclaimed and stigmatised, and publicly disavowed and reprobated by the bishops and the clergy of the province of Munster, at their annual visitation assembled; that these prices are pronounced not only to exceed what they themselves demand, but to exceed their demand in a very high degree, to be not only exorbitant charges, but incredible calumnies---Miraculous! that the clergy of Munster, with their six bishops, unconsciously led, but happily influenced, meaning only to attack a member of parliament, should, by a blind, but heaven-directed zeal, pronounce ecclesiastical and episcopal judgment against unconscionable tithe. See the first fruits of the zeal of a layman, and the temerity of a bishop.

The parochial clergy of Munster, having in the first paragraph of their manifesto, affirmed a universal proposition, are advised in the second, to give that paragraph a contradiction. They are of opinion, that the prices set forth in the speech, and denied in the manifesto, may exist notwithstanding; but if they do, they are only apparently high, and are really justifiable. In the first paragraph, they are advised to decide against their existence and moderation. "They greatly exceed the prices demanded, they are false, they are calumnious." In the second, they are advised to change their opinions with respect to both; they may not be false, they may be justifiable---the contradiction is of little moment; the justification must be observed upon: is 12, 13, 14, 15,

20, 27*s.* an acre for potatoes, justifiable? Have the provincial clergy of Munster, with six bishops at their head, come forth to tell us this? Have the parochial clergy of Munster come forth to excuse extortion? Do the parochial clergy of Munster design by such a justification, to recommend themselves either in or out of their province, to those who are, or to those who are not, acquainted with their persons, and who are yet to be acquainted with their moderation? I did hope, that the parochial clergy of Munster, at their annual visitation assembled, would have held a different language, and instead of reading newspapers, or answering pamphlets, would have employed those sage and sacred moments to restrain exaction, and to animadvert on improper ministers. Here I see and lament that fatal spirit of corps, which arms the enemies, and discomforts the real friends of the church. The reverend and learned body read in the pamphlet, certain figures of unjust prices, with natural indignation. But they were brought to recollect, that these prices might be the charges of a brother churchman. In their capacity, as men and gentlemen, they abhor; in their corporate capacity as priests, they are advised to apologize; hence a confusion of style from a distraction of sentiment; hence the printer, who puts down the figures of certain prices is guilty; the minister who exacts them---innocent. A piece of money, which in numbers tells as exaction, being deposited in the pious hand of a spiritual pastor, undergoes a sort of transubstantiation, and is only apparently high, while the clerical offender is acquitted by a miracle, and this miraculous benefit of clergy is extended to the lay, as well as the ecclesiastical owners of tithe; and to all the low and wretched train of persons of various professions and religions, connected with its collection. I excuse the zeal of the parochial clergy of Munster, I say nothing of their discretion. I applaud the first motions of their heart; I am sure the majority of them scorn to practise what they are influenced to extenuate: but do not these worthy men perceive, that while they insist on the moderation of such practices, they may bring into question the moderation of their own principles, and teach the public to fear, lest these prices, which are now the subject of their Defence, may become hereafter the object of their imitation? The progress of exaction is well known: from general indignation to special toleration; from special toleration to general adoption. I own I see the necessity of my bill *now*, emphatically *now*; just at the critical period before those high charges have become a general practice; and when they begin to receive a degree of countenance; when the
balance

balance of charity trepidates in episcopal hands ; when Exaction has not lost all her native horrors, and yet is growing somewhat familiar to their eyes ; is only apparently high---probably justifiable.

The parochial clergy of Munster proceed : they say, they do not believe, that in the whole province of Munster, there exist, of prices unusually high, three or even two instances. The parochial clergy of Munster do not believe that throughout the whole province of Munster, in the counties of Cork, Tipperary, Limerick, Kerry, or Clare, in all the livings, lay, as well as ecclesiastic, among all the owners of tithe, clergymen, lay-impropriators, tithe-proctors, tithe farmers, or sub-tithe farmers, there exist of prices unusually high, three or even two instances. I respect the parochial clergy, and marvel, that so grave a body should have been induced to commit itself on so extraordinary an assertion.

The declaimers for tithe have represented the landlords of Ireland as extortioners, these are the lay-impropriators ; the same declaimers have represented the middle-men as extortioners, these are the tithe-farmers : do these descriptions of men, the landlords, who are extortioners, the middle-men, who are extortioners, put on a new nature when they come in contact with tithe, and derive the virtue of moderation from the contagion of a property the best formed to prompt, reward, and conceal exaction ? This is infallibility ! denied indeed to the doctrine of the priesthood, but now transferred to the property of the church. Here again breaks out that spirit of corps, which always exposes the church ; there is no extravagant conclusion to which it will not lead men in certain situations, though of excellent understandings. But, to wave the rashness of such an assertion, had not the parochial clergy of Munster their own experience to direct them ? Had they never made the ratage or value of church benefices any part of their private meditation ? Had they not the returns admitted to be made in 1786, to direct them ? There, every where, they could have discovered their error. What ! in the whole province of Munster they do not believe that of prices unusually high there exist three or even two instances ? Admit their position, and they are ruined ; all are alike, 12*s.* 14*s.* 16*s.* 20*s.* or 27*s.* the acre, for potatoes, are, according to this, not the unusual charges of a few, but the extortions of all. Never was such an attack published against the southern clergy, as this manifesto propagated by themselves ; and, lest such a paper should extend or descend to prejudice the clergy with the present and with future times, let me interpose a moment,

moment, and rescue their character from their vindication; unable as I find myself in this step to support their discretion, let me say something in favor of their truth and moderation; and, in contradiction to the first paragraph of their manifesto, let me assure you, that the prices sworn to by some of the clergy, or their witnesses, however high, were truly set forth by the same; but, let me add, in contradiction to the third paragraph, that those prices were unusually high; the extortions of the particular men, not of the body in general; and, for the sake of the body in general, and the individuals in particular, let me hope their manifesto may meet with but little regard.

Having ceased to assert, the manifesto proceeds to interrogate. When a grave and respectable body of men propound questions, they deserve answers, even though the questions themselves are of little moment. The parochial clergy of Munster interrogate, whether a want of moderation in some (supposing, what they do not allow, such want to exist) bespeaks a want of moderation in all; without adverting to the rules of logic, and consulting merely the character of the clergy of the south, particularly some of the subscribers, I should immediately answer in the negative; but, if I paid any attention to the manifesto, I should answer in the affirmative; because, in part of that unlucky production, I find that the exactions of the few, though not according to the practice, do not appear sufficiently offensive to the principles of the many, but are stated as probably justifiable; it is therefore only by rejecting their Defence that we can answer their question to their satisfaction or their credit. The parochial clergy of Munster ask, whether the want of moderation in some (if any) will account for the indiscriminate attack made on the body? To this question I lament that no answer can be given, because all enquiry was, and is now resisted by some of that very quarter, from whence the question has proceeded. We cannot determine, however we may surmise, that high charges in some instances on the peasants subsistence, tithed in no other part of Ireland, might have excited discontents which go generally beyond the region of their causes, and spread by contagion. The parochial clergy of Munster ask, whether the want of moderation, if any, in some, will justify every species of violence, combination, and exaction? To whom do they apply this question? To government, who gave them troops; to the legislature, that gave them a riot-act; and a whiteboy-act, and a magistracy and two compensation-acts? Are the parochial clergy of Munster aware of the

the force, the influence, the expence, and the high penal nature of these measures? And how the constitution bled, and the springs of justice well nigh cracked, while we listened to such suggestions? Do I condemn them? No. After some necessary qualifications and amendment, I voted for most of them. Whatever right the rest of the community may have to expostulate with me on this subject, they have none. I voted, under the pressure of the times, for temporary coercion, before enquiry; and I did hope the clergy would not have opposed me in moving for subsequent enquiry, to prevent the continuation and repetition of coercion. The parochial clergy of Munster ask, whether exaction will justify outrage? I own I am at a loss to discover their provocation for such an interrogatory. Verfed, as they certainly are, in the science of ethics, they undoubtedly must know, that crimes justify their punishment, not one another. Exaction will not justify robbery, nor robbery exaction. When the southern clergy applied to government for troops, to the legislature for capital punishments, they said, " Suppress the insurgent " by arms, punish the robber by death," and we listened to them. When they come forth a second time, with a tarnished display of past sufferings, and with a peevish interrogatory, " Whether exaction will justify every species of " cruelty," they mean nothing; or, they do mean " Be tender of the exacter—do not enquire into his transgressions—let his sufferings be a set-off " against his offences:" and here we cannot listen to them; otherwise, civil society, contrary I am sure to their intentions, would cease to be a system of reward and punishment, and would become nothing more than a scale of iniquity; from exaction to tumult, and from tumult suppressed, to exaction triumphant! disgusting extremes! A bishop bawling for tithe, or a whiteboy for rebellion.

The parochial clergy of Munster ask, whether a want of moderation in some, will justify a crimination of the whole body? which crimination they affirm to be the great object and end of the speech alluded to. To this most serious and unmerited reflection, I answer, that I did arraign many of the tithe-farmers, many of the tithe-proctors, and some of the clergy of the south; but that I did not arraign the majority of the latter description, on the contrary, declared I presumed the majority to be innocent. I may add, that some of their subscribing dignitaries were present; the manifesto then is liable to this observation, that it has brought forward the misrepresentation of my speech, and that it has omitted to bring forward the fact. I am glad, however,

that the parochial clergy of Munster, by their question, declare they disapprove of general charges, founded on some particular instances; but this concession will subject them to a keen retort from various descriptions of his majesty's subjects: and first, from all the peasantry of Munster, who will ask, whether the turbulence of some peasants justified a certain quarter in resisting an enquiry into the distresses of the body at large? and whether those excesses justified the declaimers for tithe in representing the peasantry of Munster as one vast confederated popish banditti? It will expose them to another question from the landlords of Ireland, who may ask, whether the rack-rent of some justified those declaimers for tithe in representing the landlords of Ireland in general as extortioners? It will expose them to another question from all the Presbyterians, who may ask, whether the rising of some Popish peasants in the south, justified the advocates for tithes in proclaiming the Presbyterians of the north, and indeed the whole Presbyterian community, as laboring under an incapacity of being sincere friends to the constitution? It will expose them to another question from the Roman Catholics, who will ask, whether such risings as above, justified the advocates for tithes in representing the whole Catholic community as inimical to the constitution, and incredible on their oaths? What description of subjects that has not been traduced? What character that has not been outraged? Offend their God, and some men will absolve; offend their property, and they persecute. I am glad that the parochial clergy of Munster have felt the impropriety, though I should be sorry they ever should feel the lash of general reflections, founded on particular instances: and I sincerely hope it will be a lesson to some of their bishops in future not to make, and a lesson to some of the clergy not to countenance such general reflection. I agree with the parochial clergy of Munster such reflections are matter of censure in a printer; but I go a step further—I do not think them matter of thanksgiving in a bishop.

The parochial clergy of Munster complain, that all means have been used to give currency to unmerited censure, and to impose a stigma on the clergy of Munster. They are right, but let them direct their complaints to the proper objects; let them turn to those who helped certain ponderous publications on their side, through a series of heavy editions: let them turn to their own hot and hazardous pilots: let them expostulate with their own stars, those cloudy luminaries, under whose angry influence worthy men have fought those rocks on which they fear, vainly I hope, the wreck of their reputation.

Let

Let them turn to those who advised some amongst them to resist the interest of the manufacturer, by petitioning against a *modus* for flax; to resist the interest of the husbandman, by petitioning against a bill for the improvement of barren land; to those who attempted to commit the established church, with the whole Catholic community, by declaring the individuals who compose it to be incredible on oath, and with the whole Presbyterian community, by declaring both to be inimical to the constitution of the realm. Turn to those who spirited up worthy men to express their approbation of such illaudable productions. Turn to those who have now spirited up grave and worthy men to come forward with this empty manifesto. The clergy, no doubt, have reason to complain of the paper war; they have found, in a country where reason may write, the palm is not to the powerful; their antagonists have reached them, but the worst wound came from their own quarter; the pompous folly, the dogmatical and intolerant spirit, the false alarm spread, the unfounded charge made, the want of discretion, the want of decorum, and the want of temper. There is something which distinguishes an ecclesiastical war on the subject of property; a miraculous degree of perseverance, a marvellous portion of fire, a certain turbulence of zeal, and an appetite for the thing in controversy, which is not only keen but ferocious. However, if their own publications have hurt them, the injury is not great; none of them have been read, that are not now forgotten; the brief children of temporal desires, they have tasted of death, even in the life time of their ghostly fathers.

To the nobility and gentry of Munster, the parochial clergy appeal. Why not the poor? do they not pay tithe? do not their potatoe gardens pay tithe? The Saviour of man would not have passed them by. Had he only appealed to the nobility and gentry of Judæa, he must have overlooked his own apostles. Had the parochial clergy of Munster been left to themselves, their appeal would have taken a more evangelic direction; but when potentates prescribe, when certain dignitaries, long in the habits of courtly application suggest, the parochial clergy are controlled, and those right reverend spiritual politicians present, as usual, their faces to the great, and habitually turn from the poor and the Lord: they overlook Lazarus expiring at their feet, and call on Dives to give his sense on the subject of charity. Have the parochial clergy forgotten, that, by some of their own writers, these noblemen and gentlemen have been represented as the patrons of exaction, though now

the poor are referred to them, as the arbiters of moderation. I am sure the landed interest was grossly misrepresented, I am glad the parochial clergy of Munster are sensible of it. But it is not such men that can establish the clergy's character for moderation, because such men are seldom the object of their exaction; it is the poor, to whom they do not appeal, it is the cottager's voice, the peasant's testimony; or, (since he is not allowed to be credible on oath) his simple affirmative; or, (since he must not speak his native language) his hands uplifted in their favor: these are the best witnesses to prove the moderation of the clergy of Munster.

The parochial clergy of Munster inform you, that the church is attacked; they tell you more, that religion is attacked; and they tell you how, because an attack, as they conceive, has been made on themselves. They annex the existence of the church, and the divinity of religion, to the importance of their own persons. With every respect for the parochial clergy of Munster, I cannot accede to the irreverent and vulgar familiarity with which controversialists on their side are prone to introduce and make common cause with the Almighty. Let bigots rail, let polemics revile, let headlong zealots vociferate, but the parochial clergy of Munster will agree with me, that licentiousness should be confined to the human species, and that the majesty of the Godhead should remain inviolate. What, is there nothing in our religion, nothing in its external, nothing in its internal evidence, nothing in its miracles, prophecies, propagation, doctrine, and diction, to raise its author above the possibility of being affected by the paper war, and wretched controversy, in which some idle ecclesiastics may have involved themselves; He has prevailed against greater enemies, the pride of the high priest, the servility of the bishop. But it should seem that it was not religion which supported the parson, but the parson that supported religion. The error, however, is natural and common; the politician thinks the state rests on his shoulders; and the dignified divine imagines the church and the Christian religion, the firmament and starry sphere to dance round his person and property. It is a matter of curiosity to know what, on the present occasion, has endangered the Christian religion; an anonymous pamphlet against tithe, and a motion to enquire into the sufferings of the poor: for this is the Godhead brought out from his shrine, and exposed as an outwork in defence of church property. However, if their religion is so connected with every step they take, they have the remedy within themselves; let them agree to such
acts

acts as will benefit the community ; or let them cease to oppose every act that has a tendency to relieve or to enquire. Once more I offer a public enquiry ; I solicit once more redress for the peasantry of this country. I offer a bill appointing commissioners for that salutary purpose—Do the clergy of Munster decline the offer ? What, are they afraid of an enquiry ? Will they shelter themselves under a court ? Have they come forth with a manifesto, and do they now deprecate an examination ? Once more I offer it, and I add, that if this bill should pass, and commissioners should be appointed, the clergy will be made sensible that we are friends to the provision of the church, as well as to the relief of the people.

No. LXXXIV.

Declaration of the Catholic Society of Dublin. (P. 330.)

Dublin, October 21st, 1791.

IN the present enlightened and improved period of society, it is not for the Irish Roman Catholics alone to continue silent. Not accused of any crime ; not conscious of any delinquency, they suffer a privation of rights and conveniencies, the penalty reserved in wise states for offences of atrocious magnitude. It does not become them, whilst with liberality ever to be gratefully remembered, many descriptions of their fellow-citizens compassionate their situation, to seem indifferent to the desirable, and they hope, not distant event of their emancipation. They wish to ascertain upon what terms they may venture to settle in a country, which they love with the rational preference of men, not the simplicity of puerile acquiescence. It is not for the Irish Catholics, armed as their cause is with reason and justice, like public foes to seek advantage from public calamity. They ought to advance their claim at a time most favorable to discussion, when the condition of the empire is flourishing and tranquil. They might seem culpable to their country, if affecting to dissemble what it were unmanly not to feel, they reserved their pretensions in ambush to augment the perplexities of some critical emergency. They would be culpable to posterity, if they omitted to profit of the general inclination of public sentiment. They would be culpable to themselves, if they suffered an imputation to subsist, that in the extent of the British territory,

tory, they alone submit without repining, to a mortifying and oppressive bondage, degrading to themselves, and pernicious to their country. They conceive, that in the present state of things, their silence might be received as evidence of such dispositions.

Influenced by these considerations, and instructed by a recent transaction, that although laws may be shameful and preposterous; for even in a philosophic age there will be bigots and tyrants, where the votaries of freedom are most sanguine. A number of Roman Catholics, resident in Dublin, have formed themselves into a society, which they invite their fellow sufferers throughout the nation to unite with, which shall have for its object to consider, and individually to support with all their zeal and personal influence, such measures, not inconsistent with their duty to the civil magistrate, as shall appear likely to relieve them from the oppressions and disqualifications imposed in this country on persons professing the Roman Catholic religion. We therefore do unanimously resolve,

That we will, to the utmost of our power, endeavour, by all legal and constitutional means, to procure the repeal of the laws by which we are aggrieved, as Roman Catholics. That we will promote repeated application to every branch of the legislature for that purpose; and assist such application by all means of legal influence, which it shall at any time be possible for us to exert.

It would be tedious, it might be disgusting, to recount each individual grievance under which we suffer. The Roman Catholics seem preserved in this land but as a source of revenue. The whole legislative, the whole executive, the whole judicial powers of the state, are in the hands of men, over whom they have no control; and with whom they can have little intercourse. They are prohibited to engage in any mode of industry from which it is possible to debar them, or which is worth the monopoly. They are restricted in the education of their children. As conscientious we cannot lightly abandon our religion, as prudent men we hesitate to engage in controversial study; the wisest have been bewildered in such pursuits, and they are for the most part incompatible with our necessary occupations. Nor is there any moral advantage held out as an inducement to change our creed: it is not pretended that we should become better men, or more dutiful subjects, but merely experimentalists in religion seek to gratify their caprice by forcing us from our habits of education into the perplexing labyrinth of theology.

The liberty of Ireland to those of our communion is calamity, and their misfortunes

misfortunes seem likely to encrease, as the country shall improve in prosperity and freedom. They may look with envy to the subjects of an arbitrary monarch, and contrast that government, in which one great tyrant ravages the land, with the thousand inferior despots whom at every instant they must encounter. They have the bustle and cumbersome forms without the advantages of liberty. The octennial period, at which the delegated trust of legislation is revoked, and his importance restored to the constituent, returns but to disturb their tranquillity, and revive the recollection of their debasement. All the activity, all the popular acts of electioneering canvas, enforce the idea of their insignificance; they exemplify it too: witness the various preferences given by persons of rank to not always the most deserving among our Protestant countrymen, a preference nearly as detrimental to the independent Protestants as to us.

There exists not in their behalf any control over power. They have felt the truth of this assertion, when in this age of toleration, even within the last eight years, several new penal statutes have been enacted against them.

They experience it daily, not alone in the great deliberations of the nation, and in the little concerns of public money for the service of the state, but in the local imposition of county and parochial taxes. We appeal to our rulers, we appeal to Ireland, we appeal to Europe, if we deserve a place in society, should we seem willing to insinuate that such a situation is not severely unacceptable.

We are satisfied that the mere repeal of the laws against us will prove but feebly beneficial, unless the act be sanctioned by the concurrence of our Protestant brethren, and those jealousies removed by which the social intercourse of private life is interrupted. It is time we should cease to be distinct nations, forcibly enclosed within the limits of one island. It shall be a capital object of our institution to encourage the spirit of harmony, and sentiments of affection, which the ties of common interest, and common country, ought, ere now, to have inspired. Countrymen! too long have we suffered ourselves to be opposed in rival factions, to each other, the sport of those who felt no tenderness for either. Why should diversity of sentiment, so usual where the matter in debate is abstruse or important, separate those whom heaven placed together for mutual benefit and consolation? Objects, material in their day, produced hostility between our ancestors. The causes of that discord have ceased to exist; let the enmity too perish. Let it be the duty of present and
future

future ages to prevent the recurrence of such unnatural and calamitous dissection; except in the actual discharge of the religious duties, which conscience renders inevitable, we wish there never shall be found a trace of that, which may possibly divide us into distinct communities.

The ill effects of these restrictions are not confined to those of our religion; they extend to every individual, and every public body in the nation; under the weight of them, industry, under their influence, public spirit is enervated. It is the interest of every man in Ireland that the entire code should be abolished. It is the interest of the crown, as it must promote the general happiness of the subjects. It is the interest of the great, as it will serve to tranquilize the country, and to encourage industry; it is the additional interest of the middle and inferior ranks, as it must impart new importance to their sentiments, and to the expression of their sentiments; we call upon every order of the state, not alone by their benevolence and justice, but by their patriotism and self interest, to co-operate with our exertions.

It adds the insult of mockery to the misfortune of the Irish Catholics, that the number of persons aggrieved, in every other instance an inducement to redress, is a reason alleged to procrastinate their relief, and an argument used to impose silence on their murmurs: is it their act, that a multitude of Irishmen are aggregated by common grievance, and classed in one great community of fellow-sufferers? Why accuse them of hostility to the constitution? They earnestly solicit to participate in its advantages. Why suspect them of enmity to their country? They desire entirely to incorporate themselves with it, to contract closer ties, which shall decide them to consign their posterity irrevocably to its bosom. We envy not its endowments to the established church; adversity has instructed us, that all the consolations which are promised, are most faithfully and tenderly administered by the pastors with moderate appointments, a free gift of gratitude to the kindest benefactors. Fastidiously excluded from the constitution, we can pronounce on it but as aliens, by speculation. We discern in it the means of much happiness; we regret that its symmetry is not complete; a chasm remains which might be filled with advantage by the Roman Catholics; we have neither passion nor interest at variance with the order of things it professes to establish. We desire only that property in our hands may have its natural weight, and merit in our children its rational encouragement. We have sworn allegiance to our sovereign, and the very evils we complain of prove how inviolable is our attachment

attachment to such obligation. We respect the peerage, the ornament of the state, and the bulwark of the people, interposing, as we hope the Irish Catholics will experience, mediatory good offices between authority and the objects of it. We solicit a share of interest in the existence of the commons. Do you require an additional test? We offer one more unequivocal than a volume of abjurations—we hope to be free, and will endeavour to be united. Do you require new proofs of our sincerity? We stood by you in the exigencies of our country. We extend our hands, the pledge of cordiality. Who is he that calls himself a friend to Ireland, and will refuse us?

We feel ourselves justified in this association: the period draws near when it will be fit the Irish Catholics approach the legislature with respectful solicitations. It is meet that those who suffer should confer, in order to ascertain the means and matter of redress likely to prove at once satisfactory and successful. It is insinuated, that some of our Protestant brethren are adverse to our emancipation; it is meet we should investigate the grounds of this strange assertion. The laws that have separated us from our countrymen, destroying our intercourse with bodies constituted by authority, leave us no other manner to collect, or to convey the general sense of our grievances, than this of a self-created society. We mean not to interfere with the harmony now happily subsisting through the nation: if the applications on our behalf are complied with, we can never have occasion; if rejected, we cannot have an interest to interrupt it. Engaged for the most part in the various departments of commerce, we are concerned not less than any other class of citizens, to cultivate the blessings of tranquillity; individually, we have more at stake than some, who presume to falsify our motives, and calumniate our actions. The Roman Catholic body measured strength with the power of the state, and was vanquished, when it possessed a force that never can be exerted, and was opposed to enemies far less numerous than it now should encounter. The confessions of that period are confirmed to the present occupiers by immemorial possessions, by the utter impossibility of ascertaining the original proprietors, by the personal and pecuniary interest of almost every Roman Catholic in the land to maintain the settlement. Many of our communion already have, and still more are likely to expend their property on titles derived under these forfeitures. It is not from the wealthy, attached to their present enjoyment, that commotion is to be apprehended. It is not from the industrious; a single year of anarchy must prove fatal to their competence. It is not from

the poor, a wretched band of slaves, mouldering under these bad laws, and only made use of to degrade the Irish Catholics to a rabble, when it is convenient to despise them. We are willing to forget that any beside the present race ever existed in this island. We long have been willing to forget it, if our recollection were not kept alive by what we suffer, and by the celebration of festivals, memorable only as they denote the æra and the events, from whence we date our bondage.

We will endeavour by temperate, by unremitting assiduity, to procure the benefit of that constitution, which, of our fellow-subjects, is denied alone to those of our persuasion. We are amenable to all the decrees of the state; we contribute to all its exigencies; we are still to be informed upon what grounds its advantages are made a monopoly to our exclusion. We challenge an investigation of our principles and conduct; we feel not ourselves; we know not that there is in our brethren a deficiency of manly spirit, of capacity or virtue; which ought to assign to the Irish Roman Catholics an inferior rank among the creatures of our common Father. If we have a crime, it is to have slept over our chains; our cause is the cause of justice, and our country. We solicit counsel and assistance from all to whom these sacred names do not present themselves unheeded.

To the patronage of the lettered we peculiarly recommend ourselves; where talents have arisen among us, they have been compelled to seek refuge in a foreign country, or they have perished in their infancy, robbed of the hope that animates; curtailed of the education that invigorates them. We claim as of right, the benefit of open trial and candid discussion; even amidst the cares of legislating for an extensive empire, the British senate did not refuse its attention to the unfortunate exiles of Africa. If in this enlightened age it is still our doom to suffer, we submit; but at least let us learn what imputation of crimes can instigate, or what motives of expedience can account for the denunciation of that heavy judgement. That if loyalty, which strong temptations could never alienate; if exemplary good conduct under the most trying circumstances; if reverence to a constitution which in our native land we are forbidden to approach, be insufficient to remove unjust aspersions, and entitle us to the kindness and confidence of our brethren, we may be at least instructed how we should atone for what we cannot deem inexpiable, the political errors or misfortunes of our ancestors.

By order of the Society,

THEOBALD M'KENNA.

No.

No. LXXXV.

The Constitution of the United Irishmen in 1791. (P. 330.)

1st. THIS Society is constituted for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and an union of power among Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty.

2d. The members of this society shall either be ordinary or honorary, and shall not be limited to any description of men, but to extend to all persons who may be deemed eligible.

3dly. Every candidate for admission into this society shall be proposed by one member, and seconded by another, both of whom shall vouch for his character and principles, and whose name shall be entered on the books of the society; the candidate to be ballotted for on the society's subsequent meeting, and if one of the beans be black, he shall stand rejected.

4th. As a fund is necessary the better to carry into effect the purpose of this association, each member, on his admission, shall pay to the society the sum of, and per month while he shall continue a member.

5th. The officers of this society shall be a secretary and treasurer, who shall be appointed by ballot every three months, viz. on every first meeting in November, February, May, and August.

6th. This society, in manner aforesaid, shall appoint two members, who with the secretary shall act for the society in a baronial committee, which members shall receive on each night of their attendance on said committee.

7. This society shall in manner aforesaid appoint members, who, with the treasurer, shall form a committee of finance, &c.

8th. At the request of either committee, or any members signing a requisition, the secretary, or if he should be absent, the treasurer shall call an extra meeting of the society.

9th. This society shall meet in ordinary every evening at o'clock; the president to be chosen by the majority of the members present, of whom shall be a quorum.

10. Every respect and deference shall be paid to the chairman. On his rising from his seat and taking off his hat, there shall be silence, and the members seated. He shall be judge of order and propriety; shall grant leave of

absence at pleasure; shall not enter into debate. If any member behave improperly, he is impowered to direct an apology; or if refractory, fine him in any sum not exceeding , and on refusal to do as directed, he shall therefore be expelled the society for

11th. No member shall speak more than twice to a question, without leave from the chairman.

12. Every person elected a member of this society, whether ordinary or honorary, shall, previous to his admission, take the following test in a separate apartment, in the presence of the persons who proposed and seconded him, and one member appointed by the chairman; or in case of absence of one of the two persons, the chairman shall appoint another member to act for the absentee; after which the new member shall be brought into the body of the society, and there take the test in the usual form.

T E S T.

In the awful presence of God.

“ I, A, B. do voluntarily declare, that I will persevere in endeavouring to
“ form a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen of every religious persuasion; and that I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal,
“ full, and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland.

“ I do further declare that neither hope, fears, rewards, or punishments,
“ shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform on, or give evidence
“ against any member of this or similar societies, for any act or expression of
“ theirs done or made collectively or individually, in or out of this society,
“ in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation.”

13th. A member of any other acknowledged society, being introduced to this society by a member, shall, upon producing a certificate signed by the secretary, and sealed with the seal of the society to which he may belong, and taking the foregoing test be admitted to attend the sittings of this society.

14th. No member shall have a certificate but by applying to the committee, who shall grant it, unless the member is leaving his place of residence, which certificate shall be lodged with the secretary on his return.

15th. When this society shall amount to the number of thirty-six members, it shall be equally divided by lot, that is, the names of all the members shall be put into a hat or box, the secretary or treasurer shall draw out eighteen individually, which eighteen shall be considered the senior society, and the remaining eighteen the junior, who shall apply to the Baronial Committee through the delegates of the senior society, for a number; and that this division

tion shall only take place in the months of October, January, April, and July. The fund shall also be equally divided.

16th. That no society shall be recognized by any committee, unless approved of and taking the test, and amounting in number to seven members.

No. LXXXVI.

(P. 334.)

December 27, 1791.

The following Address was presented to the Lord Lieutenant.

To his Excellency JOHN Earl of WESTMORELAND, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland.

WE, the undernamed, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, Roman Catholics of the kingdom of Ireland, desirous at all times to declare unequivocally our sentiments of loyalty to our most gracious sovereign, and our attachment to the constitution, disclaiming every word or act which can directly or indirectly tend to alarm the minds of our brethren, or disturb the tranquillity of this country, have, in order to prevent misrepresentation, or misconception of our sentiments, thought it necessary now to lay before your excellency the resolutions hereunto annexed.

We confide in your excellency's goodness, that you will be pleased to represent us to our most gracious sovereign such as we really are, grateful for the mild and benevolent disposition he has been always graciously pleased to shew towards us.

We rely with confidence on our past, as a pledge for our future conduct; and as we feel most strongly the benefits, that have arisen not only to us in particular, but to this kingdom in general, from the indulgence, which through the wisdom of the legislature, we have already received; so we look with respectful confidence to its wisdom, liberality, and benevolence for a further extension of its favors.

Resolved, That application be made to the legislature during the next session of parliament, for a further repeal of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

Resolved, That grateful for former concessions, we do not presume to point out the measure or extent, to which such repeal should be carried, but leave the same to the wisdom and discretion of the legislature, fully confiding in
their

their liberality and benevolence, that it will be as extensive as the circumstances of the times, and the general welfare of the empire, shall, in their consideration, render prudent and expedient.

Resolved, That firmly attached to our most gracious sovereign and the constitution of the kingdom, and anxiously desirous to promote tranquillity and subjection to the laws, we will studiously avoid all measures which can either directly, or indirectly, tend to disturb or impede the same, and will rely on the wisdom and benevolence of the legislature as the source, from which we desire to obtain a further relaxation of the above-mentioned laws.

Fingal	Rob. French, Rahifane, co. Galway
Gormanstown	Dom. W. O'Reily, Kildangan Castle,
Kenmare	c. Kildare
John Thomas Troy, D. D. R. Cath.	John Burke, Marble Hill, co. Galway
A. D.	M. Burke, Spring Garden, co. Galway
Hon. John Preston, Gormanstown,	Tho. Burke, Marble Hill, co. Galway
co. Meath	Major Anselm Nugent, co. Meath
Valentine Browne, Killarny co. Kerry	Tho. Daly, Cloonaha, co. Galway
Sir Pat. Bellew, Bart. Barmeath, co.	Peter Daly, Cloonaha aforefaid
Louth	John Blake, Ballimana, co. Galway
Sir T. Esmond. Bart. co. Wexford	Francis Cruise, Belgard, co. Dublin
Edward Bellew, Barmeath co. Louth	Francis Goold, city of Cork
Hugh O'Reily, Ballinlough, co.	Christ. Fitzsimmons, co. Wicklow
Westmeath	Harvey Hay, Ballintrul, co. Wexford
Malachy Donnellan, Ballydonnellan,	James Farrill, of the city of Dublin
co. Galway	Walter Blakeney, co. Carlow
Rich. Farrell Caddell, Harbourstown,	James Blakeney, co. Carlow
co. Meath	Pat. Dease, of the city of Dublin
R. Caddell, Harbourstown, aforefaid	John Hufsey Rakenny, co. Meath
Joseph Blake, Ardfry, co. Galway	J. Dillon, late of Belgard, co. Dublin
William Bellew, Barmeath co. Louth	E. Hearne, Hearnbrook, co. Galway
J. Dease, Turberstown, co. Westmeath	George Butler, of Ballyragget
Oliv. Count D'Alton, co. Westmeath	Dan. Cronin, of Rathmore, co. Kerry
J. White, Loughbrickland, co. Down	Gregory Byrne, of the city of Dublin
R. Strange, Spencer Hill, co. Louth	S. Roche John, of the city of Limerick
W. Netterville, Cruiserathco, Meath	P. Roche John, of the city of Limerick
Mathew Donellan, Ballydonnellan	G. Ryan, of Inch, co. Tipperary
co. Galway	John O'Brien, of the city of Limerick
	Jam.

Jam. O'Brien, of the city of Limerick	Henry Farrell, of the city of Dublin
S. Roche, jun. of the city of Limerick	John Harford, of the city of Dublin
Tho. Roche, of the city of Limerick	Thomas Magan, of the city of Dublin
J. Bagot, of Castle Bagot, co. Dublin	T. Bourke, of Meeleck, co. Galway
John Roche, of the city of Dublin	James Taylor, co. Meath
Jam. Nugent, of Ballinacor, co. Westmeath	Lewis Ward, Lisfub, co. Galway
D. T. O'Brien, of the city of Dublin	John Nugent, Kilcomb, Westmeath
J. Comerford, of the city of Dublin	Ant. Brown, Kilcongan, Westmeath
Rich. Dease, Clougill, co. Meath	O. Brown, Kilcongan, Westmeath
John Dease, of the city of Dublin	Nicholas Brown, Parcellstown, Meath

To which his excellency was pleased to give the following answer :

“ I receive with great satisfaction this declaration of your loyalty to the
 “ king, and attachment to the constitution ; I will not fail to make a faithful
 “ representation thereof to his majesty.”

No. LXXXVII.

Declaration of the Society of the United Irishmen. (P. 330.)

Friday, 30th December, 1791.

Society of UNITED IRISHMEN of Dublin.

The honorable SIMON BUTLER in the chair.

Resolved unanimously, that the following circular letter, reported by our committee of correspondence, be adopted and printed.

THIS letter is addressed to you from the corresponding committee of the society of United Irishmen in Dublin.

We annex the declaration of political principles, which we have subscribed, and the test which we have taken, as a social and sacred compact to bind us more closely together.

The object of this institution is to make an united society of the Irish nation ; to make all Irishmen citizens ; all citizens Irishmen : nothing appearing to us more natural at all times, and at this crisis of Europe more reasonable, than that those who have common interest, and common enemies, who suffer common

common wrongs, and lay claim to common rights, should know each other, and should act together. In our opinion, ignorance has been the demon of discord, which has so long deprived Irishmen, not only of the blessings of well-regulated government, but even the common benefits of civil society. Peace in this island has hitherto been a peace on the principles and with the consequences of civil war. For a century past there has indeed been tranquillity, but to most of our dear countrymen it has been the tranquillity of a dungeon ; and if the land has lately prospered, it has been owing to the goodness of Providence, and the strong efforts of human nature resisting and overcoming the malignant influence of a miserable administration.

To resist this influence, which rules by discord and embroils by system, it is vain to act as individuals or as parties ; it becomes necessary by an union of minds, and a knowledge of each other, to will and act as a nation. To know each other is to know ourselves ; the weakness of one, and the strength of many. Union therefore is power ; it is wisdom ; it must prove liberty.

Our design therefore in forming this society, is to give an example, which, when well followed, must collect the public will, and concentrate the public power into one solid mass, the effect of which, once put in motion, must be rapid, momentous, and consequential.

In thus associating, we have thought little about our ancestors, much of our posterity. Are we for ever to walk like beasts of prey, over fields which these ancestors stained with blood ? In looking back, we see nothing on the one part but savage force succeeded by savage policy ; on the other, an unfortunate nation, " scattered and peeled, meted out and trodden down ! " We see a mutual intolerance, and a common carnage of the first moral emotions of the heart, which lead us to esteem and place confidence in our fellow-creatures. We see this, and are silent ; but we gladly look forward to brighter prospects, to a people united in the fellowship of freedom, to a parliament the express image of the people, to a prosperity established on civil political liberty, to a peace, not the gloomy and precarious stillness of men brooding over their wrongs, but that stable tranquillity, which rests on the right of human nature, and leans on the arms by which these rights are to be maintained.

Our principal rule of conduct has been to attend to those things in which we agree, to exclude from our thoughts those in which we differ. We agree in knowing what are our rights, and in daring to assert them. If the rights of men be duties to God, we are in this respect of one religion. Our creed of
civil

civil faith is the same; we agree in thinking, that there is not an individual among our millions, whose happiness can be established on any foundation so rational and so solid, as on the happiness of the whole community. We agree therefore in the necessity of giving political value and station to the great majority of the people; and we think, that whosoever desires an amended constitution, without including the great body of the people, must on his own principles be convicted of political persecutions, and political monopoly. If the present electors be themselves a morbid part of our constitution, where are we to recur for redress but to the whole community? “A more unjust and
“ absurd constitution cannot be devised than that, which condemns the na-
“ tives of a country to perpetual servitude, under the arbitrary dominion of
“ strangers and slaves.”

We agree in thinking, that the first and most indispensable condition of the laws of a free state, is the assent of those, whose obedience they require, and for whose benefit only they are designed. Without, therefore, an impartial and adequate representation of the community, we agree in declaring, we can have no constitution, no country, no Ireland. Without this, our late revolution we declare to be fallacious and ideal; a thing much talked of, but neither felt nor seen. The act of Irish sovereignty has been merely tossed out of the English houses into the cabinet of the ministers; and nothing remains to the people, who of right are every thing, but a servile majesty and a ragged independence.

We call most earnestly on every great and good man, who at the late æra spoke or acted for his country, to consider less of what was done, than of what there remains to do. We call upon their senatorial wisdom to consider the monstrous and immeasurable distance, which separates in this island the ranks of social life, makes labour ineffectual, taxation unproductive, and divides the nation into petty despotism and public misery. We call upon their tutelar genius, to remember, that government is instituted to remedy, not to render more grievous, the natural inequality of mankind, and that unless the rights of the whole community be asserted, anarchy (we cannot call it government) must continue to prevail, when the strong tyrannize, the rich oppress, and the mass are brayed in a mortar. We call upon them, therefore, to build their arguments and their actions on the broad platform of general good.

Let not the rights of nature be enjoyed merely by connivance, and the

rights of conscience merely by toleration. If you raise up a prone people, let it not be merely to their knees: let the nation stand. Then will it cast away the bad habit of servitude, which has brought with it indolence, ignorance, an extinction of our faculties, an abandonment of our very nature. Then will every right obtained, every franchise exercised, prove a seed of sobriety, industry, and regard to character, and the manners of the people will be formed on the model of their free constitution.

This rapid exposition of our principles, our object, and our rule of conduct, must naturally suggest the wish of multiplying similar societies, and the propriety of addressing such a desire to you. Is it necessary for us to request, that you will hold out your hand, and open your heart to your countryman, townsman, neighbour? Can you form a hope for political redemption, and by political penalties, or civil excommunications, withhold the rights of nature from your brother? We beseech you rally all the friends of liberty within your circle round this society as a centre. Draw together your best and bravest thoughts, your best and bravest men. You will experience, as we have done, that those points of union will quickly attract numbers, while the assemblage of such societies, acting in concert, moving as one body, with one impulse, and one direction, will, in no long time, become not parts of the nation, but the nation itself; speaking with its voice, expressing its will, resisting in its power.

We again intreat you to look around for men fit to form those stable supports, on which Ireland may rest the lever of liberty. If there be but ten, take those ten. If there but two, take those two, and trust with confidence to the sincerity of your intention, the justice of your cause, and the support of your country.

Two objects interest the nation, a plan of representation, and the means of accomplishing it. These societies will be a most powerful means; but a popular plan would itself be a means for its own accomplishment. We have therefore to request, that you will favor us with your ideas respecting the plan, which appears to you most eligible, on the present more enlarged and liberal principles, which actuate the people; at the same time giving your sentiments upon our national coalition, on the means of promoting it, and on the political state and disposition of the country or town where you reside. We know what resistance will be made to your patriotic efforts by those, who triumph in the disunion and degradation of their country. The greater the
necefs-

necessity of reform, the greater probably will be the resistance: we know, that there is much spirit that requires being brought into mass, as well as much massy body that must be refined into spirit. We have many enemies, and no enemy is contemptible; we do not despise the enemies of the Union, the liberty and the peace of Ireland, but we are not of nature, nor have we encouraged the habit of fearing any man, or any body of men, in an honest and honorable cause. In great undertakings like the present, we declare, that we have found it always more difficult to attempt, than to accomplish. The people of Ireland must perform all they wish, if they attempt all that they can.

Signed by order,

JAMES NAPPER TANDY, Sec.

No. LXXXVIII.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Dublin, March 17, 1792.

Declaration of the Catholics of Ireland. (Page 373.)

WHEREAS certain opinions and principles, inimical to good order and government, have been attributed to the Catholics, the existence of which we utterly deny; and whereas it is at this time peculiarly necessary to remove such imputations, and to give the most full and ample satisfaction to our Protestant brethren, that we hold no principle whatsoever incompatible with our duty as men or as subjects, or repugnant to liberty, whether political, civil, or religious.

Now we, the Catholics of Ireland, for the removal of all such imputations, and in deference to the opinion of many respectable bodies of men, and individuals among our Protestant brethren, do hereby, in the face of our country, of all Europe, and before God, make this our deliberate and solemn declaration:

1st. We abjure, disavow, and condemn the opinion, that princes, excommunicated by the pope and council, *or by any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever*, may therefore be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other persons. We hold such doctrine in detestation, as wicked and impious; and

we declare, that we do not believe, that either the pope, with or without a general council, or *any prelate or priest, or any ecclesiastical power whatsoever*, can absolve the subjects of this kingdom, or any of them, from their allegiance to his majesty King George the Third, who is, by authority of parliament, the lawful king of this realm.

2d. We abjure, condemn, and detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle, that it is lawful to murder, destroy, or any ways injure any person whatsoever, for or under the pretence of being heretics; and we declare solemnly before God, that we believe that *no act, in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified or excused by, or under pretence or colour, that it was done either for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever.*

3d. We further declare, that we hold it as an unchristian and impious principle, that “no faith is to be kept with heretics.” This doctrine we detest and reprobate, not only as *contrary* to our religion, but as destructive of morality, of society, and even of common honesty; and it is our firm belief, that an oath made to *any* person, not of the Catholic religion, is equally binding, as if it were made to any Catholic whatsoever.

4th. We have been charged with holding as an article of our belief, that the pope, with or without the authority of a general council, or that certain ecclesiastical powers can acquit and absolve us, before God, from our oath of allegiance, or even from the just oaths and contracts entered into between man and man:

Now we do utterly renounce, abjure, and deny, that we hold or maintain any such belief, as being contrary to the peace and happiness of society, inconsistent with morality, and above all, *repugnant to the true spirit of the Catholic Religion.*

5th. We do further declare, that we do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm.

6th. After what we have renounced, it is immaterial, in a political light, what may be our opinion or faith in other points respecting the Pope: however, for greater satisfaction we declare, that it is *not* an article of the Catholic faith, neither are we thereby required to believe or profess, “that the “Pope is infallible,” or that we are bound to obey any order, in its own nature

ture immoral, though the Pope, or any ecclesiastical power, should issue or direct such order; but, *on the contrary*, we hold, that it would be *sinful* in us to pay any respect or obedience thereto.

7th. We further declare, that we do not believe that any sin whatsoever committed by us can be forgiven at the mere will of any Pope, or of any priest, or of any person or persons whatsoever; but, that *sincere sorrow for past sins*, a firm and sincere resolution, as far as may be in our power, to restore our neighbour's property or character, if we have trespassed on, or unjustly injured either; *a firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt*, and to atone to God, are *previous and indispensable* requisites to establish a well-founded expectation of forgiveness; and that any person who receives absolution without these previous requisites, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sins, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament.

8th. We do hereby solemnly disclaim, and for ever renounce all interest in, and title to all forfeited lands resulting from any rights, or supposed rights of our ancestors, or any claim, title, or interest therein; nor do we admit any title, as a foundation of right, which is *not established and acknowledged by the laws of the realm, as they now stand*. We desire further, that whenever the patriotism, liberality, and justice of our countrymen, shall restore to us a participation in the elective franchise, no Catholic shall be permitted to vote at any election for members to serve in parliament, until he shall previously take an oath *to defend, to the utmost of his power*, the arrangement of property in this country, *as established by the different acts of attainder and settlement*.

9th. It has been objected to us, that we wish to subvert the present church establishment, for the purpose of substituting a Catholic establishment in its stead: Now we do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any such intention; and further, if we shall be admitted into any share of the constitution, by our being restored to the right of elective franchise, we are ready, in the most solemn manner, to declare, that we will not exercise that privilege to disturb and weaken the establishment of the Protestant religion, or Protestant government in this country.

Signed by order, and on behalf of the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland,

EDWARD BYRNE, Chairman.

RICHARD M'CORMICK, Secretary.

No.

No. LXXXIX.

(Page 373.)

At a Meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, Edward Byrne, Esq. in the Chair,

Resolved, that the following Letter be circulated.

SIR,

THIS letter, with the plan which accompanies it, is transmitted to you, by order of the sub-committee. You will perceive that the object of this plan is to procure a fuller attendance of country gentlemen, to assist by their advice and influence, the measures adopted by the committee to procure for the Catholics the elective franchise, and an equal participation in the benefits of the trial by jury. You will please to lose no time in submitting this to the respectable Catholics of your county. You will please also to inform them, that several respectable independent country gentlemen, lately in Dublin, had frequent consultations, for the laudable purpose of re-uniting to the committee Lord Fingal, and the other gentlemen who had withdrawn themselves from it. These country gentlemen had the satisfaction to find, that the general committee on one side, and the gentlemen who had entered into separate addresses on the other, mutually regretted their division; which they saw was used by the opponents of the Catholics, as a pretext for withholding from our people the elective franchise, and an equal participation of the benefits of the trial by jury. It is on all sides agreed, that if the Catholics are all united in this just and reasonable request, essential to the very existence of our people, there will be a certainty of success. It depends then on ourselves, whether we shall be freemen or slaves! We say, essential to the very existence of our people; for, as the rage for electioneering interests increases, our wealthy farmers must either pay beyond the value for lands, or resign them to Protestant freeholders when out of lease; our poor yeomanry will of course be expelled, and driven into beggary. Let us all, then, speak with one voice, and supplicate the legislature for justice, and we shall receive it.

These independent country gentlemen have received from Lord Fingal, and the gentlemen, who have acted with him, the most positive declarations, that they will never again enter into any act to oppose the general committee in
their

their endeavours to obtain the emancipation of the Catholics; and it is determined, that all former differences in opinion shall be buried in oblivion on both sides.

The committee had decided to send some of their body, to propose to the counties, to appoint the delegates to the committee, of whose attendance there would be a certainty; and our chairman had actually left Dublin, with intention to go through great part of Ireland for this purpose; the independent country gentlemen, as before mentioned, took up the same idea themselves, (before they knew the committee had determined upon it) and they, and Lord Fingal and his friends, all agreed in pressing such a measure on the committee, as an additional means of re-uniting them to the body.

Lord Fingal, his friends, and the country gentlemen before mentioned, seemed at first inclined, that the present committee should be dissolved; an opinion, however, which further reflection on the various difficulties resulting from such a measure, the doubts entertained of the competency in the committee to dissolve itself, and the consideration that a dissolution must necessarily occur early in 1793, induced them to forego.

The plan inclosed, sanctioned by the general committee, by these independent gentlemen, and by Lord Fingal and his friends, is recommended to your zeal to have carried into immediate execution in your country.

Signed by order,

RICHARD M'CORMICK,
Secretary.

On the manner of conducting the Election of Delegates.

It will be of great importance, in the present state of our affairs, that the delegates be chosen in such a manner as to make it appear evident, that the nomination of such delegates is authorized by all the people. But as it might be imprudent to call a meeting of all the Catholics of a country, for the purpose of proceeding to such an election, it is therefore suggested, that one or two of the most respectable persons in each parish be appointed electors, at a meeting to be held at such private house in the parish, as may be most convenient to the inhabitants. These several electors, so appointed, may meet at any central place, for the purpose of choosing from one to four (as it may appear most expedient to them) of their own residents, as delegates to the general committee; no one to be eligible, who shall not solemnly promise to attend

tend his duty in Dublin, when required to do so by order of the committee, or at least who shall not pledge himself to attend in his turn. It is also suggested that, in addition to the resident delegates, each county do appoint at the same time, as associate delegates for such county, one or two (as it may appear best to the electors) resident inhabitants of Dublin, whose business it shall be to keep up a regular correspondence with colleagues in the country, and to inform the county through them, of all proceedings in the general committee, at such times as the county delegates shall be absent. It is to be understood, that attendance on the part of the county delegates will not be required, except on important occasions. In this, however, they are to study their own convenience; if they all come often, we are persuaded that the committee will derive satisfaction and profit from their presence and advice.

As soon as the gentlemen of your county shall have appointed delegates, it will be necessary to call their attention to the first great business which shall probably engage the general committee, viz. An humble application to our gracious sovereign, submitting to him our loyalty and attachment, our obedience to the laws, a true statement of our situation, and of the laws which operate against us; and humbly beseeching, that we may be restored to the elective franchise, and an equal participation in the benefits of the trial by jury. We have the first authority for asserting, that this application will have infinite weight with our gracious sovereign and with parliament, if our friends are qualified to declare, that it is the universal wish of every Catholic in the nation. To enable therefore your delegates and the general committee to succeed in your behalf, it will be necessary that the meeting enter into resolutions in any words they choose to the following effect:

At a meeting of the Catholics of the county of _____ regularly convened, this _____ day of _____ 1792, _____ in the chair, Resolved that _____ of this county, and _____ of the City of Dublin, have been this day chosen by the Catholics of this county as their delegates to the general committee.

Resolved.—That it is our instruction to our said delegates, to support in said committee, as the voice of all the Catholics of this county, that an humble representation be made to our gracious sovereign and to parliament, of the many severe laws, which oppress his majesty's faithful subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, although no cause founded in wisdom or policy, is assigned for their continuance; imploring it, as essential to our protection, and to secure

an impartial distribution of justice in our favor, that we be restored to the elective franchise, and an equal participation in the benefits of the trial by jury.

According to its present form of constitution, the general committee is open not only to persons delegated by others, but to every Roman Catholic of landed property in the kingdom. From this mixture of representative and personal association, inconveniences which every one may remember, but which at present it is useless to dwell on, have arisen. To guard against similar inconveniences in future, we have recommended to your consideration the above sketch of a new system; the object of which is to give to the committee somewhat more of a representative, and somewhat less of an individual capacity; and we beg leave to offer to you the following observations in support of our plan:

Men appointed by others must hold themselves accountable to those from whom they derive their trust; and therefore must regulate their conduct by the standard of general opinion; or, if they be unwilling to take such a standard for their rule, and to obey the instructions of their constituents, they may be removed from the places they hold, to make room for others more practicable, and less inclined to set the dictates of private sentiment, or private interest, in opposition to the general will, and the public good. Under a system which is thus representative, and where the trust is revocable at pleasure, seduction cannot be practised, nor can division again take place; or at least the remedy is so near the evil, that little danger is to be apprehended from either.

Our plan, by making attendance a duty, will, we apprehend, serve to bring a greater number of country gentlemen into the committee than have formerly appeared among us. While admission remains so easy as it does at present, and while so many persons are exempted from responsibility and controul, we have little reason to expect, that country gentlemen will desert their homes and their immediate concerns, to promote an interest, which is remotely or obscurely felt; but we hope that the honorable distinction of representing others, added, to the obligation of a solemn promise, will not fail to reconcile those, who shall happen to be delegated, to admit of some temporary hardships, in order to promote the public good. By collecting occasionally a number of country gentlemen in Dublin, we flatter ourselves, that the committee will be enabled to speak the sentiments of its constituent members with distinctness and precision; and that the country parts of the kingdom will be provided

with the surest means of acquiring whatever information may be necessary on the subject of Catholic affairs. From this prompt communication of opinion and intelligence, we foresee great advantages; advantages, which under the present system are wholly beyond our reach; as the landed gentlemen are responsible only to themselves, and as the Dublin delegates have frequently little knowledge of their constituents. The attendance of a great number of country gentlemen will justify such a reduction of the number of delegates for the metropolis in the general committee, as may be judged advisable; a measure which was always desirable, but which could not be heretofore accomplished, as the attendance of landed gentlemen was so uncertain and irregular.

Every endeavour should be used to cultivate and improve the friendship of our clergy. The clergy and laity, having but one interest, should have but one mind, and should therefore mutually combine their talents, their opinions, and their exertions, in order to effectuate our common emancipation. This union of sentiment and design, this interchange of counsel, and of aid, will serve to strengthen the bonds of a common friendship, and will be the best security against innovation in matters which relate to religion.

The clergy being the natural guardians of morality, will undoubtedly consent to co-operate with the laity, when they consider that the restoration of the elective franchise to the Catholic community will tend to prevent those prejudices, which are so common at, and which disgrace the return of electioneering contests. By such conduct will the clergy secure to themselves that influence over the laity of their own persuasion, which it is useful that good clergy should have; and that respectability among persons of other persuasions, which must naturally result from the increased importance of the people to whom they belong. It is unnecessary to point out the advantages, which a restoration of the elective franchise would produce in our habits and modes of life in the state of national as well as individual happiness. Let it suffice to say, that not only laymen, but every Catholic bishop and priest, would, by the acquisition of so valuable a privilege to the Catholic body at large, find his condition meliorated in a variety of shapes and circumstances, which cannot easily be reduced within the compass of exact calculation. The silent operation of this right would, in the lapse of time, contribute to raise a respectable yeomanry in the kingdom; and this yeomanry, giving on the one hand a new infusion of vigor to the commonwealth, would, on the other supply a fund, from which the clergy would derive the means of a more honorable support,

port, and more proportionate to their uncommon labours and merits, than at present they enjoy.

When this plan shall have been adopted, and the returns in consequence made, the committee will in the course of next winter, consider, as a measure of the last importance, what further improvements may be necessary in the mode of electing delegates on future occasions, in order to secure a permanent, extensive, and effectual method of collecting the general sense of the Catholics of Ireland.

We beg leave to recommend it to you most earnestly, to carry the above plan into immediate execution. It is of the utmost consequence, that we should have this addition of country gentlemen as soon as possible, in order to give due weight and efficacy to our humble application to the throne, which we are advised to make this summer, before the parliamentary arrangements are formed for the ensuing winter.

As soon as your delegates shall have been chosen, we request that you will make a return of their names and address, to our secretary, Mr. Richard M'Cormic, Mark's-Alley, Dublin.

No. XC.

Resolutions relative to the Catholic Admission to the Elective Franchise.
(Page 376.)

COUNTY OF LOUTH.

WE, the high sheriff and grand jury of said county, assembled at Summer Assizes, 1792, cannot express in terms too strong our abhorrence of the wicked and daring attempt made by a printed letter from persons calling themselves the Sub-Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, signed Edward Byrne, and circulated through this kingdom, to excite a spirit of discontent among the Catholics, and rouse their animosity against the Protestants and the constitution. A letter which most falsely tells them, that they are not secure of an impartial administration of justice; that they are oppressed even to slavery; that a change of that part of the constitution, which secures the Protestant establishment, is essential to their existence; and then endeavours to induce them to disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom, by urging them to

illegal and unconstitutional associations, and to elect a Popish congress to meet in the metropolis, with the vain expectation, that it can overawe the parliament, that the constitution is not strong enough to repress and punish so daring a violation.

Though we have a strong reliance upon the good sense and loyalty of the Roman Catholics at large, that the seditious views of the authors and propagators of this said letter will be disappointed, yet we feel it a duty particularly incumbent upon us, at this time, to declare our sentiments fully and decidedly in the following resolutions :

Resolved, That under the laws, which vest the elective franchise in Protestants only, this kingdom has improved, and is rapidly improving in trade, wealth and manufactures ; its freedom has been vindicated and secured ; its population encreased, and that since those laws have been called frequently into operation, the progress of the national prosperity has been more vigorous and rapid.

Resolved, That the allowing to Roman Catholics the right of voting for members to serve in parliament, or admitting them to any participation in the government of the kingdom, is incompatible with the safety of the Protestant establishment, the continuance of the succession to the crown in the illustrious House of Hanover, and must finally tend to shake, if not destroy our connexion with Great Britain, on the continuance and inseparability of which depends the happiness and prosperity of this kingdom.

Resolved, That we will oppose every attempt towards such a dangerous innovation, and that we will support, with our lives and fortunes, our present constitution, and the settlement of the throne on his majesty's Protestant house.

MATTHEW PLUNKETT, Sheriff.

John Foster	Richard Cooper
Thomas Henry Foster	Francis Manning
Richard Dawson	Thomas Lee
John William Foster	William Shiels
John M'Clintock, jun.	Philip Brabazon
Matthew Fortescue	Christopher Garston
William Ruxton	Robert Brown
James Tisdall	Francis Eastwood
O'Brien Bellingham	Rofs Moore
Francis Tipping	Thomas Benson
William Brabazon	Wallop Brabazon.

COUNTY

COUNTY OF MEATH.

WE, the high sheriff, magistrates, and freeholders of county Meath, convened by public advertisement, having seen, with the deepest regret, a scandalous and libellous paper or letter, signed Edward Byrne, containing matter of a most daring and inflammatory nature, tending to excite animosity against the peace of the kingdom, and our happy constitution, both in church and state, feel it our indispensable duty to express our fullest abhorrence of such publication.

And whereas, the said publication, in order to inflame the minds of good and peaceable men, states, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland suffer the heaviest oppressions, and are altogether in a state of slavery, that they are denied their trial by a jury of their country; and that an innovation on the Protestant establishment, by admitting them to the exercise of the elective franchise, or the power of voting for members to represent them in parliament, can alone secure them in their persons and properties.

Resolved, That such letter or publication is a false and seditious libel, calculated to mislead the loyal and dutiful Roman Catholics of this kingdom, and to foment dissatisfaction and disorder among our Protestant brethren.

Resolved, That were the Roman Catholics admitted to the exercise of the elective franchise, instead of a Protestant parliament, through whose happy influence the national prosperity continues daily to flourish and encrease, we should speedily be represented by a Popish convention, and our connexion with Great Britain be as speedily dissolved.

And whereas, we have seen another letter or publication, signed Thomas Wright, purporting to be an address from a certain number of men, who stile themselves the Society of United Irishmen, which letter most falsely calumniates those respectable grand juries, that have avowed their indignation and contempt of the daring scandals issued under the signature of the said Edward Byrne; and whereas, the said letter, signed Thomas Wright, states, that such grand juries have published the most flagrant absurdities, calumnies, and libels, that they are the instruments of prejudice and dissention, and notoriously subordinate to intrigue and diffuse corruption.

Resolved, That such aspersions are an high insult on the dignity and public virtue of these counties, that have expressed their disapprobation of the falsehoods and libels that a set of wicked and designing men have industriously circulated through the kingdom; that such ill-founded calumnies are

a menace

a menace thrown out, with an intent to overawe and intimidate the spirit of such counties as have not yet assembled, but that for ourselves, we do declare our thorough contempt of all such scandalous defamation.

Resolved, That the said letter, signed Thomas Wright, dares to assert, that the Protestant ascendancy is a chimæra, and consequently insinuates, that Popery should predominate.

Resolved, That such contempt of the established religion, is of a nature highly seditious, and a most indecent libel on the constitution.

Resolved, That we will, collectively and individually, discountenance all seditious meetings and associations whatsoever; and that, with our lives and fortunes, we will support the Protestant interests of Ireland, under which the commerce and wealth of the country have become at once vigorous and extensive, and the true liberty of the subject secured and unshaken.

SAMUEL GIBBONS, Sheriff.

COUNTY OF FERMANAGH.

Summer Assizes, 1792.

AT a meeting of the high sheriff and grand jury of the county Fermanagh, the following resolutions were agreed on:

Resolved, That we have the warmest attachment to our Roman Catholic brethren, and feel desirous to communicate to them every privilege not inconsistent with our present happy establishment in church and state.

Resolved, therefore, That it is with the utmost concern we have seen an inflammatory and dangerous publication, signed Edward Byrne, the probable effect of which will be to retard the extension of those privileges, by embodying the Roman Catholics of Ireland in a political faction, holding out a language of demand and confidence, which cannot be tolerated with safety to the present constitution of the country.

Resolved, That we do recommend to our Catholic brethren to merit the extension of future favors by shewing a submissive gratitude for the very important privileges, which have been already conferred on them; and that we do most earnestly advise them rather to rely on the wisdom and liberality of parliament, which they have already experienced, than on the wild suggestions of deluding or deluded partizans.

Resolved, That we feel it necessary to come forward at this period to declare,

clare, that we are ready to support, with our lives and fortunes, our present invaluable constitution in church and state, and that we will resist to the utmost of our power the attempts of any body of men, who shall presume to threaten innovation in either.

WILLIAM O'BRIEN, Sheriff.

Mervyn Archdall (foreman)	John Haffard
John Caldwell	J. Hawkshaw
Francis Brooke	James Johnston
Gorges D'Arcy Irvine	John Richardson
Jason Haffard	John Watkins
Mervyn Archdall, jun.	John Rosborough
Henry Brooke	Robert Weir
Gerard Irvine	William Tredennich
Henry St. George Cole	George Nixon
William Barton	John King
W. Stewart	Robert Mayne.

We coincide with the grand jury in opinion, and adopt their sentiments.

ENNISKILLEN

ERNE

BELMORE.

COUNTY OF MAYO.

Summer Assizes, 1792.

WE, the undersigned grand jurors, at this assizes convened, think ourselves called on to enter our protest against certain resolutions adopted by our fellow jurors respecting a paper, signed Edward Byrne, and said to have been industriously circulated through the different counties of this kingdom, as also respecting certain claims, which the resolutions assert, may be hereafter brought forward to the legislature from our Roman Catholic brethren, for the reason that the paper alluded to, however industriously circulated, never was produced to the jury, conceiving it to be a proceeding inconsistent with the dignity of any associated body, to censure a paper they have never seen, and the purport of which they have consequently never examined. We dissent from any part of the said resolutions, that directly or by implication convey an eternal proscription of our Roman Catholic brethren, knowing them to be a loyal, deserving sect of his majesty's subjects in this kingdom: we object generally

generally to the preamble and resolutions, so adopted by our fellow-jurors, as tending to create alarms, where no cause for such exists, as tending to disturb that harmony and good order that has so long subsisted in this country, to revive dissensions that in days of ignorance and bigotry desolated this kingdom, as conceiving such to be unprovoked and undeserved by the Catholic body at large, and particularly unnecessary in our county, where the records we have of the principles of that sect of its inhabitants have been an approved, an uninterrupted loyalty of respect, and attachment to the constitution and the laws, and no later than the last session of parliament a declaration of those principles, that their conduct had been the test of disclaiming any mode of obtaining from the legislature, for their body, further emancipation from civil disability than what respectful petition might obtain. We hold in strong abhorrence any system that has, in its principles or forms, any semblance of the modes of anarchy and disorder, that prevail in an unfortunate neighbouring country. We know of no connexion that such have with the interests or principles of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, but do know that their conduct and sentiments are uniformly opposite to such, and that knowledge is a strong motive of our attachment to them.

Dom. Geoffry Browne	Hugh O'Donnell
John Browne	Joseph Lambert
Neal O'Donnell	George Glendinning
John Edmond Browne	Richard Blake.
John Bingham	

Westport House, 10th Sept. 1792.

MY not having served on the last grand jury of Mayo, having prevented my sentiments being known on the important matter discussed there, respecting the claims, that may be brought forward to the legislature by the Roman Catholic inhabitants of this kingdom, I think it necessary to declare, that I entirely coincide in the opinion of those gentlemen, who expressed their dissent to the resolutions entered into by the majority of that grand jury.

DENIS BROWNE.

CATHOLIC DECLARATION.

AT a general meeting of the Roman Catholics of the county and city of Cork, convened by public advertisement, and held at the Cork Tavern,
the

the 15th of October, 1792, the following declaration was unanimously agreed to:

JUSTIN M'CARTHY, Esq. M.D. in the Chair.

We, the Roman Catholics of the county and city of Cork, compelled by the menaces and intimidations, which are daily repeated and renewed in the public prints, to deviate from that rule of silent expectation we had prescribed to ourselves, think it our duty at this crisis to interfere, and rescue from opprobrium the character of that body, of which we form no inconsiderable portion.

We embrace the occasion of testifying our entire approbation and concurrence, in the sentiments expressed by our oppressed brethren throughout the kingdom; like them we are loyal, attached to our country and to the constitution which it possesses; like them inflexibly determined to seek, by all peaceable and legal means, that participation in the elective franchise, which we are qualified to enjoy by our situation, patriotism, and property.

As the inhabitants of an extensive country, and great commercial city, we cannot stigmatize too strongly the unguarded conduct of those persons, probably not much interested in the national welfare, who, by angry resolutions of resistance where no attack was designed, or even to be apprehended; and by dangerous confederations, which there is no pretence to justify, have diffused vague conjectures through Ireland and foreign countries; interrupting at home the public tranquillity and the harmony of social life, representing us abroad in a condition of precarious settlement. We see the spirit of intolerance observable in those proceedings with astonishment, in an age which is denominated enlightened, and among a people, who have laid claim to the praise of information and liberality.

We never can admit, that the exclusion of three-fourths of the people from any connexion with the legislature, which disposes of their lives, their liberty, and fortunes, is an essential and fundamental principle in the organization of society within this island. The disfranchisement of a large portion of the Irish people, was the temporary expedient of a distempered age: it is time it should be cancelled. It is time the privilege of voting for representatives should be re-annexed to our freehold property; and suffrage become, what the constitution designed it, the protection and reward of industry. The good of the country, the liberality of the age, the security our property affords, the proofs and the pledges we have given of patriotism and loyalty, all call aloud

for a happy reconciliation of parties, grounded upon this act of substantial justice.

The enemies of that great good of Ireland, our emancipation, endeavour to divert the public mind from this discussion, and to overwhelm our calm representation in the outcry of sedition. They are aware, that, supported by reason and justice, if our Protestant countrymen shall investigate our cause, we must triumph over the base views and prejudices of the interested and bigoted: but we call upon our Protestant friends and neighbours to judge us, not from exaggerations and calumnies, but by their personal observation; by the general tenor of our lives and conduct; by the duties which we fulfil in common. Is there any room for the unkind surmises which circulate? Are there no terms upon which we may hope to be restored to our country? In the general havoc of our rights, remonstrance, petition, and discussion were preserved. We use them with that deference to the existing laws, and attention to the public peace, which befits men connected by every endearing tie to their country. Will any honest man lay his hand upon his breast, and answer, is our conduct disorderly? Is our mode of address indecent? Are our grievances fictitious? In every pursuit we are intercepted by monopoly; we are deprived of all that is called enviable in political life, and of many solid advantages of society. When we enquire the cause of this exclusion, we are denominated seditious.

We have a strong cause; it requires but the aid of argument, and this auxiliary alone we will employ. We solicit from our Protestant countrymen a patient hearing, that we may demonstrate to them, that by redressing our grievances, they serve our common country and do not endanger their establishment. We have no means of procuring redress, but by impressing conviction upon the Protestant representatives of Protestant constituents.

For us stands all that is illustrious in the land for talent and public spirit! The men, who encourage venality and trade in corruption, are arrayed against us. It may be convenient to such persons to limit the number of free agents within the realm; but will the sensible and disinterested Protestants of Ireland be deceived by their unfounded assertions, their unsubstantiated charges, and fanciful hypotheses? Will they credit, that we would innovate in prosperity, who in adversity are moderate and submissive?

Will they believe, that we have an alien hope, who have appeared in every hour of peril armed by their sides for our common protection, and who have,
within

within the period of their recollection, resisted the only powers on earth, whom we could be supposed to favor? Will they not rather attend to the evidence of their senses, that as the past repeal of the Popery laws has been the cause of national prosperity, so by the future must our country flourish? That it is more politic to recompense by franchise the toil of the laborious, than the perjury of the profligate. These are the sound doctrines of every wise statesman and eminent writer of either kingdom; opposed to them are the men who inculcate the dangerous lesson, that the church, the state, the crown, the empire, and the constitution must totter, unless they have for supporters, a famished slave and an arrogant monopolist.

We are threatened, if we persist in our purpose, not only with an exclusion from future favors, but likewise with a revocation of past relaxations of penalties inflicted without a crime; the former openly avowed, the latter covertly insinuated. But this sentence of eternal and even of retroactive proscription, though backed by some untimely proffers of lives and fortunes, has no effect on our conduct; because we conceive, that to the legislature alone it is competent to menace or to proscribe; and that for one fellow-subject to threaten to limit the rights of another, is to assume a power that to him does not belong :---a species of political assault unwarranted either by the law or the constitution.

To the patriots, who stood forward our advocates in the senate, and to those who supported our cause without, we return our warmest thanks; and our acknowledgments and gratitude are particularly due to the late grand jury of this city, who, resisting the contagion of evil example, have declined entering into the confederacy attempted to be formed for the purpose of rivetting our chains, and detaining us in bondage; as well as to the enlightened and spirited Protestant freeholders, who, by their resolutions of the 8th instant, have patronized our claims, and rescued this great and respectable county from the stigma of bigotry, and the spirit of monopoly.

JUSTIN M'CARTHY, Chairman.

[Signed by a most respectable number of country gentlemen of landed property, and wealthy citizens.]

GALWAY ROMAN CATHOLICS.

AT a numerous and respectable meeting of the Roman Catholic Inhabitants of the town and county of the town of Galway, convened by public requisition on Sunday the 14th instant, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

CHRISTOPHER CHEVERS, Esq. in the chair.

We, the Roman Catholics of the county of the town of Galway, think it our duty to repel, in the most public and solemn manner, the imputation of seditious practices and intentions, which have been rashly alleged against the Catholics of Ireland, but which we observe with surprize and regret to be daily repeated in the public prints, and sanctioned by the signatures of men, who owe to the people of Ireland a more honorable service than to fabricate calumny, and disseminate division, conscious that in our opinions both civil and religious, in our demeanour and in our connections, there is nothing hostile to the good of our country, to liberty and settlement. We observe with equal indignation and astonishment, the assertion, that to restore us to the right of suffrage, is a measure which might endanger the fortunate connection of the sister kingdoms, the happy constitution of this realm, and the succession in the House of Hanover, to which we are devoted. Nor can we refrain from remarking, that whilst the authors of these crude conjectures expect an unlimited deference to their opinions, they should have treated with more decorum a body which contains the representatives of so many ancient families, a large portion of the landed, and a vast majority of the commercial interest of the country. If the character of Ireland were to be collected from the newspapers, foreigners might suppose it plunged in the bigotry of the most dark and barbarous periods of society.

1st. Resolved, That we concur in the sentiments expressed by the Catholics of Waterford in their Declaration of the 22d of September, and in other similar publications, being at once loyal, moderate, and firm.

2d. That the tranquillity of Ireland would have been more consulted, if the grand juries, and such other incompetent assemblies had referred the discussion to the wisdom of parliament, the tribunal to which of right it appertains.

3d. That as we should censure any menace or intimidation from the members of our body, so we must complain that the language of some late resolutions is replete with menace, and seems calculated to deter the subject from the exercise of his right to petition.

4th.

4th. That the circular letter of the corporation of Dublin is on this account eminently reprehensible, that it contained doctrines inconsistent with the existence of good government, and the peace of a settled country.

5th. That those who attempt to suppress the discussion of the Catholic question acknowledge by that conduct that our cause is just, and our relief reasonable, and that to obstruct our humble application to parliament in petition, is the interruption of a right, which is enjoyed and exercised even under despotic governments.

6th. That impressed with a conviction that the prosperity of Ireland depends upon the union of its inhabitants, and that no union can be cordial unless political rights be impartially distributed, we will join with the Catholics of other counties and cities in an application to the legislature to be restored to the privilege of voting for our representatives in parliament. That we will support that application by every means of constitutional influence which we possess, and that we trust our gracious Sovereign, whose character is an attachment equally paternal to all his subjects will not listen to the misrepresentation and chimeras of interested men, but countenance this signal act of national policy and justice, by which not alone the condition of his faithful people will be improved, but Ireland herself become a more useful and profitable member of the empire.

CHRISTOPHER CHEVERS.

Christopher Chevers, Esq. having left the chair, and Andrew French, Esq. of Rahoon, having taken it, the thanks of the meeting were unanimously voted to Christopher Chevers, Esq. for his proper conduct in the chair.

Signed by upwards of four hundred Gentlemen.

COUNTY KERRY MEETING.

At a meeting of the Freeholders of the County of Kerry, convened at the County Court-house, by public notice, from the High Sheriff, pursuant to a requisition from the Grand Jury---

Resolved, That having seen a printed paper now circulating amongst the Catholics of this county, which paper is signed, "Edward Byrne," and proposes to the Catholics of the entire kingdom, to elect persons to represent their body, in the manner, and for the purposes therein set forth; we consider it an indispensable duty, as well from an inalienable interest in the security of our present happy constitution, so seriously invaded thereby, as from our solicitude for the real advantages of our Catholic brethren, which we conceive in fact

to

to be materially obstructed by such measure, to declare our opinion on the contents of such paper, and the resolutions it has compelled us to adopt.

Resolved, That although we have seen with satisfaction the progression of public opinion in favour of our Catholic brethren, which has for some years gradually procured them the material relaxations of the penal laws their moderation merited, yet we cannot but consider any efforts made to call upon the Catholics of this kingdom, to assemble themselves collectively or representatively for the purposes set forth in said letter, as calculated to continue and preserve separate views and interests between Catholics and Protestants, which we trusted time would gradually efface; as also to intimate that the privileges communicated to them, have been the acquisitions of their own efforts, rather than the concessions of a generous and enlightened legislature, and above all to establish a dangerous innovation subversive of our present constitution, and necessarily productive of anarchy and confusion, and which we should therefore equally oppose, if adopted for any purpose by any set of men, or sect of religion, not excepting even of the church, or established by the laws of the kingdom.

Resolved, That the dark and mysterious allusions such letter contained, to the assent of Lord Fingal and the other Catholic noblemen and gentlemen who differed from the said committee, oblige us to declare, that we discredit such assertion, as well from the contradiction it contains to the public declarations of the noblemen and gentlemen alluded to, as from the inconsistency of such measures with their loyalty, their attachment to the present constitution, and their interests in its maintenance and support.

Resolved, That, in the county where the Catholics are exceedingly numerous, we have observed with the most heart-felt satisfaction, the higher rank most eminently distinguished by their meritorious efforts to preserve peace and good order; and that in the middle and lower ranks, we have found offences of every kind daily diminish, whilst those attributed to, or derived from, the difference of sects, have been utterly unknown.

Resolved, That, in the indissoluble union which exists between the intelligent and good of all persuasions, we look forward to a continuation of that progression of rapid improvement, which has taken place for some years in this county.

Resolved, That the High Sheriff of this county be requested to transmit these our resolutions to his excellency the Lord Lieutenant of this kingdom, as the sense of the county.

COUNTY

COUNTY OF MONAGHAN.

SUMMER ASSIZES, 1792.—We, the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the county of Monaghan, observing with the utmost concern from certain late publications, that the privileges so liberally granted by parliament during the last session to our Roman Catholic brethren, have not been received by them with that thankfulness and gratitude which they merited, do feel it our duty to declare our opinion, that if they look to further indulgences, they are to be obtained only by peaceable submission to the present laws, and to express our firmest confidence that no branch of the legislature will admit of any alteration that can endanger that ascendancy which an established religion and government must maintain.

RICHARD DAWSON, Sheriff.

John Montgomery, Fore-	James Corry,
man,	Dacre Hamilton,
John James,	Edward Richardson,
Samuel Madden,	Norman Steele,
Mat. Anketell,	Thomas Brunker,
N. Mont. Moore,	William Forster,
Charles Albert Leslie,	William Mayne,
Thomas Singleton,	John Mitchell,
Adam Noble,	James Jackson,
John Ker,	Robert Graham,
Alexander Nixon,	John Rawdon,
Robert Montgomery,	Humphrey Thompson, Esqrs.

No. XCI.

Queries to Foreign Universities, with their Answers. (Page 382.)

WHEN the committee of the English Catholics (for they had a committee with whom the English ministers of the crown did not disdain to communicate) waited on Mr. Pitt, he *requested* to be furnished with authentic evidence of the opinions of the Catholic clergy, and the Catholic universities abroad, “with respect to the existence and extent of the pope’s dispensing power.” Three questions were accordingly framed and sent to the universities of Paris, Louvain, Alcala, Douay, Salamanca, and Valladolid, for their opinions.

The

The queries and answers are as follows.

THE QUERIES.

Has the pope, or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever, within the realm of England?

2. Can the pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, absolve or dispense with his majesty's subjects, from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever?

3. Is there any principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transaction, either of a public or a private nature?

Abstract from the answer of the Sacred Faculty of Divinity of Paris to the above Queries.

After an introduction according to the usual forms of the university, they answer the first query by declaring :

Neither the pope, nor the cardinals, nor any body of men, nor any other person of the church of Rome, hath any civil authority, civil power, civil jurisdiction, or civil pre-eminence whatsoever in *any* kingdom; and, consequently, none in the kingdom of England, by reason or virtue of any authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence by divine institution inherent in, or granted, or by any other means belonging to the pope, or the church of Rome. This doctrine the Sacred Faculty of Divinity of Paris has always held, and upon every occasion maintained, and upon every occasion has rigidly proscribed the contrary doctrines from her schools.

Answer to the second query.—Neither the pope, nor the cardinals, nor any body of men, nor any person of the church of Rome, can, by virtue of the keys, absolve or release the subjects of the King of England from their oath of allegiance.

This and the first query are so intimately connected, that the answer of the first immediately and naturally applies to the second, &c.

Answer to the third query.—There is no tenet in the Catholic church, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with Heretics, or those who differ from them in matters of religion. The tenet, that it is lawful to break faith with Heretics, is so repugnant to common honesty and the opinions of Catholics, that there is nothing of which those who have defended the Catholic
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lic faith against Protestants, have complained more heavily, than the malice and calumny of their adversaries in imputing this tenet to them, &c. &c. &c.

Given at Paris in the General Assembly of the Sorbonne, held on Thursday the 11th day before the calends of March 1789.

Signed in due form.

UNIVERSITY OF DOUAY.

January 5, 1789.

At a Meeting of the Faculty of Divinity of the University of Douay, &c. &c.

To the first and second queries the Sacred Faculty answers---That no power whatsoever, in civil or temporal concerns, was given by the Almighty, either to the pope, the cardinals, or the church herself, and, consequently, that kings and sovereigns are not in temporal concerns, subject, by the ordination of God, to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever; neither can their subjects, by any authority granted to the Pope or the Church, from above, be freed from their obedience, or absolved from their oath of allegiance.

This is the doctrine which the doctors and professors of divinity hold and teach in our schools, and this all the candidates for degrees in divinity maintain in their public theses, &c. &c. &c.

To the third question the Sacred Faculty answers---That there is no principle of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with Heretics, who differ from them in religious opinion. On the contrary, it is *the unanimous doctrine* of Catholics, that the respect due to the name of God so called to witness, requires that the oath be inviolably kept, to whomsoever it is pledged, whether Catholic, Heretic, or Infidel, &c. &c. &c.

Signed and sealed in due form.

UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

The Faculty of Divinity at Louvain, having been requested to give her opinion upon the questions above stated, does it with readiness—but struck with astonishment that such questions should, at the end of this eighteenth century, be proposed to any learned body, by inhabitants of a kingdom that glories in the talents and discernment of its natives. The Faculty being assembled for the above purpose, it is agreed with the unanimous assent of all voices to answer the first and second queries absolutely in the negative.

The Faculty does not think it incumbent upon her in this place to enter

upon the proofs of her opinion, or to shew how it is supported by passages in the Holy Scriptures, or the writings of antiquity. That has already been done by Bossuet, De Marca, the two Barclays, Goldastus, the Pithæufes, Argentre Widrington, and his Majesty King James the First, in his Dissertation against Bellarmine and Du Perron, and by many others, &c. &c. &c.

The Faculty then proceeds to declare that the sovereign power of the state is in no wise (not even indirectly as it is termed) subject to, or dependant upon any other power, though it be a spiritual power, or even though it be instituted for eternal salvation, &c. &c.

That no man nor any assembly of men however eminent in dignity and power, not even the whole body of the Catholic church, though assembled in general council, can, upon any ground or pretence whatsoever, weaken the bond of union between the sovereign and the people; still less can they absolve or free the subjects from their oath of allegiance.

Proceeding to the third question, the said Faculty of Divinity (in perfect wonder that such a question should be proposed to her) most positively and unequivocally answers—That there is not, and there never has been, among the Catholics, or in the doctrines of the church of Rome, any law or principle which makes it lawful for Catholics to break their faith with Heretics, or others of a different persuasion from themselves in matters of religion, either in public or private concerns.

The Faculty declares the doctrine of the Catholics to be, that the divine and natural law, which makes it a duty to keep faith and promises, is the same; and is neither shaken nor diminished, if those with whom the engagement is made, hold erroneous opinions in matters of religion, &c. &c.

Signed in due form on the 18th of November, 1788.

UNIVERSITY OF ALCALA.

To the first question it is answered---That none of the persons mentioned in the proposed question, either individually, or collectively in council assembled, have any right in civil matters; but that all civil power, jurisdiction and pre-eminence are derived from inheritance, election, the consent of the people, and other such titles of that nature.

To the second it is answered, in like manner---That none of the persons above-mentioned have a power to absolve the subjects of his Britannic Majesty from their oaths of allegiance.

To

To the third question it is answered---That the doctrine which would exempt Catholics from the obligation of keeping faith with Heretics, or with any other persons who dissent from them in matters of religion, instead of being an article of Catholic faith, is entirely repugnant to its tenets.

Signed in the usual form, March 17th, 1789.

UNIVERSITY OF SALAMANCA.

To the first question it is answered---That neither pope, nor cardinals, nor any assembly or individual of the Catholic church, have, as such, any civil authority, power, jurisdiction or pre-eminence in the kingdom of England.

To the second it is answered---That neither pope nor cardinals, nor any assembly or individual of the Catholic church, can, as such, absolve the subjects of Great Britain from their oaths of allegiance, or dispense with its obligations.

To the third it is answered---That it is no article of Catholic faith, with Heretics, or with persons, of any other description, who dissent from them in matters of religion.

Signed in the usual form, March 7th, 1789.

UNIVERSITY OF VALLADOLID.

To the first question it is answered---That neither pope, cardinals, or even a general council, have any civil authority, power, jurisdiction or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, in the kingdom of Great Britain; or over any other kingdom or province in which they possess no temporal dominion.

To the second it is answered---That neither pope nor cardinals, nor even a general council, can absolve the subjects of Great Britain from their oaths of allegiance, or dispense with their obligation.

To the third it is answered---That the obligation of keeping faith is grounded on the law of nature, which binds all men equally, without respect to their religious opinions; and with regard to Catholics, it is still more cogent, as it is confirmed by the principles of their religion.

Signed in the usual form, February 17th, 1789.

No. XCII.

(Page 383.)

September 13, 1792.

At a meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Catholics, RANDAL M'DONNELL, Esq. in the Chair.

The Sub-Committee having seen, with great concern, a variety of publications, censuring the circular letter lately issued by them, said to be signed by Edward Byrne, and erroneously stated to be illegal and unconstitutional, have thought it their duty to submit that letter to the inspection of the Hon. Simon Butler, and Beresford Burston, Esq. two gentlemen of the first eminence in their profession, and who have the honor to be of his Majesty's council.

The case and opinions of those gentlemen, which follow, will demonstrate, that the committee have taken no step whatsoever, which the laws and constitution do not fully warrant.

C A S E.

The Catholics of Ireland, labouring under laws, by which they are deprived of every share in the legislature, rendered incapable of serving their country in any office civil or military, and deprived of an equal participation with their fellow-subjects of other persuasions, in the benefit of the trial by jury, are desirous of laying their grievances before the King and Parliament, and supplicating redress.

As the most effectual method of collecting the sense of the Catholic body, and laying it before the king and parliament, a general committee from that body was formed, for the purpose of making application to the legislature, from time to time, on the subject of their grievance, and praying that redress, to which their loyalty and attachment to their sovereign, and obedience to the laws, justly entitled them.

In the last session of parliament, the general committee, as individuals, did, on behalf of themselves and their brethren, present a petition to parliament, praying relief, which petition was, with circumstances of unprecedented severity, rejected; and as one of the many causes of said rejection, it was alleged, that the persons whose names were affixed to said petition were a faction, un-

con-

connected with and incompetent to speak the sense of the Catholics of Ireland. In order to obviate every such objection in future, the general committee framed a plan, which is sent herewith, for the purpose of procuring the attendance of such persons from each county as were best acquainted with the sentiments, and could best declare the voice of the Catholics of Ireland, who should be by them deputed as delegates to the general committee, with instructions to support the said committee, as the voice of the Catholics, by whom they were deputed. "That an humble representation be made to their
 "gracious sovereign, and to parliament, of the many severe laws which oppress his majesty's faithful subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, although no
 "cause founded in wisdom or policy is assigned for their continuance, imploring it as essential to their protection, and to secure an impartial distribution of justice in their favor, that they may be restored to the elective
 "franchise, and an equal participation in the benefits of the trial by jury."

Charges and insinuations of a very heavy nature have been thrown out, and menaces used by many bodies of men, and individuals, to prevent the carrying the above plan into execution, under a pretence that it is contrary to law, and that the meeting projected therein would be a popish congress, formed for the purpose of overawing the legislature.

The general committee, abhorring and utterly renouncing such imputations, and desiring to regulate their conduct in strict conformity to law, request your opinion upon the following queries :

1st. Have his majesty's subjects of Ireland, professing the Roman Catholic religion, a right to petition his majesty and the legislature for the redress of grievances, equally with Protestants ; and if not, wherein do they differ ?

2d. If they have this right, may they lawfully chuse delegates, for the purpose of framing such petition, and presenting the same, in a peaceable and respectful manner ; and if they may not, by what law or statute are they forbidden to do so ?

3d. Is a meeting for the purpose of chusing such delegates, an unlawful assembly ; and if not an unlawful assembly, has any magistrate or other person by or under pretence of the Riot Act, or any other, and what statute, a right to disperse said meeting ?

4th. What is the legal mode of presenting petitions to the legislature in Ireland ; and is there any, and what statute upon that point in this country ?

5th. Is the plan sent herewith agreeable to law ; if not, wherein is it contrary

trary thereto, and to what penalties would persons become subject, who should carry, or attempt to carry, the same into effect.

Counsel will please to state the authorities upon which he grounds his opinion.

Answer to the 1st question.—I am clearly and decidedly of opinion, that all and every his majesty's subjects of this kingdom, of every persuasion, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant, have an unalienable right to petition, in a peaceable manner, the king or either house of parliament, for redress of grievances, be those grievances real or imaginary. —*1st Black. Comm. p. 143.*

Answer to the 2d question.—I am clearly and decidedly of opinion, that Roman Catholics have, equally with Protestants, a right to choose delegates for the purpose of framing such petition, and presenting the same in a peaceable and respectful manner to the legislature, and that they are not forbidden so to do by any law or statute whatsoever. Delegation has always been considered not only as the most effectual mode of obtaining the general sense, but also as the best security against tumult and disturbance.

Answer to the 3d question.—I am also clearly and decidedly of opinion, that a peaceable meeting for the purpose of choosing such delegates, is a lawful assembly, and that no magistrate or other person, by or under pretence of the riot act or any other statute, has a right to disperse such meeting. The assembly which may be dispersed under the authority of the riot act, must be unlawful, riotous, tumultuous, and in disturbance of the public peace. The act is inoperative upon an assembly that is lawful; and I feel no difficulty in declaring my opinion, that an obstruction of the peaceable exercise of an unalienable right of the subject, is a misdemeanor of the greatest magnitude, and that any person charged with the guilt thereof, be his rank or station what it may, is indictable, and, if found guilty by his country, liable to be fined and imprisoned; and I also feel no difficulty in declaring my opinion, that publications charging the general committee with exciting in the instance before us, unlawful assemblies for seditious purposes, are libels, and as such are indictable and actionable.

Answer to the 4th question.—By the English statute of the 1st William and Mary, St. 2. Ch. II. commonly called the Bill of Rights, and which being a law declaratory of the rights of the subject, is therefore of force in Ireland, it is declared, “ that all subjects have a right to petition to the king, and
“ that

“ that all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.” Notwithstanding the Bill of Rights is general, and does not specify any regulations or restrictions, yet the court of King’s Bench in England, in the case of the King against Lord George Gordon (Douglass, p. 571.), thought proper to deliver an opinion, that it did not repeal the English act of the 13th Car. II. St. I. Ch. 5, which enacted, “ that no petition to the king, or either
 “ house of parliament, for any alteration in the church or state, shall be signed by above twenty persons, unless the matter thereof be approved by
 “ three justices of the peace, or the major part of the grand jury, in the
 “ country, and in London, by the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council: nor shall any petition be presented by more than ten persons at a
 “ time.” Under the above authority, therefore, the right of petitioning in England is subject to the regulations and restrictions laid upon it by that act of Charles II. But as neither the act of Charles, nor any one similar to it, is in force in Ireland, the right of the Irish subjects to petition their legislature is not subject to any regulation or restriction whatsoever, save only that due care must be taken, lest, under the pretence of petitioning, the subject be guilty of any riot or tumult. I am therefore of opinion, that no particular mode of presenting petitions to the legislature of Ireland is pointed out by any law or statute of force in this kingdom. It is to be observed, that in the last sessions of parliament, a great concourse of people assembled in the Park, framed a petition, and deputed a very large number of their body to present it to the House of Lords; the Lord Chancellor, in observing upon the petition, did not charge the petitioners with any illegality, either in assembling to frame, or in presenting the petition, but on the contrary, his lordship was pleased to commend them for the peaceable manner in which they deputed themselves. The success which attended the petition, is in the recollection of most people.

Answer to the 5th question.—I am also clearly and decidedly of opinion, that the plan is in every respect agreeable to law, and that persons, peaceably carrying, or attempting to carry the same into effect, would not thereby incur any penalty whatsoever. The plan is indeed unexceptionable; while it serves effectually to obtain the general sense of the great Catholic body of Ireland, it provides every precaution against tumult and disturbance.

September 3, 1792.

SIMON BUTLER.

I. His majesty's subjects of Ireland professing the Roman Catholic religion, have, in my opinion, a right to petition his majesty and the two houses of parliament, or any of them, for the redress of grievances, equally with Protestants.

II. As they have this right, it follows, as I conceive, that, where the grievance complained of affects the whole body, they have also a right to collect the sense of every individual of that body; but as the assembling them all for that purpose would be inconvenient, imprudent, and perhaps dangerous, I think the sense of the whole body may be collected from a smaller number, delegated by them for that purpose, who may frame and present such petition; and I know of no principle of the common law, nor of any statute, by which they are forbidden to do so, it being always supposed that these proceedings are carried on in a peaceable and respectful manner.

III. I do not apprehend that a number of Roman Catholics, meeting in a private, peaceable and quiet manner, for the sole purpose of declaring their sense of the alleged grievances, and their desire of petitioning the legislature for redress, and of choosing out of themselves, one or more, to assist in framing and presenting such petition, can be considered as an unlawful assembly; and I do not think that any magistrate, or other person, by or under pretence of the Riot Act, or any other act that I am acquainted with, would have a right to disperse such meeting.

IV. I do not know of any statute in this kingdom which regulates the mode of presenting petitions to the legislature of this kingdom; the English statute of 13th Car. II. St. V. Ch. 2d. has not been enacted here, that I know of; but the general law of the land requires that the petition should be presented in the most respectful and peaceable manner. The intended petition, as I apprehend, should be entitled the petition of his majesty's subjects of Ireland professing the Roman Catholic religion; and should be signed by a few of the Roman Catholics of each county and principal city in Ireland, on behalf of themselves and their Roman Catholic brethren of that county or city. According to the forms of parliament here, the petition must be presented to each house, by a member of that house; in presenting the petition to his majesty, which may be either to himself in person, or through the medium of the lord lieutenant, it would I think be prudent to follow the directions of the English statute above-mentioned, and that not more than ten persons should present it.

V. From

V. From what I have already said, I must be of opinion, that the plan sent herewith to me, is not contrary to law, and I cannot conceive that persons carrying, or attempting to carry it into effect, peaceably and quietly, would become subject to any penalties.

I have grounded my opinion upon the conception I have formed of the law and constitution of this kingdom, from that general research which my profession has led me to make into their principles; I have not therefore any authorities to state.

13th September, 1792.

BERESFORD BURSTON.

No. XCIII.

Circular Letter addressed to the Catholic Gentlemen of the Kingdom of Ireland, with a Plan for electing Delegates. (P. 383.)

SIR,

THIS letter with the plan which accompanies it, is transmitted to you, by order of the sub-committee. You will perceive that the object of this plan is to procure a fuller attendance of country gentlemen, to assist, by their advice and influence, the measures adopted by the committee to procure for the Catholics the elective franchise, and an equal participation of the benefits of the trial by jury. You will please to lose no time in submitting this to the respectable Catholics of your county. You will please also to inform them, that several respectable independent country gentlemen, lately in Dublin, had frequent consultations, for the laudable purpose of reuniting to the committee Lord Fingal, and the other gentlemen who had withdrawn themselves from it. These country gentlemen had the satisfaction to find, that the general committee on one side, and the gentlemen who had entered into separate addresses on the other, mutually regretted their division; which they saw was used by the opponents of the Catholics, as a pretext for withholding from our people the elective franchise, and an equal participation of the benefits of the trial by jury. It is on all sides agreed, that if the Catholics are all united in this just and reasonable request, essential to the very existence of our people, there will be a certainty of success; it depends then on ourselves whether we shall be—freemen or slaves! We say, essential to the

very existence of our people: for, as the rage for electioneering interest increases, our wealthy farmers must either pay beyond the value for lands, or resign them to Protestant freeholders when out of lease; our poorer yeomanry will of course be expelled, and driven into beggary. Let us all then, speak with one voice, and supplicate the legislature for justice, and we shall receive it.

These independent country gentlemen have received from Lord Fingal, and the gentlemen who have acted with him, the most positive declarations, that they will never again enter into any act to oppose the general committee in their endeavours to obtain the emancipation of the Catholics; and it is determined that all former differences in opinion shall be buried in oblivion on both sides.

The committee had decided to send some of their body, to propose to the counties to appoint delegates to the committee, of whose attendance there would be a certainty; and our chairman had actually left Dublin, with intention to go through a great part of Ireland for this purpose; the independent country gentlemen, as before mentioned, took up the same idea themselves, (before they knew the committee had determined upon it) and they, and Lord Fingal and his friends, all agreed in pressing such a measure on the committee, as an additional cause of re-uniting them to the body.

Lord Fingal, his friends, and the country gentlemen before mentioned, seemed at first inclined that the present committee should be dissolved; an opinion, however, which further reflection on the various difficulties resulting from such a measure, the doubts entertained of the competency in the committee to dissolve itself, and the consideration that a dissolution must necessarily occur early in 1793, induced them to forego.

The plan inclosed, sanctioned by the general committee, by these independent gentlemen, and by Lord Fingal, and his friends, is recommended to your zeal to have carried into immediate execution in your county.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

EDWARD BYRNE.

No. XCIV.

DECLARATION. (P. 384.)

WE the Catholics of the city of Dublin, have read with extreme concern, the resolutions of different bodies of our Protestant fellow subjects, in which they express their disapprobation of the conduct of our committee, and their aversion to our claims of the elective franchise, and an equal participation of the trial by jury. But the address of the corporation of this city to the Protestants of Ireland, has filled us most peculiarly with mortification and surprize; as Irishmen, we are astonished and grieved, that the first corporation of this kingdom should have put forth a publication, teeming with false principles of government, and false statements of historic facts; as Catholics, we lament, that the same body should have misconceived and mis-stated our conduct and our objects.

We have read of what is called the right of conquest; it has also been called the right of robbery: but we do not imagine, that a doctrine so subversive of the peace and settlement of society, and of the immutable rules of justice, that a doctrine, which in its consequences so completely warrants, and in its language so wantonly provokes resistance, would be made the foundation of the Protestant claims to the government of this country. We did not expect that a doctrine exploded in this island by the revolution of 1782, would be revived to our oppression. If conquest and the right of the sword could justify the stronger in retaining dominion, why did not Great Britain abdicate her legislative supremacy over Ireland? or why were we all, Protestants and Catholics, actuated as one man to resist so legitimate an authority? Is that monstrous and exploded principle still to be retained for our peculiar subjection, which was felt to be false by every honest man, when applied to the subjection of his native land?

We are desired in that address to “rest contented with the most perfect toleration of our religion, the fullest security of our property, and the most complete personal liberty.” They are great and important blessings, but they are not secure to any man, who is a slave. They are held but by sufferance, by those who are tried without their consent, and legislated for without being represented.

We agree with the corporation in the spirit of one assertion, they “know of

“ no power under Heaven authorized to alienate this their most valuable inheritance.” Let our claims be tried by the same principle. The Catholics were the constituents of the very parliament which deprived them of their franchise, and thereby did indeed “ alienate their most valuable inheritance!” and though we have acquiesced under that unjust deprivation for sixty-five years, and though we will continue to acquiesce, so long as the statute stands in its present form, we must still declare, as a political truth, that no elected and delegated legislature has a right to disfranchise its electors and delegates, who never entrusted their power to that body for the purpose of being made the instrument of its own destruction. And we further say, that in our judgment, not even those electors could empower their representatives to enslave us, their posterity.

We are likewise told by the corporation, that “ experience has taught them, that without the ruin of the Protestant establishment, the Catholic “ cannot be allowed the smallest influence in the state.” The inclinations of our body are not to subvert any establishment in this country; if they were, we are not competent to so absurd a project: and no strength, that we might derive from the restoration of our rights would enable us to effect it, while the King, the House of Lords, the Irish Privy Council, the English Privy Council, and the Chancellors of both countries, are unalterably Protestant. If by establishment be meant religious establishment, we must further reply, that no experience has taught them so; the Protestant religion was dominant in this country long before our ancestors lost their elective franchise. Is it only since the year 1727, that Protestantism has been the religion of the state in Ireland? If by establishment be meant the government of the country, it is equally ill founded; *that* is instituted for the freedom and happiness of the governed; and yet this address would imply, that procuring freedom and happiness for three-fourths of this kingdom, would cause the utter ruin of our government. A greater libel against the constitution of Ireland was never uttered by its most declared enemy. It is sufficiently capacious to give liberty to every man; and the more its base is widened, and its blessings diffused, the more it will be fortified against the efforts of time and despotism. Nor does experience warrant the assertion. Our loss of the right of citizenship is comparatively modern; and the government of this country neither required nor gained any accession of strength by our slavery. That was effected in a time of profound tranquillity, after the uninterrupted
loyalty

loyalty and peaceable demeanour of our ancestors had been experienced and acknowledged for thirty-six years from the capitulation of Limerick. The causes that induced this law are now almost forgotten; but if tradition be to be believed, where history is silent, it was enacted to satisfy court intrigue, not public security; to change the balance of power between Protestant families in two or three counties of this kingdom, not to give any increase of power to the Protestants at large.

It is suggested in that address, that the Revolution was established in Ireland by force, or as it is profanely called, by “an appeal to Heaven.” The Revolution in England, derived its glory and its stability from this great truth, that it was founded on the people’s will. Does the Revolution in Ireland rest upon a different foundation? Is it supported by a principle, which is the reverse of that, which rendered the Revolution in England the admiration of the world? No! it is not so; we must all concur in calumniating that great event, that our ancestors may also be calumniated. The Revolution in Ireland was not completed by the battles of the Boyne or Aughrim, but by the articles of Limerick. It was consented to by all, Protestants and Catholics. The consent of the Catholics was obtained to a compact, *as solemnly ratified, and as speedily broken*, as any in the records of history. By that compact, the enjoyment of all their rights was stipulated for to our ancestors, as a declaration of their consent. The restoration of those rights was therefore connected with the Revolution settlement of this kingdom.

We are also told, that those laws were enacted to “deprive the Roman Catholics of political power, in consequence of the many and great efforts “made by them in support of their Popish King and French connexions.” When, where, or how were those many and great efforts made? From their number and their magnitude, those who so confidently advance this assertion, cannot, we presume, be at a loss for an instance; but we defy the malice of invention to produce *one*. *Our forefathers never violated the articles of Limerick*. From the time that they consented to the Revolution in 1691, they never made any efforts either in support of a Popish King, or French connexions, or of any other enemy to King William and his successors. Had they even done so, the fault had been theirs—why not the punishment theirs also? Or, is it intended to be insinuated to fellow-subjects who know our loyalty, that we are anxious to have this country “governed by an arbitrary and unconstitutional Popish tyrant, and dependant upon France;”

or

or that *we do not desire* to “enjoy the blessings of a free Protestant government, a Protestant monarch limited by the constitution (as settled by the Revolution), and an intimate connexion with the free empire of Britain?” If we *do*, why is the law continued, after the reason of enacting has ceased?

We admit, that from the moment the Protestant began to make concessions, the Roman Catholic began to extend his claims. The first kindness of our Protestant brethren shewed a returning spirit of liberality and affection. Before that time we were not so rash as to raise our minds to the hopes of citizenship. But we were never guilty of the deceit imputed to us, of declaring that a little would satisfy us, and when that little was granted, of claiming more. Our own attention, as well as that of our Protestant fellow-subjects, was directed to the most immediate and most practicable redress. We did not embarrass the measure by remote and extraneous considerations, but we never did, either in word or thought, *and we never will forego our hopes of emancipation*. Freemen would not believe us, if we said that we should be induced by any comparatively small alleviation of our grievances, to consent to perpetual slavery.

We lament that it is *not true*, “that the last session of parliament left us in no wise different from our Protestant fellow-subjects, save only in the exercise of political power.” That assertion is falsified by the heavy code of penal laws still in force against us, many of which infringe on that security of property and that personal liberty, which it is alleged we possess. But it is not power, it is protection we solicit. It is not power, including in it the notion of *superiority*—it is the *equal enjoyment* of our rights that we claim.

The Corporation tell us, that they will not be compelled by any authority whatever, “to abandon that political situation, which their forefathers won with their swords, and which they have resolved with their lives and fortunes to maintain.” Are we the seditious men, that would overawe the legislature and our fellow countrymen? No; our views are peaceable, and neither insult nor oppression shall make us forget our loyalty. But wherefore this untimely threat? It wears the appearance of first urging us to despair by an eternal proscription, and then of throwing down the gauntlet of civil war. We too have lives and fortunes, which we are ready to devote to the service of our country, whenever *real danger* shall require it; but we will
never

never degrade that last and most solemn act of patriotism into an idle menace and an insolent bravado.

The great question of our emancipation is now afloat, we have never fought to acquire it by force, and we hope for it now only from the wisdom of the legislature, and affection of our Protestant brethren. But, we here solemnly and publicly declare, that we never will through any change of time or circumstance, save the actual *restoration of our rights*, desist from the peaceable and lawful pursuit of the two great objects of our hopes—the *right of elective franchise*, and an *equal share in the benefits of the trial by jury*.

No. XCV.

Petition of the Catholics of Ireland. (P. 388.)

January 2, 1793.

MR. BYRNE, Mr. Keogh, Mr. Devereux, Mr. Bellew, and Sir Thomas French, the gentlemen delegated by the Catholics of Ireland, attended the levee at St. James's, and had the honor to present the humble petition of that body to his majesty, who was pleased to receive it most graciously.

The delegates were introduced by the Right Honorable Henry Dundas, secretary of state for the home department.

The following is a correct copy of the petition :

To the KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble petition of the undersigned Catholics, on behalf of themselves and the rest of his Catholic subjects of the kingdom of Ireland.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects of your kingdom of Ireland, professing the Catholic religion, presume to approach your majesty, who are the common father of all your people, and humbly to submit to your consideration the manifold incapacities and oppressive disqualifications under which we labour.

For, may it please your majesty, after a century of uninterrupted loyalty, in which time five foreign wars and two domestic rebellions have occurred, after having taken every oath of allegiance and fidelity to your majesty, and given, and being still ready to give, every pledge, which can be devised for
their

their peaceable demeanour and unconditional submission to the laws, the Catholics of Ireland stand obnoxious to a long catalogue of statutes, inflicting on dutiful and meritorious subjects pains and penalties of an extent and severity, which scarce any degree of delinquency can warrant, and prolonged to a period, when no necessity can be alleged to justify their continuance.

In the first place, we beg leave with all humility to represent to your majesty, that notwithstanding the lowest departments in your majesty's fleets and armies are largely supplied by our numbers, and your revenue in this country to a great degree supported by our contributions, we are disabled from serving your majesty in any office of trust and emolument whatsoever, civil or military—a proscription, which disregards capacity or merit, admits of neither qualification nor degree, and rests as an universal stigma of distrust upon the whole body of your Catholic subjects.

We are interdicted from all municipal stations, and the franchise of all guilds and corporations; and our exclusion from the benefits annexed to those situations is not an evil terminating in itself; for, by giving an advantage over us to those, in whom they are exclusively vested, they establish throughout the kingdom a species of qualified monopoly, uniformly operating in our disfavour, contrary to the spirit, and highly detrimental to the freedom of trade.

We may not found nor endow any university, college, or school for the education of our children, and we are interdicted from obtaining degrees in the university of Dublin by the several charters and statutes now in force therein.

We are totally prohibited from keeping or using weapons, for the defence of our houses, families, or persons, whereby we are exposed to the violence of burglary, robbery, and assassination; and to enforce this prohibition, contravening that great original law of nature, which enjoins us to self-defence, a variety of statutes exist, not less grievous and oppressive in their provisions, than unjust in their object; by one of which, enacted so lately as within these sixteen years, every of your majesty's Catholic subjects, of whatever rank or degree, peer or peasant, is compellable by any magistrate to come forward and convict himself of what may be thought a singular offence in a country professing to be free—keeping arms for his defence; or, if he shall refuse so to do, may incur not only fine and imprisonment, but the vile and ignominious punishments of the pillory and whipping, penalties appropriated to the

the most infamous malefactors, and more terrible to a liberal mind than death itself.

No Catholic whatsoever, as we apprehend, has his personal property secure. The law allows and encourages the disobedient and unnatural child to conform and deprive him of it: the unhappy father does not, even by the surrender of his all, purchase his repose; he may be attacked by new bills, if his future industry be successful, and again be plundered by due process of law.

We are excluded, or may be excluded from all petit juries, in civil actions, where one of the parties is a Protestant; and we are further excluded from all petit juries in trials by information or indictment founded on any of the Popery laws, by which law we most humbly submit to your majesty, that your loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, are in this their native land, in a worse situation than that of aliens, for they may demand an equitable privilege denied to us, of having half their jury aliens like themselves.

We may not serve on grand juries, unless, which it is scarcely possible can ever happen, there should not be found a sufficiency of Protestants to complete the pannel; contrary to that humane and equitable principle of the law, which says, that no man shall be convicted of any capital offence, unless by the concurring verdicts of two juries of his neighbours and equals; whereby, and to this we humbly presume more particularly to implore your royal attention, we are deprived of the great palladium of the constitution, trial by our peers, independent of the manifest injustice of our property being taxed in assessments by a body, from which we are formally excluded.

We avoid a further enumeration of inferior grievances; but may it please your majesty, there remains one incapacity, which your loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, feel with most poignant anguish of mind, as being the badge of unmerited disgrace and ignominy, and the cause and bitter aggravation of all our other calamities; we are deprived of the elective franchise, to the manifest perversion of the spirit of the constitution, inasmuch as your faithful subjects are thereby taxed, where they are not represented, actually or virtually, and bound by laws, in the framing of which, they have no power to give, or withhold their assent; and we most humbly implore your majesty to believe, that this our prime and heavy grievance is not an evil merely speculative, but is attended with great distress to all ranks, and in many instances, with the total ruin and destruction of the lower orders of your ma-

jeſty's faithful and loyal ſubjects the Catholics of Ireland; for may it pleaſe your majeſty, not to mention the infinite variety of advantages in point of protection and otherwiſe, which the enjoyment of the elective franchise gives to thoſe who poſſeſs it, nor the conſequent inconveniencies, to which thoſe who are deprived thereof are liable; not to mention the diſgrace to three-fourths of your loyal ſubjects of Ireland, of living the only body of men incapable of franchise, in a nation poſſeſſing a free conſtitution, it continually happens, and of neceſſity from the malignant nature of the law muſt happen, that multitudes of the Catholic tenantry in divers counties in this kingdom are, at the expiration of their leaſes, expelled from their tenements and farms to make room for Proteſtant freeholders, who, by their votes, may contribute to the weight and importance of their landlords; a circumſtance which renders the recurrence of a general election, that period which is the boaſt and laudable triumph of our Proteſtant brethren, a viſitation and heavy curſe to us, your majeſty's dutiful and loyal ſubjects. And may it pleaſe your majeſty, this uncertainty of poſſeſſion to your majeſty's Catholic ſubjects operates as a perpetual reſtraint and diſcouragement on induſtry and the ſpirit of cultivation, whereby it happens, that this your majeſty's kingdom of Ireland, poſſeſſing many and great natural advantages of ſoil and climate, ſo as to be exceeded therein by few, if any countries on the earth, is yet prevented from availing herſelf thereof ſo fully as ſhe otherwiſe might, to the furtherance of your majeſty's honor, and the more effectual ſupport of your ſervice.

And may it pleaſe your majeſty, the evil does not even reſt here; for many of your majeſty's Catholic ſubjects, to preſerve their families from total deſtruction, ſubmit to a nominal conformity againſt their conviction and their conſcience, and preferring perjury to famine, take oaths which they utterly diſbelieve; a circumſtance, which we doubt not will ſhock your majeſty's well-known and exemplary piety, not leſs than the miſery which drives thoſe unhappy wretches to ſo deſperate a meaſure, muſt diſtreſs and wound your royal clemency and commiſeration.

And may it pleaſe your majeſty, though we might here reſt our caſe on its own merits, juſtice, and expediency, yet we further preſume humbly to ſubmit to your majeſty, that the right of franchise was, with divers other rights, enjoyed by the Catholics of this kingdom, from the firſt adoption of the Engliſh conſtitution by our forefathers, was ſecured to at leaſt a great part of our body by the treaty of Limerick, in 1691, guaranteed by your majeſty's
royal

royal predeceffors, King William and Queen Mary, and finally confirmed and ratified by parliament; notwithstanding which, and in direct breach of the public faith of the nation thus solemnly pledged, for which our ancestors paid a valuable confideration, in the furrender of their arms, and a great part of this kingdom, and notwithstanding the moft scrupulous adherence, on our part, to the terms of the faid treaty, and our unremitting loyalty from that day to the prefent, the faid right of elective franchise was finally and univerfally taken away from the Catholics of Ireland, fo lately as the firft year of his majesty King George the Second.

And when we thus prefume to fubmit this infraction of the treaty of Lime-
rick to your majesty's royal notice, it is not that we ourfelves confider it to be the ftrong part of our cafe; for though our rights were recognized, they were by no means created by that treaty; and we do with all humility conceive, that if no fuch event as the faid treaty had ever taken place, your majesty's Catholic fubjects, from their unvarying loyalty, and dutiful fubmiffion to the laws, and from the great fupport afforded by them to your majesty's government in this country, as well in their perfonal fervice, in your majesty's fleets and armies, as from the taxes and revenues levied on their property, are fully competent, and juftly entitled to participate and enjoy the bleffings of the confitution of their country.

And now that we have with all humility fubmitted our grievances to your majesty, permit us, moft gracious fovereign, again to reprefent our fincere attachment to the confitution, as eftablifhed in three eftates of king, lords, and commons; our uninterrupted loyalty, peaceable demeanour, and fubmiffion to the laws for one hundred years; and our determination to perfevere in the fame dutiful conduct, which has, under your majesty's happy auspices, procured us thofe relaxations of the penal ftatutes, which the wifdom of the legiflature has from time to time thought proper to grant; we humbly prefume to hope, that your majesty, in your paternal goodnefs and affection towards a numerous and oppreffed body of your loyal fubjects, may be graciously pleafed to recommend to your parliament of Ireland, to take into their confideration the whole of our fituation, our numbers, our merits, and our fufferings; and as we do not give place to any of your majesty's fubjects in loyalty and attachment to your f acred perfon, we cannot fupprefs our wifhes of being reftored to the rights and privileges of the confitution of our country, and thereby becoming more worthy, as well as more capable of

rendering your majesty that service, which it is not less our duty than our inclination to afford.

So may your majesty transmit to your latest posterity, a crown secured by public advantage and public affection; and so may your royal person become, if possible, more dear to your grateful people.

The above petition is signed by the delegates from the following counties, cities, and towns in the kingdom of Ireland.

<i>For ourselves and the Roman Catholic Prelates and Clergy of Ireland.</i>	James O'Gorman
John Thomas Troy, D. D. Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin.	Nicholas Mahon
H. Moylan, D. D. Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork.	Daniel O'Connell
	Francis Mac Mahon, jun.
<i>County and City of Cork.</i>	William Coppinger
<i>For ourselves and the Catholics of the County of Antrim.</i>	John Therry
Luke Teiling	Nicholas Francis Coppinger
Oliver O'Hara	D. Rochfort
Bernard O'Neill	Bryan Sheehy
<i>County of Armagh.</i>	Edward Byrne
Theo. Mac Kenna	Denis Thomas O'Brien
Charles Whittington	<i>County of Donnegal.</i>
Owen O'Callaghan	Richard Dodd
<i>County of Carlow.</i>	Daniel M'Laughlin
Walter Fitzgerald	Andrew Mac Shane
Edward Butler William Finn	<i>County of Down.</i>
Thomas Warren	Samuel Norris
<i>County of Cavan.</i>	John O'Neill
Hugh O'Reily	John Magenis
James Palles	Thomas Savage
Edward Dowell	James Kenney
Patrick Dowell	<i>County of Dublin.</i>
<i>County of Clare.</i>	Patrick Thunder
Patrick O'Reilly	Baron Lawless
Laurence Comyn	Patrick Smyth
	Peter Farrell

Thomas

Thomas Segrave

Henry Thunder

County of Fermanagh.

James Kieruan

Philip Maguire

Terence Maguire

Richard Kiernan

County of Galway.

Christopher Dillon Bellew

Christopher Bellew

Thomas French

County of Kerry.

Thomas Hufley

Matthew Moriarty

County of Kildare.

Thomas Fitzgerald, jun.

Charles Aylmer

John Esmonde

Christopher Nangle

James Archbold

Randle Mac Donnell

County of Kilkenny.

Edward Sheil

Nicholas Devereux

King's County.

Patrick Oliver Plunkett

Francis Bennett

County of Leitrim.

Myles Keon

Hugh O'Beirne

John Keogh

Robert Dillon

County of Limerick.

Bryan Sheehy

R. Sheehy Keatinge

Richard M'Cornick

County of Londonderry.

Andrew Mac Shane

Richard Dodd

County of Westmeath.

James Count Nugent

Christopher Nugent

Bernard O'Reilly

Edward Mac Evoy

John Weldon

County of Louth.

Patrick Byrne

Patrick Ruffell

County of Mayo.

James Joseph Mac Donnell

Edmund Dillon

Andrew Crean Lynch

Nicholas Fitzgerald

Theodore Mahon

County of Meath.

James Nangle

Bartholomew Barnwall

Michael Johnson

Richard Barnewall

Thomas Ryan, M. D.

County of Monaghan.

Hugh Hamill

James Carolan

Bartholomew Clinton

Daniel Reilly

Queen's County.

Morgan Kavanagh

James Warren

William

William Dunne

Edward Byrne, jun.

County of Roscommon.

John Fallon

James Plunkett

Owen O'Connor

County of Sligo.

Hugh Mac Dermot, M. D.

J. Everard

Patrick Mullarky

John Mac Donogh

Charles O'Connor

James Aylward

County of Tipperary.

Lawrence Smyth

John Lalor

Dennis O'Meagher

Thomas Mahon

County of Tyrone.

Thomas Richard Geraghty

Terence O'Neill

Bernard Mac Mahon

John Ball

John Byrne

John Fairfield

County and City of Waterford.

Patrick Power

Bartholomew Rivers

Richard Mac Kenna

John Dillon

Thomas Kirwan

County of Wexford.

James Edward Devereux

Harvey Hay

Edward Hay

Edward Sweetman

County of Wicklow.

Walter Byrne

Thomas Fitz Simon

Richard Doyle

Patrick Kavanagh

Peter Brady

County of Westmeath.

Michael Dardis

Lattin Fitzgerald

John Walsh

John Cormick

Town of Carrickfergus.

Christopher Teeling, M. D.

Laurence Mac Dermott

Town of Armagh.

John Byrne

Town of Inniskillen.

Edward Madden

Town of Carlow.

Thomas Warren

Philliptown.

Lewis Flannagan

James Molloy

Town of Dundalk.

Thomas Magan

Town of Trim.

Ignatius Weldon

Thomas Lynch

Town of Wexford.

Edward Sutton

William Kearney

Michael Mac Carty

City of Limerick.

Francis Arthur

Jasper White

Luke

Luke Stritch

George O'Halloran

William Sweetman

Charles Young

Clonmell.

John Rivers

Matthew James Plunkett

Town of Galway.

Henry Lynch

Malachy O'Connor

Edmund Lynch Athy

Martin F. Lynch

Carrick on Shannon.

James Fitz Simons

Town of Castlebar.

N. Le Favre

Hugh Leonard

Town of Sligo.

John Dunn

Town of Drogheda.

James Bird

Roger Hamill

Gerald Dillon

Town of Cashel.

Jeremiah Dwyer

Town of Athlone.

Simon Kelly

Town and Lordship of Newry.

Mark Dowlin

James Reilly

Charles Drumgoode

Town of Enniscorthy.

Paul Houston

Philip Sullivan

Ballyshannon.

Thomas Doran

James Kelly

Town of Carrick on Suir.

John Donahoe

City of Kilkenny.

Con. Loughman

John Shearman

John Murphy

Dungarvan.

James Dixon

Town of Athy.

Joseph Patrick Cahill

G. Fitzgerald

Town of Boyle.

John Mac Loghlin

Navan.

William James MacNeven

Edward Geoghegan

Town of Ballymahon.

Denis Caffin

Town of Belfast.

Richard Crofs

Patrick Byrne

Town of Athboy

Thomas Bourke

John O'Neil

Town of Carrickmacross.

Richard Browne

Gregory Scurlog

Loughrea.

Hubert Thomas Dolphin

Maryborough.

Henry Johnston

Ardee

<i>Ardee.</i>	Edward Lewines
Patrick Byrne, W. S. Kindelan	A. Daly, M. D.
<i>Town of Thurles.</i>	Nicholas Elcock
A. Thompson	Simon Macguire
<i>Town of Naas.</i>	William Hyland
John Esmond	Patrick Marsh
Joseph Byrne	Thomas Reynolds
<i>Town of Athenry.</i>	John Sweetman
Anthony French	Michael Boylan
<i>Maryborough.</i>	James Conolly
John Ball, jun.	Thomas Braughall
<i>Town of Roscrea.</i>	Charles Ryan
John Duffy	John Ball
<i>Town of Swords.</i>	Thomas Mac Donnel
Christopher Taylor	Christopher Kelly
<i>City of Dublin.</i>	Patrick Sweetman
Richard Dillon	John Sutton
Thomas Kennedy,	John Comerford
Jonathan Lynch	Patrick Grehan
Thomas Glanville	James Ferrall
James Murphy	William Clark
John White	John Kearney
Lewis Lyons	Richard Walsh
Patrick Bean	J. G. Kennedy
	John Andrews.

No. XCVI.

A List of all the Boroughs in Ireland, and their respective Patrons.
(Page 431.)

BOROUGHES.	PATRONS.	VOICES.
Antrim,	Lord Massereene,	2
Belfast,	Lord Donegall,	2
Randallstown,	Right Hon. John O'Neil,	2
	Armagh	

APPENDIX.

225

Armagh,	Primate,	2
Charlemont,	Lord Charlemont,	2
Carlow,	William Burton,	2
Old Leighlin,	Bishop of Leighlin,	2
Belturbet,	Lord Belmore,	2
Cavan,	T. Nesbit and Theo. Clements,	—
Ennis,	Sir L. O'Brien and Lord Conyngham,	—
Baltimore,	Sir J. Freke,	2
Bandon Bridge	Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Bernard,	—
Castlemartyr,	Lord Shannon,	2
Charleville,	Lord Cork,	2
Cloghnckilty,	Lord Shannon,	2
Doneraile,	Lord Doneraile,	2
Kingfale,	Lord Clifford,	2
Mallow,	Mr. Jephson,	2
Middleton,	Lord Middleton,	2
Rathcormuck,	Lord Riversdale,	2
Youghal,	Lord Shannon and Mr. Uniacke,	2
Ballyshannon,	Mr. Conolly,	2
Donegall,	Lord Arran,	2
Killybegs,	Mr. Burton Conyngham,	2
Lifford,	Lord Erne,	2
St. Johnstown,	Lord Wicklow,	2
Bangor,	Lord Bangor and Lord Carrick,	—
Hillsborough,	Lord Hillsborough,	2
Killileagh,	Sir J. Blackwood,	2
Newtown,	Lord Caledon,	2
Newcastle,	Mr. Latouche,	2
Enniskillen,	Lord Enniskillen,	2
Athenry,	Mr. Blakeney,	2
Galway Town,	——— and Mr. Bowes Daly,	—
Tuam,	Mr. Bingham,	2
Ardfert,	Lord Glandore,	2
Dingle,	Mr. Townsend,	2
Tralee,	Sir B. Denny,	2
Athy,	Duke of Leinster,	2

VOL. II.

7 F

Harriestown,

Harristown,	Mr. J. Latouche,	2
Kildare,	Duke of Leinster,	2
Naas,	Lord Mayo,	2
Callan,	Lord Callan,	2
St. Cannice,	Bishop of Offory,	2
Inistioge,	Mr. Tighe,	2
Gowran,	Lord Clifden,	2
Kilkenny City,	Earl Ormond and Lord Desart,	—
Knocktopher,	Sir Hercules Langrishe,	2
Thomastown,	Lord Clifden,	2
Banagher,	Mr. Ponsonby,	2
Philipstown,	Lord Belvedere,	2
Carrick,	Lord Leitrim,	2
Jamestown	2 Mr. Kings,	—
Afkeyton,	Lord Carrick and Mr. Maffey,	—
Kilmallock,	Right Hon. Silver Oliver,	2
Limerick City,	Lord Perry and P. Smith,	—
Coleraine,	Marquis Waterford and Mr. Jackson,	—
Newtown Limavady,	Mr. Conolly,	2
Granard,	Mrs. M'Cartney,	2
Laneborough,	Lord Clonbrock,	2
Longford,	Lord Longford,	2
Johnstown,	Lord Granard,	2
Ardee,	2 Mr. Ruxtons,	—
Carlingford,	Mr. Moore,	2
Dundalk,	Lord Clanbrassil,	2
Dunleer,	Mr. Foster and Mr. Coddington,	—
Castlebar,	Lord Lucan,	2
Athboy,	Lord Darnley,	2
Duleek,	Col. Bruen,	2
Kells,	Lord Beclive,	2
Navan,	Mr. Preston and Lord Ludlow,	—
Ratoath,	Mr. Lowther,	2
Trim,	Lord Mornington,	2
Monaghan,	Lord Clermont,	2
Ballynakil,	Marquis Drogheda,	2
	Maryborough,	

Maryborough,	Sir J. Parnel,	2
Portarlington,	Lord Portarlington,	2
Boyle,	Lord Kingfton,	2
Roscommon,	Mr. Sandford,	2
Tulsk,	Mrs. Walcot,	2
Sligo,	Owen Wynne,	2
Cashel,	Mr. Pennyfather,	2
Clonmel,	Lord Mountcashel,	2
Fethard, (Tipperary)	Lord Lifmore and Mr. Barton,	—
Augher,	Marquis of Abercorn,	—
Clogher,	Bifhop of Clogher,	2
Dungannon,	Lord Wells,	2
Strabane,	Marquis Abercorne,	2
Lifmore,	Duke of Devonfhire and Sir R. Mufgrave,	—
Tallagh	Duke of Devonfhire and Lord Shannon,	—
Athlone,	Mr. Handcock and Sir Richard St. George	—
Fore,	Lord Weftmeath,	2
Kilbeggan,	Mr. Lambert,	2
Mullingar,	Lord Granard,	2
Bannow,	Lord Loftus	2
Clonmines,	Ditto	2
Ennifcorthy,	Sir V. Colclough,	2
Fethard, (Wexford)	Lord Loftus,	2
Gorey,	Mr. S. Ram,	2
New-Rofs,	Mr. Tottenham and Mr. Leigh,	—
Taghmon,	Mr. Hoare,	2
Wexford Town,	Lord Loftus and Mr. Nevil,	—
Baltinglafs,	Lord Aldborough,	2
Bleffington,	Marquis Downfhire,	2
Carysfort,	Lord Carysfort,	2
Wicklow,	Mr. Tighe,	2

The thirty-two counties and twelve following boroughs are omitted, as being popular, and therefore the property of no individual.

Popular Boroughs.

Carrickfergus,	Drogheda,	Londonderry,
Cork City,	Dublin City,	Dungarvan,
	7 F 2	Downpatrick,

Downpatrick,
Newry,

Dublin University,
Swords,

Waterford City,
Lisburn,

A class of power (according to the preceding catalogue) formed by the negatives that could be commanded into opposition by these names.

	VOTES.		VOTES.
Lord Shannon,	7	Burton Conyngham,	2
Lord Loftus,	7	Mr. Tighe,	4
Duke of Leinster,	4	Duke of Devonshire,	3
Lord Hillsborough,	4	Mr. Conolly,	4
Lord Granard,	4	Marquis Waterford,	1
Lord Clifden,	4		

No. XCVII.

A Bill for Amending and Improving the State of the Representation of the People in Parliament. (P. 452.)

WHEREAS the state of the representation of the people in parliament is greatly defective, and it would tend much to protect the liberty of the subject, and to preserve our excellent constitution, if the people of this realm were more fairly and equally represented in parliament.

Be it enacted, by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from, and after the expiration or dissolution of this present parliament, the number of knights to be elected and returned to represent each county within this kingdom in any future parliament to be hereafter holden and kept within this realm, be three instead of two knights, as heretofore used and accustomed, and for that end and purpose the freeholders in each and every county within this kingdom, (who have by law a right to vote for members to serve in parliament, and none other) are hereby authorized, empowered, and required, at every general election, to be hereafter holden for members to serve in parliament, to chuse or elect three persons to serve as knights or representatives in parliament for said county, which said three persons so elected shall be duly returned as knights or members to serve in parliament for the county; and the said knights

knights or members so elected and returned, shall from henceforth have, possess, and enjoy all the rights, powers, authorities and privileges, which are possessed and enjoyed by the knights, who now sit in parliament within this realm.

And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the expiration or dissolution of this present parliament, the number of citizens to be elected and returned to represent the city of Dublin in parliament shall be three; and that the number of citizens to be elected and returned to represent the city of Cork in parliament, shall be three; and for that end and purpose, the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, who are by law entitled to vote for members to serve in parliament, and none other, are hereby authorized, empowered, and required, at every general election to be hereafter holden for members to serve in parliament for the said city, from and after the period aforesaid, to chuse and elect three persons to serve as citizens or representatives in parliament for the said city of Dublin; and the freemen and freeholders of the said city of Cork, are hereby authorized and required, at every general election to be hereafter holden for members to serve in parliament for the said city, to chuse and elect three persons to be citizens or representatives in parliament for the city of Cork; and the said three persons so chosen and elected as members for the said city of Dublin, shall be duly returned as members to serve in parliament for the said city; and persons so chosen and elected for the said city of Cork, shall be only returned as members to serve in parliament for the said city; and all the said several citizens so elected and returned to serve in parliament, shall from thenceforth have, possess, and enjoy, all the rights, powers, authorities, and privileges which are now possessed and enjoyed by any citizen or citizens already elected and returned to sit in parliament.

Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall be deemed or taken to give to any city or town within this kingdom, which now is, or hereafter shall be made a county of a city, or a county of a town, a right or power of its so being a county of a city or a county of a town, to chuse and elect more than two members to serve in parliament for such city or town, it being the intent and meaning of this act, to give and grant the said power of electing and returning three members to serve in parliament to each of the thirty-two counties into which this kingdom is now divided, and to the cities of Dublin and Cork, and to no other counties, cities, or towns whatsoever.

And be it hereby further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that when in
any.

any future parliament, to be hereafter holden and kept within this realm, any vacancy shall happen to arise during the continuance of the said parliament, by the death or expulsion of all, or any of the said persons so returned to serve in parliament for any of the said counties, or for either of the said cities of Dublin or Cork, or in case all or any of the said persons so returned, shall be afterwards declared and adjudged not duly elected, pursuant to the laws now in force in this kingdom, for the trial of petitions or controverted elections; or in case that from any other cause whatsoever, the seat or seats in parliament of all or any of the said three persons so elected and returned, shall become vacant, in every such case, a new writ or new writs shall issue to the returning officer of the said county or counties, and of the said city or cities respectively, for the purpose of electing and returning one or more person or persons, (as the case may require) in the room or stead of him or them, whose seat or seats have so become vacant, in the same manner as writs now issue to supply the vacancy of any seat or seats in parliament, and thereupon the freeholders of said city or cities, who by law are authorized to vote for members to serve in parliament, shall respectively proceed to choose and elect one or more person or persons, (as the writ shall direct) to represent the said county or city in parliament, in the stead or room of such person or persons, whose seats have become vacant as aforesaid; and said person or persons so chosen and elected, shall be duly returned as a member or members to serve in parliament for said county or city, and so on from time to time as any vacancy shall happen to arise during the continuance of the said parliament.

And whereas, enlarging the districts of the several cities and borough towns within this kingdom, would tend to render their elections of citizens and burgesses to serve in parliament, much more free and independent;

Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the expiration or dissolution of this present parliament, the limits or precincts of every city, borough, town, or manor, having a right to send members to parliament, shall, for the purposes of this act, only extend, and be deemed and taken to extend to a space or distance of four miles from the said city, borough, town, and manor, which space or distance is to be measured by a line to be drawn from some one place within the said city, borough, town, or manor, as near the center of the present site of the said city, borough, town, or manor, as conveniently as may be done, and to extend in every direction to a distance of four miles from the said place, and no further, so as thereby to make the circuit

cuit of the district round the city, borough, town, or manor, equal to twenty-four miles in circumference, or thereabouts, and which space contained within the said circuit shall be for the purposes of this act deemed and taken as the district of the city, borough, town, or manor.

Provided always, that where any city, borough, town, or manor, having a right to send members to serve in parliament, shall be so situate, as that a line of four miles cannot conveniently be drawn or measured in the manner herein before directed, by reason of the vicinity of some other city, borough, town, or manor, having also a right to send members to serve in parliament, or by reason of the proximity of the sea, then and in every such case, a certain district shall be measured from the most central place within the said city, borough, town, or manor, in such direction as can be best and most conveniently done, and which shall be equal, or as nearly as may be to a space contained within a circumference of twenty-four miles, and which space shall be marked out and allotted as and for the district of the said city, borough, town, or manor, situate as aforesaid, so as in all cases to give to every city, borough, town, or manor, having a right to send members to parliament, a district thereto appertaining equal to twenty-four miles in circumference.

And for the better ascertaining the limits and boundaries of the several districts aforesaid, and in order to prevent all controversy relative thereto ;

Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the passing of this act, the speaker of the House of Commons shall issue his order or warrant to the sheriffs of the several counties in this kingdom, commanding the said sheriffs to trace and mark out boundaries of the several districts, which are to be allotted to each city, borough, town, or manor, lying within the said county, pursuant to the true intent and meaning of this act ; and the said sheriffs shall, within three months after the receipt of the said order or warrant, fix and ascertain the boundaries of the district appertaining unto every such city, borough, town, or manor, lying within the said county, according to the directions in this act contained ; and the said sheriff, for the said purpose, shall summon and impanel a jury of twelve freeholders of ten pounds freehold, lying within the said county, but not in the barony, in which the said city, borough, town, or manor lies, which said jury shall perambulate the said boundaries, together with the said sheriff, and allot the said several districts by metes and bounds ; for which end and purpose, the said sheriffs shall employ one or more skilful surveyors to attend upon the said jury and
mark

mark out the several districts as aforesaid ; and after the said jury shall have allotted and marked out the said district by plain and distinct metes and bounds in the manner directed by this act, the said sheriff shall make a return of the allotment of the said several districts, specifying therein the exact metes and bounds as ascertained by the said jury, and lodge the same with the clerk of the Crown and Hanaper, on or before the twenty-fifth day of December next.

And to the end that a full jury of freeholders may be had for the purpose aforesaid, the sheriff of the county shall issue his summons to twenty-four freeholders, of ten pounds freehold at the least, within the said county, (out of which twelve shall be struck by the said sheriff), commanding them to attend him at the time and place therein mentioned, (giving fourteen days notice thereof), for the purpose of allotting the district as aforesaid, and therein specifying the name of the city, borough, town, or manor, whose district is to be allotted.

Provided always, that each jury so impanelled, shall ascertain and allot the district of one such city, borough, town, or manor, and no more ; and if any of the freeholders shall neglect to attend on the said summons without reasonable cause of excuse, to be allowed by the said sheriff, he is hereby authorized to impose on the said person so absenting himself, a fine of twenty pounds, which said fine shall be returned and certified into his majesty's court of exchequer, and thereupon process shall issue for the levying thereof as is usual in cases of fines due to his majesty.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that each of the said twelve freeholders so impanelled as a jury, shall take the oath following, which the said sheriff is hereby empowered to administer.

“ I, A. B. do solemnly swear that I will, to the best of my skill and judgment, without favor or partiality to any person whatsoever, mark out and allot the district for the city or town of (here naming the city, town, or manor) pursuant to the act, in that case made and provided.”

And to the end that a proper fund may be provided for the expences attending the marking out the districts aforesaid :

Be it hereby enacted, that the sheriff shall return to the grand jury of the said county, an exact estimate of the expences attending the marking out and allotting the said district, allowing to every juror attending thereupon, the sum of one pound per day, and to the surveyor or surveyors such sum as the
sheriff

sheriff shall think fit, not exceeding the sum of for which said sums the grand jury of the said county is authorised and required to make a presentment, to be levied in the same manner as all other presentments of grand juries are raised and levied.

Be it further enacted, that when the district of the said city, town, borough, or manor, shall be so allotted and marked out as aforesaid, every freeholder who shall be seised of a freehold of ten pounds value within the said district, shall have a right to vote for members to serve in parliament for the said city, borough, town, or manor, any former usage to the contrary notwithstanding; provided always, that the said person so claiming a right to vote at the said election, shall have been seised of his freehold one whole year, before the teste of the writ which issued for holding the said election, and shall have registered his freehold six months before the teste of the said writ, pursuant to the act made in the year of his present majesty for the due registering of freeholds.

And to the end that no partial allotments of said districts may be made:

Be it further enacted, that in case any three or more freeholders of ten pounds freehold, lying within the said district, shall conceive themselves aggrieved by the allotment of the said district in manner aforesaid, it shall be lawful for the said freeholders to present a petition to the House of Commons, complaining of the said allotment, thereby setting forth the grounds of the said complaint, and the merits of the said petition shall be referred to the determination of a committee of fifteen members of the House of Commons, to be chosen by ballot, and struck in the same manner, and subject to the same rules as committees are now chosen for the trial of petitions upon controverted elections; and the said committee so chosen shall have full power and authority to summon all persons before them, and to examine witnesses upon oath as to matters thereby referred unto them; and the members of the said committee, as soon as they shall have been chosen as aforesaid, shall, at the table of the House of Commons, take the oath following:

“ I, A. B. do solemnly swear that I will fairly and impartially try the merits
“ of the petition now to be referred, according to the best of my skill and
“ judgment. So help me God.”

And be it further enacted, that the said committee shall forthwith proceed to examine into the merits of the said petition, and shall either annul or con-

firm the said allotment of the said district as to them shall seem just; which judgment of the said committee shall be final and conclusive.

Provided always, that the said committee shall have all the powers and authorities as to the trial of the said petition, and their proceedings shall in all cases be governed by the same rules and regulations as are prescribed by the laws now in force for the trial of petitions upon controverted elections.

And in case the said committee shall annul and make void the said allotment of the district aforesaid, then a new allotment shall be made of said district in the manner herein before prescribed, for which purpose the speaker of the House of Commons shall issue his order or warrant as aforesaid to the sheriff of said county, who shall proceed to make a new allotment of the district as before prescribed.

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the
of no person who shall be elected and admitted to the freedom of any corporation in any city or town corporate, shall, by virtue of such election and admission, have a right to vote for members to serve in parliament for the said city or town corporate, unless the said person shall have been seised of a freehold tenement of the value of five pounds by the year within the said city or town corporate, upon which he or his family shall have resided for one whole year before the time of such election and admission.

Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend to any person or persons who is or are admitted, or who have a right to their freedom by reason of birth, marriage, or service to any trade or calling, but all such rights shall remain in full force as if this act had not been made.

Be it further enacted, that every freeman or freeholder voting for a member to serve in parliament for the said city, borough, town, or manor, shall (if required by any other person having a right to vote at said election) take the oath following:

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Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that each and all the inhabitant or inhabitants of every city, borough, or town corporate, having a right to send members to serve in parliament, who reside within the precincts or district of the said city, borough, or town corporate, as prescribed by this act, and who shall have exercised any of the following trades or callings for five years within the districts aforesaid, shall, from and after the day of
have

have a right to vote and be admitted to vote at the election of any representative or representatives to be chosen to represent said city, borough, or towns corporate, in parliament.

And be it further enacted, that every person who shall be returned as a member to serve in parliament from and after the day of shall, before he be admitted to his seat in parliament, take the oath following:

“ I do solemnly swear, that I have not directly or indirectly, procured my
“ election and return to parliament by the means of any sum or sums of mo-
“ ney whatsoever, or by any promise of any pecuniary reward whatsoever,
“ and that I have not authorised any person whatsoever, for procuring me
“ to be elected and returned a member to serve in parliament, and that if any
“ such promise hath been made on my behalf, I will not ratify or make good
“ the same. “ So help me God.”

Provided always, that nothing in this act contained, shall extend or in any wise be deemed or taken to extend to the cities of Waterford, Kilkenny, Limerick, Londonderry, and town of _____ but that all their rights, franchises and privileges, limits and precincts, shall remain and continue as if this act had not been made.

No. XCVIII.

Kildare Resolutions against the Defenders. (P. 537.)

AT a meeting of the county Kildare, held at Naas, the 24th July, 1795,
in pursuance of public notice,

The HIGH SHERIFF in the Chair.

WHEREAS, on Monday the 13th instant, as Sir Fenton Aylmer, Bart. high sheriff of the said county, attended by Wogan Browne, Michael Aylmer, and Thomas Ryan, Esqrs. justices of the peace of the said county, was conducting two persons charged with having committed high treason, by administering an oath to be true to the French; and with them, several other prisoners, from Kilcock to his majesty's gaol of Naas, an armed mob, consisting of several hundreds, assembled in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of rescuing the said prisoners; and although intimidated from attempting the

intended rescue, did, (while the said sheriff and magistrates were escorting the prisoners) administer unlawful oaths to many of the inhabitants of the said county, and did plunder several houses of arms and ammunition, and did publicly declare vengeance against the said sheriff and magistrates, which threat they afterwards endeavoured to carry into execution against Thomas Ryan, Esq. one of the said magistrates, on the evening of the said day, three several parties having lain in wait at three different parts of the road by which the said Ryan was to return home, in order to assassinate him, and each party having fired several shots at him, whereby he was severely wounded in the head.

Now, we, the magistrates, gentlemen, freeholders and inhabitants of said county, do hereby offer a reward of 300*l.* to any one who shall discover the person that fired the said shot, whereby the said Ryan was wounded, and the sum of 50*l.* for each and every of the persons who lay in wait for the above mentioned infernal purpose, and fired a shot at the said Ryan, so as that he, she, or they shall be convicted of the same within nine months. And we do hereby promise a reward of 30*l.* to every person who shall discover to any of the subscribing magistrates, the names of any of the persons who have administered, or shall administer any unlawful oath within this county, or who have taken, or shall forcibly take any arms, or attack or fire into any house, provided the person so discovered shall be convicted of said offence, within the time aforesaid; and also, an ample and adequate reward to any person who shall give information to any of the magistrates aforesaid, of any meetings of Defenders intended to be held, or of any other matter or thing, which shall be deemed deserving of reward by the committee hereby appointed, and we promise that the names of such persons shall not be made known.

And we hereby return our thanks to the parochial clergy of this county, for the zeal which they have already shewn in detecting and exposing the fallacy of the contrary doctrine, and we entreat a continuation of their exertions in the same useful purpose. And in order to defray the said expences, we promise to pay the sums annexed to our names, as we shall be called upon for the same, and we appoint the justices of the peace of the said county, to be a committee to receive subscriptions, to dispose of the money subscribed in promoting the purposes of this meeting, and to apply to all persons possessed of property in the county, for their assistance and contribution, and that ten per cent. be paid down.

And

And we do hereby appoint the following magistrates—Sir Fenton Aylmer, Bart. John Wolfe, Wogan Browne, Arthur Burdett, Michael Aylmer, Theobald Wolfe, John Montgomery and Thomas Ryan, Esqrs. to be a committee, to judge of the propriety of claims, and to pay rewards, any three of them acting together, to be empowered to draw on Messrs. Finlay and Co. at whose house the amount of the several subscriptions is to be deposited.

And as it appears to us, that the introduction of that execrable spirit of outrage, (which has disgraced so great a portion of this kingdom) into our hitherto peaceable and happy county, and which by promises which cannot be effected, and systems which cannot be realized, has deluded many honest, and otherwise well-disposed persons, must be promoted and extended by exertions on the part of the enemies of our country ;

And as the avowed object of the persons then conducting to prison, and who appear to be leaders of the Defenders, is to support and unite with the enemies of our king and country, we think it necessary for us to declare our determined resolution, at all times, and at every personal risk, and by every influence and power of property, to maintain our king, our constitution, and our laws, against any attack whatever ; that we will give effectual protection, which the military aid afforded us by government enables us to promise to all persons who may be in danger from their opposition to, and exertions against the said persons styled Defenders ; and that we will use our best endeavors to procure the compensation which the grand juries are authorized to make by presentment, for all injuries sustained by them in their property or persons.

And that if any person shall, notwithstanding (without obvious necessity) submit to any of the illegal requisitions of the said Defenders, or shall withhold any material information from the magistracy, we do hereby declare our determination by every means in our power to shew our disapprobation of such conduct. That we will in private life consider the exertions of individuals as entitled to our warmest thanks, and the supineness of any gentleman or man of property, as deserving (under these circumstances) of a loss of private esteem and public character. We use this opportunity to recommend to our countrymen, dependents or not, sworn or unsworn, to enquire, without taking our word, from their pastors or well-informed friends, whether an oath to do an unlawful act, taken voluntarily or by compulsion, be binding or not ; we declaring upon our conviction, and upon our honors that it is not binding on any man, and that however he may have offended against his

his religion by the indiscretion of his oath, his guilt would be increased by keeping it; and in order that all persons may be apprized of the laws, touching the said unlawful proceedings, we recommend it to the committee to procure printed extracts of the same, to be dispersed throughout the county.

That the thanks of this county are due to Sir Fenton Aylmer, Bart. our worthy high sheriff; and to the Reverend John Walfsh, Wogan Browne, Michael Aylmer, and Thomas Ryan, Esqrs. who assisted the said sheriff, in repelling the attack made upon the peace of this county, by those miscreants, called Defenders! That those our resolutions be published in the public papers. That the thanks of this county be given to Captain Burke, of the North Mayo militia, for his very zealous and spirited conduct, in apprehending O'Connor, and four other persons, now in custody.

The high sheriff having quitted the chair, and Lord Mayo being called thereto, the thanks of the county were given to Sir Fenton Aylmer, Bart. for his proper conduct in the chair, and in his having so speedily convened the county.

SUBSCRIBERS.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Leinster	200	0	0	James Spencer	100	0	0
Mayo	100	0	0	John Tyrrell	100	0	0
Harberton	100	0	0	John Digby	100	0	0
Fenton Aylmer	100	0	0	C. Nangle	100	0	0
John Hort	100	0	0	Thomas Burgh	50	0	0
M. B. S. L. Keating, Esq.	100	0	0	Robert Latouche	50	0	0
John Wolfe	100	0	0	John Latouche	50	0	0
Sim. Digby	100	0	0	John Montgomery	50	0	0
Arthur Burdett	100	0	0	John Taylor	50	0	0
R. Finlay	100	0	0	D. W. O'Reilly	50	0	0
Wogan Browne	100	0	0	Thomas Tickell	50	0	0
Michael Aylmer	100	0	0	E. Fitzgerald	50	0	0
Theobald Wolfe	100	0	0	Robert Bayley	50	0	0
Ambrose Farrel	100	0	0	Eyre Powell, Esq.	50	0	0
John Latouche	100	0	0	Thomas Fitzgerald	50	0	0
Edward Hendrick	100	0	0	Charles Palmer	50	0	0
M. D. Cramer	100	0	0	John Esmond	50	0	0
R. Griffith	100	0	0	Richard Dease	50	0	0

Walter

Walter Dowdall	50	0	0	Henry Stammer	22	15	0
Charles Aylmer	50	0	0	Thomas Tyrrell	22	15	0
Thos. Js. Rawson	50	0	0	Samuel Yeates	22	15	0
R. Bookey	34	2	6	John Toole	11	7	6
Rev. Dean Keatinge	22	15	0	Rev. James Slater	11	7	6
Rev. J. Cramer	22	15	0	Rev. K. Burrowes	11	7	6
Rev. J. Walsh, rector of				Richard Evans	11	7	6
Kilcock	22	15	0	William Eustace	11	7	6
J. M'Mahon	22	15	0	J. Hill Farange	11	7	6
James Esmond	22	15	0	H. Eyre Lindey	11	7	6
Robert Aylmer	22	15	0	George Chapman	11	7	6
John Fitzgerald	22	15	0	Edward Read	11	7	6
John Fish	22	15	0	C. Vierpyl	11	7	6
Samuel Mills	22	15	0	Joseph Atkinson	11	7	6
Robert Montgomery	22	15	0	Leonard Phepoe	11	7	6
James Hufley	22	15	0	M. Donnellan	11	7	6
William Wolfe	22	15	0	J. Walsh	5	13	9

No. XCIX.

Lord Viscount Gosford's Address to the Grand Jury of Armagh. (Page 554.)

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING requested your attendance here this day, it becomes my duty to state the grounds, upon which I thought it advisable to propose this meeting, and at the same time to submit to your consideration a plan which occurs to me as most likely to check the enormities that have already brought disgrace upon this county, and may soon reduce it into deep distress. It is no secret, that a persecution, accompanied with all the circumstances of ferocious cruelty, which have in all ages distinguished that dreadful calamity, is now raging in this county. Neither age nor sex, or even acknowledged innocence as to any guilt in the late disturbances, is sufficient to excite mercy, much less to afford protection.

The only crime which the wretched objects of this ruthless persecution are charged with, is a crime, indeed, of easy proof; it is simply a profession of the

Roman

Roman Catholic faith, or an intimate connexion with a person professing this faith. A lawless banditti have constituted themselves judges of this new species of delinquency, and the sentence they have denounced is equally concise and terrible ! It is nothing less than a confiscation of all property, and an immediate banishment. It would be extremely painful, and surely unnecessary, to detail the horrors that attend the execution of so rude and tremendous a proscription,—a proscription that certainly exceeds in the comparative number of those it consigns to ruin and misery, every example that ancient and modern history can supply : for where have we heard, or in what story of human cruelties have we read of more than half the inhabitants of a populous country deprived at one blow of the means as well as of the fruits of their industry, and driven, in the midst of an inclement season, to seek a shelter for themselves and their helpless families where chance may guide them. This is no exaggerated picture of the horrid scenes now acting in this county. Yet surely it is sufficient to awaken sentiments of indignation and compassion in the coldest bosoms. These horrors are now acting with impunity. The spirit of impartial justice (without which law is nothing better than an instrument of tyranny) has for a time disappeared in this county, and the supineness of the magistracy of Armagh is become a common topic of conversation in every corner of the kingdom.

It is said in reply, the Catholics are dangerous, they may be so---they may be dangerous from their numbers, and still more dangerous from their unbounded views they have been encouraged to entertain ; but I will venture to assert, without fear of contradiction, that these proceedings are not more contrary to humanity than they are to sound policy. It is to be lamented, that no civil magistrate happened to be present with the military detachment on the night of the 21st instant ; but, I trust, the suddenness of the occasion, the unexpected and instantaneous aggression on the part of the delinquents will be universally admitted as a full vindication of the conduct of the officer, and the party acting under his command. Gentlemen, I have the honor to hold a situation in this country, which calls upon me to deliver my sentiments, and I do it without fear and without disguise. I am as true a Protestant as any gentleman in this room, I inherit a property which my family derived under a Protestant title, and, with the blessing of God, I will maintain that title to the utmost of my power. I will never consent to make a sacrifice of Protestant ascendancy to Catholic claims, with whatever menace they may be urged, or
how-

however speciously or invidiously supported. Conscious of my sincerity in this public declaration, which I do not make unadvisedly, but as the result of mature deliberation, I defy the paltry insinuations that malice or party-spirit may suggest.

I know my own heart, and I should despise myself, if, under any intimidation, I could close my eyes against such scenes as present themselves on every side, or my ears against the complaints of a persecuted people.

I should be guilty of an unpardonable injustice to the feelings of gentlemen here present, were I to say more on this subject. I have now acquitted myself to my conscience and my country, and take the liberty of proposing the following resolutions :

1st. That it appears to this meeting, that the county of Armagh is at this moment in a state of uncommon disorder ; that the Roman Catholic inhabitants are grievously oppressed by lawless persons unknown, who attack and plunder their houses by night, and threaten them with instant destruction, unless they immediately abandon their lands and habitations.

2d. That a committee of magistrates be appointed to sit on Tuesdays and Saturdays in the Chapter-room in the town of Armagh, to receive information against all persons of whatever description, who disturb the peace of this county.

3d. That the instruction of the whole body of magistrates to their committee shall be to use every legal means within their power to stop the progress of the persecution now carrying on by an ungovernable mob against the Roman Catholic inhabitants of this county.

4th. That said committee, or any three of them, be empowered to expend any sum or sums of money, for information or secret service, out of the fund subscribed by the gentlemen of this county.

5th. That a meeting of the whole body of the magistracy be held every second Monday, at the house of Mr. Charles M'Reynolds, in the town of Armagh, to hear the reports of the committee, and to give such further instructions as the exigence of the case may require.

6th. That offenders of every description in the present disturbances shall be prosecuted out of the fund subscribed by the gentlemen of this county.

No. C.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR's Address to his Fellow Citizens, for which he was confined by an Order of the Privy Council. (Page 592.)

FELLOW CITIZENS,

THE Post-office is so immediately dependent on the government, that any anonymous production issuing from thence, must be looked on as coming from the administration itself; in this light I have viewed the anonymous paper which has been so industriously distributed through the post-offices of the North avowedly to deprive me of whatever share of your confidence I might have gained, and in this light I have given it an answer. Had I treated it with silent contempt, I should have hoped that its coming from an administration which had so deservedly forfeited the confidence of every Irishman, who valued the liberties of his country, would have insured me from suffering, in your estimation, from the falsehood and calumny with which it abounds; but my respect for those invaluable censors, the Press and the Public Opinion, the conscious integrity of my own heart, and the most perfect reliance on the virtue of the cause I espouse, prompt me to seize any occasion, which affords an opportunity of vindicating it or myself from the aspersions of an administration, whose heaviest charge, in their wretched production, is, that at any time of my life I had been the advocate of them or their measures. As the whole of the work is one continued issue of misrepresentation and falsehood, a plain recital of facts will be the best means of giving it a full refutation. After the question of Regency, that memorable display of the infamy and principles of the factions of Ireland, some of the most considerable of them were forced into Irish parliamentary patriotism, by being stripped of the wages of their prostitution; I accepted a seat from my uncle Lord Longueville, in the chimerical hope that this crash between the factions and the government, might be improved to the advantage of Ireland; but experience soon convinced me that nothing short of the establishment of a *national government, a total annihilation of the factions, and their usurpations, and an entire abolition of religious distinctions* could restore to my country those rights and that liberty which had been so long a subject of traffic, under a regular organized system of treason, and acting up to this conviction from the day I accepted the seat from Lord Longueville, to the day I resigned it. I earnestly entreated him to de-
clare

clare for a Reform of Parliament, and for the freedom of my Catholic countrymen. The thanks which were given me by the delegates of the Catholics of Ireland, for my defence of them and their cause, so early as 1791, and the vote which I gave for their total emancipation, against Lord Longueville and the government in the beginning of 1793, gives the lie to the assertion of administration, that I was not the advocate of Catholic freedom until my having spoke on that subject in 1795, and so wholly is it unfounded in truth, that I have exerted myself in defence of the liberties of my country, because the government refused me a commissioner's place, that although Lord Longueville repeatedly pressed me to let him procure me a commissioner's place, I as often refused it, assuring him that it was contrary to my principles to accept the money of my impoverished countrymen, for the detestable treason of betraying their rights, their industry, their manufactures and commerce: that for the bribe of a British pander I should basely contribute to aggrandize *his* country, at the expence of every thing dear to *my own*; whilst so far from bartering my principles to better my fortune, that though Lord Longueville pressed me to accept large sums of his own money, I declined them; and it is notorious he has since disinherited me for the open avowal of my political sentiments on the Catholic question. Being forced, in my own vindication, to speak of myself, I will leave you, my fellow-citizens, to judge of an administration, that by falsehood and calumny have attempted to widen a breach between me and connections that were but too widely extended before; yet whilst they have given me an opportunity of proving to you, that no consideration could induce me to abandon my principles, they shall never succeed in making me utter one unkind expression of a man, whose wishes to promote me in life, have left a grateful remembrance their malice shall never efface. Abandoned administration! who have trampled on the liberties of my country, do you presume to accuse me of dissuading my countrymen from arming to oppose an invasion, which *your's and your accomplice's crimes have provoked?* Is it that the unalienable rights of free-born men to make their laws by delegates of their choice, should be bartered and sold by usurpers and traitors, that I should persuade them to arm? Is it that our markets, our manufactures, and commerce, should be sold to that nation, which appoints our government, and distributes our patronage, that I should persuade them to arm? Is it to support the Gunpowder Bill, which deprives them of arms, or the Convention Bill, which aims at perpetuating the usurpation of rights, by proscribing the only obvious and orderly means to

regain them, that I should persuade them to arm? Is it to support the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Bill, which has destroyed the bulwark of liberty by withholding the Trial by Jury, that I should persuade them to arm? Is it to rivet the bolts or to guard the dungeons of their fellow-citizens, who, torn from their homes and their families by administration, vainly demand that Trial by Jury, which by proving their innocence must establish its guilt, that I should persuade them to arm? Is it that a vile pander of national honor and legislative duty should be invested with uncontrolled power over the opinions and persons of an injured, a gallant and generous people, that I should persuade them to arm? or to crown all, is it under the auspices of the indemnified Carhampton, I should persuade them to arm? Go, impotents, to the Catholics, whose elevated hopes of all-glorious freedom, you have been appointed to tauntingly blast, and if they should charge you with the crimes of your mission, although you cannot plead the having raised them to equal rights with their fellow-citizens, you can at least boast that you have levelled those rights to the standard of Catholic thralldom. Hence, then, contemptible administration, from those you have insulted and levelled, to those you have raised; go to the monopolists of the representation of Ireland, and ask them to arm; go to those whom the continuance of the system of corruption enables to live in affluence at the expence of that poverty and misery their treason has caused, and ask them to arm: go to those hussars of fees and exactions in the revenue, whose regular pay bears no proportion to their pillage and plunder, and command them to arm; go to attorneys and lawyers, who live by villainy, chicane and fraud, under a system of complexity, finess and fiction, at the expence and ruin of those who are forced to employ them, and tell them they ought to arm; go to those swarms of petty tyrants, perjured grand-jury jobbers, army contractors, tithe proctors and land sharks, and tell them how necessary it is for them to be armed; go to the *established* clergy, who pocket those monstrous funds for *instruding* nine-tenths of the nation, which should provide decent establishments for three such countries as Ireland, and tell them to preach to the nine-tenths who are excluded from this *glorious* half of the constitution, to arm in its defence, or ask them to blow the expiring embers of religious dissention, and I will leave it to the inhabitants of Armagh, at length recovering from delusion, to judge of their zeal in this christian-like duty. These factions, and administration, are your natural allies; these are your strength; on these you may reckon, and although as devoted to systems which should be abolished, as apostates to national rights and national honor
they

they count but too high ; thank Heaven they are as insignificant in numbers as in strength to those that are found. Although the old volunteers have been discouraged, because they boldly threw off the open avowed dominion of Britain, and that these yeomen corps have been raised to support the concealed deadly influence she has gained by corruption and treason ; although the old volunteers have been rejected because they extended the rights and liberties of their country, and that these corps have been set up to support laws subversive of both ; yet when the systematic scheme of the British minister, and of those vermin that have nestled about the throne, to frame some new modelled despotism on the ruins of freedom, by the erecting of barracks, those bills that have been passed year after year, the late contempt of that only privilege of the Commons which was left them, the granting of money, and the correspondent conduct of their creatures in this country shall have been developed to that degree, which would make resistance an indispensable duty, from my soul I believe that they would find themselves widely mistaken in the support they will meet from many of these corps they have raised. Are the people of Ireland so weak as to convert a threatened invasion from France into an expiation of the injustice, the crimes and oppression by which the temptation to make it was caused, or shall an invasion from France act like magic in changing the present ardent affection of the people of Ireland for liberty, into an unbounded display of loyalty to a system of corruption and treason, by which the most happily gifted nation on earth has been made to contain more misery than any country in the creation ? Away with delusion ! Are the people of Ireland sure that the factions and administration who so earnestly press them to arise to repel the invasion of France, are not *invaders themselves* ? Are we sure that their master and maker, the minister of Britain, has not invested them with enormous funds of corruption to which our wretchedness has been made to contribute ! Are we sure that these funds have not been distributed amongst traitors, in the heart of our island, for betraying the industry, manufactures and commerce of the people of Ireland, to aggrandize those of Great Britain ? Nay, are we not certain that every market in Great Britain is shut against every species of Irish industry, with the solitary exception of linen, whilst every manufacture of England has free access to every market in Ireland, without any exception whatever ? With these facts in our view, what Irishman can doubt that to support the worst of invasions, the invasion of *rights and commerce*, 15,000 English and Scotch have not been sent to invade

us already ? Or can we be certain that the shambles of Germany have not been resorted to, to invade us with more ? Compare the few troops they left us in the war against American freedom, when they had all Europe their foe, with the numbers they have sent us this war against the freedom of France, when they had all Europe their ally ; compare the weakness of Ireland, divided by religious dissension, *when troops were so few*, with that strength which Union has given, *when troops are so many* ; we cannot but see with whom they seek to contend. Could French invaders do worse than establish a system of pillage and treason *within*, that they may pillage and plunder *without* ? Could they do worse than reject laws a unanimous people had fought, or than pass those they detested ? Could they do worse than commit the personal liberty of the people of Ireland to two men without connection or interest in the country, without responsibility or control ? Could they do worse than withhold trials from Irish citizens cast into dungeons, to the destruction of their health, and the ruin of their property ? Could they do worse than establish military magistrates throughout the nation, and indemnify those whose unfeeling souls had torn hundreds of Irish citizens from every endearing connection in life, after depriving their habitations of every privilege due to the residence of free-born men, consigned them to the flames, turning their wives and children to beggary and famine, exiled their husbands to fight against that freedom of which they had robbed them on an element they disliked, and in a cause they abhorred ? Or could any thing be more alarming to a people who valued their liberties, than the appointment of a man, that could require such an indemnification, to be commander in chief of the army ? Or, to crown all, could any invaders do worse, that with powers to legislate for a limited time, under the form of constitutional order, destroy the constitution itself ?

In vain shall the accomplices of the author of carnage inveigh against French fraternity, as long as Ireland exhibits so melancholy a picture of the fraternity they have adopted themselves : I will not compare the systems of fraternity in the East or West Indies, adopted by England and France, but I will compare the alliance which England had formed with France, she calls her natural enemy, with that she dictates to Ireland, she calls her brother and friend. In her alliance with France, she gave what she got, and reciprocity was the equitable basis on which it was made ; whilst in her alliance with Ireland, she has taken all she could have asked or demanded, and she has given us exclusion in grateful return. On this scale of British fraternity, let her hirelings boast
of

of British connection. On this scale of British fraternity, may my country no more be cursed with the friendship of Britain! Too long a tyrant, she forgets her dominion has ceased. Too long her slaves, we must shew her we are resolved to be free! Had she ceased to maintain power by the accursed means of fomenting religious dissention; had she ceased to support factions, usurpers and traitors; had she abandoned the false illiberal notion, that she gained more by our depression than by our exaltation; had she treated us like brothers and friends, I may, with confidence affirm, a more affectionate generous ally never existed, than she would have found Ireland to her. But if the existing fraternity, my fellow citizens, be the bonds by which you wish a connection with Britain, I am not a delegate fit for your choice; for though I stood alone in the commons of Ireland, I would move the repeal of every law which binds us to England, on those or any such terms. I will neither be conquered by England or France; nor are we any more bound to a disadvantageous alliance to one than we are to the other; and before England, the factions of Ireland, and the administration, I speak it, if it is more the true interest of Ireland to form an alliance with France than with England, she is free to adopt it. The jargon of standing or falling with Britain is false: in the days that are past, we have always been down, it is time we should seek to be up! Rich in a population of 4,000,000 of a healthy intelligent people, rich in her fertile soil, rich in her harbours and navigable rivers, rich in her favorable position between the old and new worlds, rich in her insular situation, without usurping dominion over any people upon earth, what interest, what cause, what pretext can the administration of Ireland assign for the blood and the wealth they have lavished, in a war commenced in depotism, conducted in ignorance, and ending only by ruin? With 800,000 gallant citizens, able to arm, is it that the English and Scotch have more to fight for in Ireland than the Irish themselves, that we cannot be trusted with self defence? when in the unanointed republics of the Swiss, they can defy the invasion of Germany, of France, and Sardinia, those warlike and powerful nations, by which they are bounded, by that law which obliges every citizen from eighteen to sixty years old, to be provided with arms, why cannot Ireland defy the whole world by a like obligation? Why has the gunpowder act, which disarms our people, been passed? The answer is too plain for infatuation to mistake it. Happy for Ireland if the prime mover of mischief had borrowed the councils of that great and intuitive mind, England is ruined by having neglected; happy could

could he and his minions be taught, in the language and wisdom of Fox, that there is more strength to be gained by gaining the confidence of the people of Ireland, than in 40,000 of the best forces of Europe. Let them give up corruption, and they may safely disband the troops it has furnished; let them cease to narrow the limits of freedom, as the expansion of intellect demands that they should be extended; let them rest assured, that a system which cannot be supported without spies and informers, must soon be abandoned; instead of buying, of bribing, or of persecuting the press, let them strip falsehood of the advantages she gains by concealment and misrepresentation, and give to truth that light and publicity, with which she must ever prevail; let them recall those base orders throughout the post-offices, for violating the secrets of friendship, and betraying the credit of commerce; let them open the dungeons, by repealing those laws by which they are crowded; let them abolish what the chief magistrate's deputy calls the mildness of government, and give us an adequate representation for the basis of liberty, and I will stake my life on it, no nation shall ever invade us. But alas! my fellow citizens, I lament that the same infatuation, usurpation and folly, which have been so much the order of the day, will still prevent those equitable terms from being conceded: But mark me, the whole Irish fabric is supported by that of Great Britain, whose progress in ruin can only be equalled by her infatuation. If the principles of the French revolution are as wicked, as destructive, and as diabolical as the minister has represented them, why was it necessary to involve the people of England in the horrors and ruin of war, that they may not be persuaded to adopt them? Is it that the extreme of vice is so seducing, that the most violent of remedy only could prevent a wise people from rushing to meet it? And although the minister has assigned day after day, different objects, for having involved them; and that every assertion on which he has founded his arguments of the day, have been belied by the facts of the morrow. Still they have been deaf to the councils of his glorious opponent, which, as long as tradition continues must ever remain a wonderful instance of the efforts of genius and patriotism, to rescue a besotted and misguided people from ruin; but the privileged and the rich yielding to fear and corruption, have deserted this champion of liberty, to prostrate themselves at the feet of that minister it was once their province to controul: placing terror in the seat of reason, and sacrificing every species of industry to the manufacture of soldiers, they have looked to the bayonet of the mercenary for their only salvation. Pre-
sumptuous

sumptuous delusion! Do they imagine they can force back the current of public opinion? Is it by that corruption, whose necessities must increase by geometrical measure, whilst its means must decrease in the same rapid proportion? Is it by a carnage which would exhaust the creation? Is it by oaths wrung from oppression; know they not that the first oath of allegiance is from the king to the laws, the constitution and people; and that if swearing, without consideration, was binding, Charles could never have suffered, James have been excluded, nor a Brunswick have sat on the throne! We know that king, lords, and commons exist but by the people's permission; if useful, their titles can never be questioned; if not, they can never be bolstered by swearing. Vain efforts, to change the current of the human mind, like the noisy winds, which to the shallow sight, give a seeming current to the troubled face, whilst with ponderous weight great ocean moves the tide, with slow majestic pace to its predestined limits.

Altho' it were in nature to rescue Britain from impending destruction, it is not in nature that Ireland can be longer held by the disgraceful and ruinous vassalage by which she is bound. Much has been said of the loyalty of the South contrasted with that of the North; if they mean loyalty to that system of government which this administration have adopted, to the connection with England on the present conditions, to the actual state of representation, to the prostituted sale of the right to legislate in one house, by the still more prostituted sale of the right to legislate in the other, to the jobbing and perjury of grand juries, to tithes, tithe-proctors and land-pirates, to the annual exportation of two millions worth of the produce of Ireland, to pay absentees without any return, to the immoderate high rents and the low rate of wages, or to the enormous expence by which these corruptions are moved and maintained, I will answer for it, that the people of Leinster, of Munster and Connaught are as sensible of the misery and poverty these grievances have caused, and that they will go as far as the people of Ulster to get them redressed. I know the means, which have been used to persuade the Catholics in the South that the persecutions of the Catholics in the North, which have been so diabolically fomented and protected in Armagh, were the acts of the Presbyterians of the North; but I stake whatever credit I possess with my Catholic and Presbyterian countrymen, on the assurance I give to the Presbyterians that the Catholics of the South have buried in eternal oblivion all religious distinction, and in the assurance I give to the Catholics that the crimes with

which their Presbyterian countrymen stand charged, and for which so many are dungeoned at this instant, is their zeal for the union of Irishmen amongst one another without distinction of sect or religion; it is the essence of Christianity, it is the essence of all morality and cannot by human laws be abolished. Trust me, my fellow citizens, that as the minister of England perceives the dying convulsions of a country on the destructions of whose liberty he has so long supported his power, he will be obliged to change his system in Ireland of tyranny and force, into concession and conciliation; you will then see his minions exchanging the saucy flippancy with which they now insult and traduce you, into humiliation and meanness with which they will endeavour to soothe you; the insolence of the coward, the sport of the drol and the petulance of the puppy will soon evaporate into the insignificance, from whence they have risen, but let no wretched palliative induce you to ally your cause with corruption; let nothing short of a perfect representation satisfy you. With this admonition I leave you; but that I may not be suspected of seeking your confidence by any other means than the fullest disclosure of my political sentiments, I promise you, as soon as time will permit, that I will lay before you the best account of the state of our country my poor abilities will allow me to furnish. The best assurance I can give of my fidelity to you and your cause, is, that I believe in a better order of things; that those who violate the property and rights of others will forfeit their own, whilst those who respect the rights and property of others will be certain to have their's respected in turn. With these sentiments, knowing that you had wisely determined never to interfere any more in elections, under the system of corruption and undue influence, I have offered my services to use every means in my power to effect its destruction, and finding that from the monopoly of one aristocratic faction or other yours was the only place of popular election I could hope to succeed in.

Think it not presumptuous, my countrymen, that one who loves liberty should seek her in the only asylum she has left; think it not presumptuous, my fellow-citizens, that one who will never out-live the threatened liberties of his country, should seek an advanced post where he may triumph in her cause, or fall in her defence. In contempt of calumny, united with you in brotherly love and affection and in the glorious cause of reform, I will ever remain your faithful friend and fellow-citizen.

Belfast, Jan. 20, 1797.

ARTHUR O'CONNOR.

No.

No. CI.

*By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland,—A Proclamation.
(Page 599.)*

CAMDEN,

WHEREAS by an act of parliament passed in this kingdom in the thirty-sixth year of his majesty's reign, entitled, "An act for more effectually suppressing insurrections and preventing the disturbance of the public peace," it is enacted, that it shall be lawful, for the justices of the peace of any county assembled at a special session in manner by the said act directed, not being fewer than seven or the major part of them, one of whom to be of the quorum, if they see fit upon due consideration of the state of the county, to signify by memorial, by them signed, to the lord lieutenant or other chief governor or governors in this kingdom, that they consider their county or any part thereof to be in a state of disturbance or in immediate danger of becoming so, and praying, that the lord lieutenant and council may proclaim such county or part thereof to be in a state of disturbance, thereupon it shall be lawful for the lord lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom by and with the advice of his majesty's privy council, by proclamation to declare such county or any part of such county, to be in a state of disturbance or in immediate danger of becoming so, and also, such parts of any adjoining county or counties as such chief governor or governors shall think fit, in order to prevent the continuance or extension of such disturbance.

And whereas, nineteen justices of the peace of the county of Londonderry, several of them being of the quorum, being the major part of the justices of the peace duly assembled, pursuant to the said act, at a special session of the peace holden at Dunguinen, in the said county, on Wednesday the fourth day of this instant January, have by a memorial, by them signed, signified to his excellency the lord lieutenant, that certain parts of the said county are in a state of disturbance or in imminent danger of becoming so, and have thereby prayed, that the lord lieutenant and council may proclaim the parish of Bannagher, situate in the Barony of Kenaght, and half Barony of Tirkceran, the parish of Beneagh, the parish of Dunguinen, and the parish of Baeleagh situate

in the Barony of Kenaght, all which parishes are of said county, to be in a state of disturbance or in imminent danger of becoming so.

Now we, the lord lieutenant do by and with the advice of his majesty's privy council in pursuance of and by the authority to us given by the said act of parliament, by this our proclamation, declare the said parish of Banaghe, situate in the half Barony of Keenaght, and half Barony of Tirkeerin, the parish of Beveagh, the parish of Dunguien, and the parish of Baeleagh, situate in the Barony of Keenaght, being part of the said county of Londonderry, to be in a state of disturbance or in immediate danger of becoming so, of which all justices of the peace and other magistrates and peace officers of the said county of Londonderry, and all others whom it may concern, are to take notice.

Given at the council chamber in Dublin, the 7th day of January, 1797.

W. Armagh	O'Neil	A. Wolfe
Clare, C.	Carleton	R. Ross
R. Dublin	Yelverton	S. Hamilton
W. Tuam	J. Beresford	R. Ross
Bellamont	H. Langrish	L. Morris.
Clonmell	H. Cavendish	
Perry	D. Latouche	

God save the King!

No. CII.

Doctor Francis Moylan, to his beloved Flock, the Roman Catholics of the Diocese of Cork. - (Page 606.)

AT a moment of such general alarm and consternation, it is a duty I owe to you, my beloved flock. to recall to your minds the sacred principles of loyalty, allegiance and good order, that must direct your conduct on such an awful occasion. Charged as I am, by that blessed Saviour, whose birth with grateful hearts, we on this day solemnize, with the care of your souls, interested beyond expression in your temporal and eternal welfare, it is incumbent on me to exhort you to that peaceable demeanor, which must ever mark his true and faithful disciples.

Loyalty

Loyalty to the sovereign, and respect for the constituted authorities, have been always the prominent features in the Christian character, and by patriotism and obedience to the established form of government, have our ancestors been distinguished at times, and under circumstances very different from these in which we have the happiness to live. For, blessed be God, we are no longer strangers in our native land, no longer excluded from the benefits of the happy constitution under which we live, no longer separated by odious distinctions from our fellow subjects. To our gracious sovereign we are bound by the concurring principles of gratitude and duty, and to all our fellow citizens by mutual interest and Christian charity.

Under these circumstances, it is obvious what line of conduct you are to adopt, if the invaders, who are said to be on our coasts, should make good their landing, and attempt to penetrate into our country. To allure you to a co-operation with their views, they will not fail to make specious professions, that their only object is to emancipate you from the pretended tyranny under which you groan; and to restore you those rights, of which they will say you are deprived.

You, my good people, whom I particularly address, who are strangers to passing occurrences, had you known in what manner they fulfilled similar promises in the unfortunate countries into which, on the faith of them, they gained admittance, you would learn caution from their credulity, and distrust men who have trampled on all laws, human and divine; Germany, Flanders, Italy, Holland, to say nothing of their own, once the happiest, now the most miserable, country in the world, can attest the irreparable ruin, desolation and destruction, occasioned by French fraternity.

Be not deceived by the lure of equalizing property, which they will hold out to you, as they did to the above-mentioned people; for the poor, instead of getting any part of the spoil of the rich, were robbed of their own little pittance.

Be not then imposed on by their professions; they come only to rob, plunder and destroy. Listen not to their agitating abettors in this country, who endeavour by every means, to corrupt your principles, but join heart and hand with all the virtuous and honest members of the community, who are come forward with distinguished patriotism, as well to resist the invading foe, as to counteract the insidious machinations of the domestic enemies and unnatural children, who are seeking to bring on their native country the ruin and untold

told evils that flow from anarchy and confusion. Obey the laws that protect you in your persons and properties; reverence the magistrate entrusted with their execution, and display your readiness to give him every assistance in your power.

Act thus, my beloved brethren, from a principle of conscience, and you will thereby ensure the favor of your God, and the approbation of all good men; whereas a contrary conduct will draw down inevitable ruin on you here, and eternal misery hereafter.

I shall conclude with this simple reflection, if the sway of our impious invaders were here established, you would not, my beloved people, enjoy the comfort of celebrating this auspicious day with gladness and thanksgiving, nor of uniting with all Christians on earth, and with the celestial spirits in heaven, in singing, Glory to God on high, and on earth peace to men of good will!

25th December, 1796.

Doctor Caulfield, having attentively perused and considered the foregoing seasonable address of the worthy Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork to his flock, last Christmas day, on the truly alarming report of an hostile invasion of this country by the French, and observing that the safety, the interest and duty of the people are so strongly and pathetically pressed and inculcated in it, most gladly adopts the same, and most zealously recommends the important subject, the pious spirit and loyal orthodox doctrine of it, to the serious consideration and practical notice of the Roman Catholics of the diocese of Ferns; with great confidence in their principles as Christians and subjects, that nothing shall ever warp or make them deviate from the indispensable line of conduct pointed out therein.

Wexford, Jan. 7, 1797.

JAMES CAULFIELD.

No. CIII.

The Appeal of the People of Ulster to their Countrymen, and to the Empire at large. (Page 618.)

IRISHMEN!

OUR best citizens are entombed in Bastiles or hurried on board Tenders; our wives and our children are become the daily victims of an uncontrouled and licentious foreign soldiery!

Irishmen!

Irishmen! Ulster, one of your fairest provinces, containing one-third of the population of the land. Ulster, hitherto the pride and strength of Ireland, is proclaimed, and put under the ban of martial law! The executive government of the country has sentenced us to military execution, without trial, and the legislature of the country has sanctioned this illegal act without enquiry! The constituted authorities of the land, (without condescending to examine into the existence of our grievances, the truth of the outrages alleged against us, or the nature of the circumstances that may have provoked them,) have stigmatized us as objects of terror to the rest of Ireland, and of horror to the rest of Europe!

What, you will naturally ask, are your crimes? Hear them: Our enemies say, that under the appellation of United Irishmen, and by means of illegal oaths, we have established and organized a horrid system of murder, that we are the avowed enemies of all order and good government, and finally, that our ultimate object is pillage, massacre, and plunder! Countrymen! these charges are false! they are malevolent! for the only proof which our accusers have pretended to adduce in their support is, that in one whole province, where the servants of government have, for the last four years, by a system of premeditated persecution, endeavoured to drive the people into insurrection, a few individuals, who had rendered themselves notorious by their vindictive pursuit of this system, have, during the last six months, lost their lives. We do not defend these outrages; they give us more real grief than they do to our enemies.

But, how has it happened that the same horror was not expressed by the same persons, when a civil war was for two years carrying on in the county of Armagh, against the Catholics, supported by magisterial exertions, and as it was said, by ministerial connivance? Do you not know, countrymen, that these cruel persecutions were carried on by men, not only enjoying impunity, but boasting that they were acting under the authority of government. Do you not know that the same system of tyranny and terror has been enforced with various success in almost every part of the north? that Belfast has been dragooned? that our most virtuous inhabitants have been nearly decimated? that magistrates have frequently issued forth, by day and by night, at the head of parties of the army, to scour the country, to burn the houses, and imprison the persons of those who are suspected to love liberty? Can you then wonder, if men, who have made themselves peculiarly obnoxious by their cruelties, should

should sometimes fall victims to individual vengeance? However, you may lament in common with us, can you be surprised if the son, whose father has been torn from his family and illegally imprisoned, or carried on board the fleet; if the husband, whose wife has been dragged from her lying-in-bed, at the hour of midnight, and thrown into the street to see her house burned before her eyes; if the father, whose property has been destroyed, and his children cast out into want and misery; can you be surprised even if men, who are daily witnesses to such transactions, without redress and without the shadow of legal authority, and who are themselves suffering under a grinding persecution, the acts of which cannot be easily particularised, but which, by its unceasing operation, crushes and destroys; can you be surprised, if men thus situated, determined not to be forced into insurrection, should seek to alluage their revenge, and vainly hope to stop the current of general calamity by the assassination of the most atrocious of their persecutors? Do not, we beseech you, falsely impute their acts to the moral depravity of any body of men: No; if the hands of the inhabitants of the North were not restrained by the strongest ties of duty and religion, the highest heads and most overbearing spirits of our oppressors would have long since expiated their tyranny.

We have told you, countrymen, the charges exhibited against us, hear now the facts, and for the truth of them we solemnly appeal to the searcher of hearts. We are under an obligation (and we glory in it) to promote a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen of every religious persuasion. We are united in an organised system, not to promote murder, but to promote peace; not to destroy persons and property, but to save both from destruction. Lastly, beloved countrymen! we are most solemnly pledged, (a pledge we will never forfeit,) to co-operate with you in every temperate and rational measure for obtaining the freedom of our country, by a full and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland, without regard to religious distinctions.

These are the crimes of Ulster. They are the common crimes of Ireland. How should it be otherwise, when they arise from the duty we owe to our country and to our God? Yes, Irishmen! the sacred flame has become general? That which originated in Antrim, has been reverberated from Cork, and all the intermediate space from Wicklow to Mayo glows with the same enthusiasm. It has been our glory to raise the abutments, to you belongs the still more glorious task of crowning the arch.

Our intentions have been, and still are to obtain the great objects of our pursuit,

pursuit, through the means of calm discussion, and their own unquestionable justice. The common enemy knows, that these are the most powerful and irresistible weapons. It is, therefore, that they have practised upon us a system of reiterated aggression, unparalleled in the history of civilized nations, for the purpose of goading us into insurrection, or driving us into despair. They have hitherto failed, and they will still fail, thanks to that bountiful Being who has endued us with patience as well as courage.

We can even yet endure for our country's sake. But, countrymen! is there not a point, beyond which forbearance becomes a crime, and human nature is incapable of enduring? Shall we be forced beyond that point? If we should, our poor and feeble oppressors would find, that United Ireland could, in an instant, trample them to dust.

To our national armed force, whether militia or yeomanry, we peculiarly appeal. Soldiers! when you took up arms to defend your country, did you intend to turn them against your countrymen? Was it to raise the Catholic against the Protestant, and the Protestant against the Catholic that you arrayed? Was it to support an administration which has brought your country to the verge of destruction, by a wicked war against liberty abroad, and a still more wicked war against liberty at home, that you swore allegiance? If you should ever, with parricidal hearts, turn your arms against your fellow-citizens, whose only crime is their patriotism, would you not feel that you were guilty of treason, rebellion and perjury against your king, your country, and your God? Think then in time, remember you are Irishmen! Remember that you must shortly answer for every act of murder, or even pillage that you might be induced, by unjust orders, to commit, before that Being who is the avenger of the oppressed.

To the British nation we also appeal! Is it criminal, Britons! to follow the example of your renowned ancestors? If you feel the defects in your representation, and if you are sensible that you as well as we, have been precipitated into the most wicked and destructive wars, in consequence of these defects, can you possibly blame us whose representation is infinitely more inadequate, for our peaceable exertions to remedy those defects? Shall Ireland be considered as hostile, because she has caught a spark of that holy fire, which was kept alive in your island, when surrounding Europe was sunk under a barbarous despotism? But you will be told that we wish to get rid of the connection. If that connection only existed in the manifold evils, which have

been heaped upon us by the present abominable administration, we sure would wish for a separation.

But, fellow subjects, connected as we are by the ties of blood—of common language and polity—intimately connected as we are by our relative situation with each other, and with the rest of the world, as well as by our mutual wants and redundancies—so far from wishing to lessen these ties of connexion, we call upon, we entreat you to unite still farther with us in the just and necessary work of reform. We conjure you, by the manes of your Lockes, your Sidneys, your Hampdens, and your Russells, to join us in a great and united effort to save the empire from destruction by the only measure which can save it—A radical reform in the representation of the people. The removal of your present wicked ministers will only operate as a temporary relief; the cause of all our evils would still remain. Had not your minister known that his influence, owing to the defective state of our representation, enabled him to draw from Ireland 150,000 men to recruit the army, and 40,000 seamen to man the fleet of the empire, he would not so rapidly have rushed into this detestable war, which has brought you as well as us to the brink of ruin. Britons! Remember the words of the most illustrious statesman that ever adorned your country or directed your councils; of that Pitt who conducted the empire to glory abroad, whilst he cherished liberty at home. In the year 1766, when Massachusetts was charged with rebellion, as Ulster is now, “I rejoice that America has resisted,” said that great man. “Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as “voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make “slaves of the rest. If America was to fall,” continued he, “she would fall “like the strong man; she would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull “down the constitution with her. She has been wronged; she has been “driven to madness by injustice: Will you punish her for the madness you “have occasioned?” His councils succeeded---the obnoxious laws were repealed, and America sat down contented. Shortly after, the system of coercion was again resorted to, and America was lost.

Finally, we appeal to the Father of the Universe, whose almighty power we invoke to conduct us by the paths of peace, to liberty and happiness.

April 14th, 1797.

COUNTY

COUNTY ARMAGH.

Whereas I have this day received a requisition, signed by the undernamed gentlemen, to call a meeting of the nobility, gentry, clergy, and freeholders of the county. Now I do hereby appoint such meeting to be held at the session-house in Armagh, at one o'clock, on Wednesday next 19th inst.

Armagh, April 14th, 1797.

R. B. SPARROW, Sheriff,

Wm. Brownlow	Jos. Atkinson	Jas. Johnston
Caufield	J. Steele	Wm. Bisset
Wm. Richardson	John Maxwell	Samuel Close
Robert Cam. Cope	Jos. McGeough	George Perry
A. T. Stuart	A. Macan	J. Seaver
K. Cope	J. A. Hamilton	Charl. M. Warburton
Alex. Hamilton	J. Lawton	Geo. Atkinson
John Moore	Corry McConnell	K. Livingston
A. Thompson	J. Read	M. Obins.
J. Turner	Wm. Irvin	

Pursuant to the above, the most respectable meeting ever known in this county, of the nobility, gentry, clergy and freeholders, took place, the High Sheriff in the chair, the following address was agreed on (with only one dissenting voice) and being signed by the Sheriff, was given to the two county members, to be by them presented to his excellency the lord lieutenant, to transmit the same to his majesty as the sentiments of their constituents.

To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY.

SIRE,

IN the moment of calamity, in the hour of impending distress, the inhabitants of the county of Armagh, in the kingdom of Ireland, with reverence approach the throne, to express their sentiments of the highest respect and affection for your majesty's person, and unalterable attachment to the true principles of the British constitution, and to solicit your majesty, to avert from the empire that total ruin, in which a war of unexampled ferocity and misfortune has almost irretrievably involved a brave and loyal people.

With astonishment, we have beheld your majesty's ministers, obstinately persisting in a vain contest, which hath already spread through Europe, mi-

fery and devastation. At home, Sire, their conduct has been marked with greedy exaction, with avaricious and insatiable rapacity; and abroad they have manifested a prodigality unlimited, and an incapacity almost incredible.

When they first rashly precipitated the nation into this unprincipled war, they boldly predicted the destruction of the French Republic and French political principles, the extension of our own commerce and a lasting and glorious peace.

Instead of realizing these golden dreams they have, by external pressure, consolidated the heterogeneous parts of the French Republic into one solid and indissoluble body, they have disseminated French principles, with a rapidity proportioned to their efforts for exterminating them; and, having ruined our commerce, loaded us with enormous taxes, and mocked us with delusive hopes of peace, they seemed determined to wage an endless war, without resources and without any clear and defined object.

Under the guidance of these men, the power of the British empire has been diminished, and its glory and honor destroyed—perhaps for ever. They found us in possession of a commerce, co-extensive with the world; of resources, which they themselves boasted were inexhaustible; and of allies, whose combined powers they considered irresistible. Their boundless prodigality has dissipated these resources, their infatuation has estranged our allies, our commerce has dwindled into insignificance, our public credit blasted at their inauspicious touch, has shrunk into non-existence.

Your majesty's subjects of the kingdom of Ireland, bear not only a portion of those calamities, under which the constitution totters, and the whole empire groans, but labour under distresses and miseries peculiar to themselves.

We complain, Sire, that the British constitution is enjoyed by us in name only. The English cabinet is the real efficient power, which guides, directs, and actuates the Irish government. Through their influence, laws are capriciously made and repealed. Under their guidance, a system of organized corruption has established itself: their measures are carried into effect, not by arguments drawn from reason and policy, but by the efforts of venality, frontless and unblushing. Coercive laws are made and penalties inflicted, altogether disproportioned to the alleged offences. The people are goaded to madness by accumulated miseries and oppression, and if they sigh, or murmur, the sigh is treason, and the murmur death. The convention bill has taken from your majesty's subjects, even the right to complain, the last sad
refuge

refuge of distressed and suffering humanity. An enemy powerful and full of animosity, has appeared on our coasts, and in the moment of distress, our government manifested itself impotent and incapable of protecting the people: yet when the winds had providentially prevented the intended invasion, it prepared, not to resist the returning foe, but to alienate the affections of the people by despoiling them of their only protection—their arms.

Your subjects, Sire, are daily committed to prison, under the insurrection act, for frivolous causes; and, that one cruelty may be superadded to another, the habeas corpus act has been suspended, and innocent and unoffending men confined without hope of trial, liberation, or redress. The richest and most populous province in the kingdom has been, in defiance of truth and justice, stigmatized and illegally treated, as in a state of insurrection; our most useful citizens, torn from their families and dearest connexions, are without trial by jury, dragged to the fleet, like the most atrocious felons; and military coercion has taken place of common law.

Sire, we humbly submit to your consideration, that if your people were fairly and adequately represented in parliament, most of these evils would have been prevented in their very origin.

In this kingdom, three-fourths of your majesty's loyal people are aliens to many of the blessings of the constitution: the Roman Catholics exist under restrictions hostile to the common rights of mankind, and disgraceful to the age in which we live. Your majesty's ministers, Sire, ungenerously taking advantage of these restrictions, have too long propagated amongst us religious animosities, and the fiery persecutions of merciless bigotry. Against these men, at this moment, Sire, Irishmen of every religious persuasion lift up their voice with one accord: we arraign them of crimes at which humanity shudders, and from which Christianity turns an aghast eye. Of these enormities we accuse them before our country, before the whole British empire, before our king, in the face of the world, in the presence of GOD.

For these reasons, Sire, we pray your majesty to aid your people in reforming the parliament, in emancipating the Catholics, and to dismiss your present ministers from your councils for ever.

No. CIV.

Mr. Pelham's Letter to General Lake, 3d March. (P. 624.)

Dublin Castle, 3d March, 1797.

SIR,

I AM commanded by my lord lieutenant to acquaint you, that from the information received by his excellency with respect to various parts of the North of Ireland, additional measures to those hitherto employed for preserving the public peace are become necessary. It appears that in the counties of Down, Antrim, Tyrone, Derry and Donegal, secret and treasonable associations still continue to an alarming degree, and that the persons concerned in these associations are attempting to defeat all the exertions of the loyal and well-disposed, by the means of terror; that they threaten the lives of all who shall venture, from regard to their duty and oath of allegiance, to discover their treasons; that they assemble in great numbers by night, and by threats and force disarm the peaceable inhabitants; that they have fired on his majesty's justices of the peace when endeavouring to apprehend them in their nocturnal robberies; that they threaten by papers, letters and notices, the persons of those, who shall in any manner resist or oppose them; that in their nightly excursions for the purpose of disarming his majesty's loyal subjects, they disguise their persons and countenances; that they endeavour to collect great quantities of arms in concealed hiding places; that they have cut down great numbers of trees on the estates of the gentry, for the purpose of making pikes; that they have stolen great quantities of lead for the purpose of casting bullets; that they privately by night, exercise in the practice of arms; that they endeavour to intimidate persons from joining the yeomanry corps established by law, in order to resist a foreign enemy; they refuse to employ as manufacturers, those who enlist in the corps; that they not only threaten but ill-treat the persons of the yeomanry, and even attack their houses by night, and proceed to the barbarous extremity of deliberate and shocking murder, as was exemplified in their recent attack and murder by night of Mr. Comyns, of Newtownards, and that they profess a resolution to assist the enemies of his majesty, if they should be enabled to land in this kingdom. It further appears, that these disturbances and outrages exist, and
even

even increase, as well in the districts which have been proclaimed, as in other parts of the country. In order therefore to reduce the persons engaged in the aforefaid treasonable associations and guilty of the said atrocious outrages, to subordination to the laws, and to give confidence to the well-disposed among his majesty's subjects, and security to their properties and their lives, and to prevent any assistance being given to the enemy by the disloyal and disaffected, his excellency has commanded me to communicate to you his positive orders, that you take the most immediate and decisive measures for disposing of the military force under your command, aided by the yeomanry corps, for immediately disarming all persons so commissioned, or persons holding commissions, the authority of the yeomanry act, or persons acting under officers so commissioned, and after making such disposition you are desired to carry such disarming into effect.

His excellency gives you this full authority, in order to give your discretion the greatest latitude, relying at the same time on your prudence and discernment in the exercise of it, so that the peaceable and well-affected may be protected against the evil designs of those who have threatened their lives and property with destruction.

His excellency further authorizes you to employ force against any persons assembled in arms, not legally authorized so to be, to disperse all tumultuous assemblies of persons, though they may not be in arms, without waiting for the sanction and assistance of the civil authority, if in your opinion the peace of the realm, and the safety of his majesty's faithful subjects may be endangered by waiting for such authority.

His excellency further authorizes you to consider those parts of the country, where the outrages before stated have been committed, or where they shall arise, as being in a state that requires all the measures of exertion and precaution, which a country depending upon military force alone for its protection would require: and you are therefore required to station your troops with a view to interrupt communication between those whom you may have reason to suspect of evil designs; to establish patrols on the high roads or other passes, and to stop all persons passing and repassing after certain hours of the night, and in order completely to carry into effect any orders or regulations which, in the circumstances of the case may be considered by you as necessary, you are authorized to issue notices, stating the regulations, and calling upon his majesty's subjects to be aiding and assisting therein.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

T. P.
General

General Lake's Proclamation.

Belfast, March 13th, 1797.

WHEREAS the daring and horrid outrages in many parts of this province, evidently perpetrated with a view to supersede the laws and the administration of justice, by an organized system of murder and robbery, have increased to such an alarming degree, as from their atrocity and extent, to bid defiance to the civil power, and to endanger the lives and properties of his majesty's faithful subjects.

And whereas, the better to effect their traitorous purposes, several persons who have been enrolled under the authority of his majesty's commissions, and others, have been forcibly and traitorously deprived of their arms, it is therefore become indispensably necessary for the safety and protection of the well-disposed, to interpose the king's troops under my command, and I do hereby give notice, that I have received authority and directions to act in such manner as the public safety may require: I therefore hereby enjoin and require all persons in this district (peace officers and those serving in a military capacity excepted) forthwith to bring in and surrender up all arms and ammunition, which they may have in their possession, to the officer commanding the king's troops in their neighbourhood.

I trust that an immediate compliance with this order may render any act of mine to enforce it unnecessary.

Let the people seriously reflect before it is too late on the ruin, into which they are rushing; let them reflect on their present prosperity and the miseries in which they will inevitably be involved by persisting in acts of positive rebellion; let them instantly by surrendering up their arms and by restoring those traitorously taken from the king's forces, rescue themselves from the severity of military authority. Let all the loyal and well-intentioned act together with energy and spirit in enforcing subordination to the laws, and restoring tranquillity in their respective neighbourhoods, and they may be assured of protection and support from me.

And I do hereby invite all persons, who are enabled to give information touching arms and ammunition which may be concealed, immediately to communicate the same to the several officers commanding his majesty's forces in their respective districts; and for their encouragement and reward, I do hereby promise and engage, that strict and inviolable secrecy shall be observed
with

with respect to all persons who shall make communication; and that every person who shall make it shall receive a reward the full value of all such arms and ammunition.

G. LAKE, Lieut. Gen.
Commanding the Northern District.

No. CV.

By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland—a Proclamation. (P. 627.)

CAMDEN.

WHEREAS there exists within this kingdom a seditious and traitorous conspiracy, by a number of persons filing themselves United Irishmen, for the subversion of the authority of his majesty and the parliament, and the destruction of the established constitution and government: and whereas, for the execution of such their wicked designs, they have planned means of open violence, and formed secret arrangements for raising, arming and paying a disciplined force; and in furtherance of their purposes have frequently assembled in great and unusual numbers, under the colourable pretence of planting or digging potatoes, attending funerals and the like, and have frequently assembled in large armed bodies, and plundered of arms the houses of many of his majesty's loyal subjects in different parts of the kingdom, and cut down and carried away great numbers of trees wherewith to make handles for pikes and other offensive weapons to arm their traitorous associates, and have audaciously attempted to disarm the district or yeomanry corps enrolled under his majesty's commission for the defence of the realm, and even fired upon several bodies of his majesty's forces when attempting to quell their insurrections; and it is therefore now become necessary to use the utmost powers, with which government is by law entrusted for the suppression of such traitorous attempts: and whereas the exertions of the civil power have proved ineffectual for the suppression of the aforesaid traitorous and wicked conspiracy, and for the protection of the lives and properties of his majesty's faithful subjects.

Now we, the lord lieutenant, by and with the advice of the privy council, having determined as far as in us lies to suppress such daring attempts, and at the same time desirous to prevent the well-disposed or misled from falling into

the dangers, to which ignorance or incaution may expose them, do by this our proclamation forewarn all such to abstain from entering into the said traiterous societies of United Irishmen, or any of them, and from resorting to their meetings, or acting under their directions or influence, or taking or adhering to any of their declarations or engagements, and from suffering them to assemble in their houses, or in any manner harbouring them. And we do strictly charge and command, on their allegiance, all persons having knowledge or information of the meetings of the said societies, or any of them, to give immediate information thereof to some of his majesty's justices of the peace, or to some officer of his majesty's forces in the neighbourhood of the place where such meeting is intended. And we do forewarn all persons from tumultuous or unlawful assemblies, or from meeting in unusual numbers, under the plausible or colourable pretence aforesaid, or any other whatsoever.

And we caution his majesty's loyal and loving subjects whenever such assemblies shall happen, or that they receive notice from any magistrate or from the officer commanding any body of his majesty's forces, to keep quietly within their dwellings, to the end that the well-disposed may avoid the mischiefs, which the guilty may bring upon themselves.

And as it has become necessary, from the circumstances before mentioned, to employ the military force, with which we are by law entrusted for the immediate suppression of such rebellious and traiterous attempts now making against the peace and dignity of the crown, and the safety of the lives and properties of his majesty's loyal subjects, we have therefore issued the most direct and effectual orders to all officers commanding his majesty's troops, by the exertions of their utmost force, and with their full power to oppose all such as shall resist them in the execution of their duty.

And we do hereby strictly charge and command all our officers civil and military, and all other his majesty's loving subjects, to use their utmost endeavours to discover all pikes, pike heads, concealed guns and swords, offensive weapons or ammunition of any kind whatsoever.

And we do hereby charge and command all persons having in their custody pikes, pike heads, or concealed guns, swords, offensive weapons or ammunition whatsoever, to deliver up the same to some magistrate or officer of his majesty's troops, as they shall answer the contrary at their peril.

And we do hereby strictly charge and command all officers civil and military, and all other his majesty's faithful subjects, to be aiding and assisting in
sup-

suppreſſing all traiterous, tumultuous or unlawful aſſemblies, and in bringing to puniſhment all perſons diſturb- ing or attempting to diſturb the public peace.

And whereas we have reaſon to hope that many of his majeſty's ſubjects who have joined the ſaid traiterous ſocieties, have done ſo without having been apprized of the extent of their crime, and others from intimidation, and that ſuch may be willing to return to their allegiance---Now we being deſirous to extend his majeſty's pardon to all ſuch as are ſenſible of their errors and will return to their allegiance, do hereby promiſe his majeſty's moſt gracious pardon to all ſuch perſons ſo ſeduced and intimidated, as have taken an engagement to the ſaid ſocieties, or any of them, who ſhall on or before the 24th day of June next ſurrender themſelves to any of his majeſty's juſtices of the quorum of the counties, in which they ſhall reſpectively reſide, and take the oath of allegiance, and enter into ſufficient recognizances, with two ſufficient ſecurities, if ſecurities ſhall be required by the magiſtrate before whom ſuch recognizances ſhall be acknowledged, which recognizance every ſuch magiſtrate is hereby required to return to the next general ſeſſion of the peace or aſſizes to be holden in and for the county, in which ſuch recognizance ſhall be taken reſpectively, to be of the peace and good behaviour for the ſpace of ſeven years, ſave and except all ſuch as have been guilty of murder, conſpiracy of murder, burglary, burning of houſes, corn or hay, ſtacks of ſtraw or turf, maliciously digging up or injuring or deſtroying any potatoes, flax or hemp, rape or corn of any kind planted or ſowed, or deſtroying meadows or hay, maiming or houghing of cattle, adminiſtering or cauſing to be adminiſtered any unlawful oath or engagement to any of his majeſty's forces of any deſcription, or inciting or encouraging any perſon to commit any of the aforeſaid offences reſpectively, and ſave and except all perſons now in cuſtody.

Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin, the 17th day of May, 1797.

W. Armagh,	Altamont,	Carleton,
Clare, C.	Glendore,	Yelverton,
Chas. Caſhel,	Portarlington,	J. Foſter,
W. Tuam,	Farnham,	J. Beresford,
Waterford,	Carhampton,	Denis Brown,
Drogheda,	Clonmell,	T. Pelham,
Westmeath,	Ely,	H. Cavendiſh,
Shannon,	Gosford, H.	J. Blaquiere,
Clanbraſſie,	Meath,	H. Langriſh,

Theo. Jones,
Jof. Cooper,
James Cuffe,
Geo. Ogle,

D. Latouche,
J. M. Mafon,
Arthur Wolfe,
James Fitzgerald,

Robert Rofs,
Ifaac Corry,
S. Hamilton,
L. Morres.

Mr. Pelham's Letter to Lord Carhampton.

Dublin Castle, 18th May, 1797.

MY LORD,

THE lord lieutenant and council having judged it expedient to call upon his majesty's troops to exert their utmost force to suppress a seditious and traitorous conspiracy of persons styling themselves United Irishmen, I am commanded by his excellency to transmit to your lordship a copy of the proclamation issued on this subject, and to desire that your lordship will issue the necessary orders to the troops under your command in consequence thereof; his excellency has directed me to represent to your lordship, that as the traitorous and treasonable designs of these conspirators extend to the subversion of the constitution and government, it will be necessary to have recourse to their exertions. In those parts of the kingdom, where these designs have been manifested by acts of open violence, it will be necessary to give the officers of his majesty's troops more precise directions for their conduct. In such parts of the kingdom as have been disturbed by nocturnal depredations, where the lives of his majesty's loyal subjects have been endangered by persons collected in arms, attacking and firing upon their houses, and where assemblies of persons have been collected for the purpose of unlawful cutting down trees or perpetrating other acts of outrage, military precaution should be adopted for the security of the lives and property of his majesty's loyal subjects, and opposing by the most effectual means such daring acts of violence.

Diligent enquiry should be made respecting any concealed arms or ammunition, and for pikes and pike-handles, and upon information thereof, officers commanding parties should be directed to search for and seize the same.

Any persons armed with pikes or other weapons in resistance of his majesty's troops, to be considered as rebels and treated accordingly; all persons exercising themselves in the use of arms under persons not holding his majesty's or the lord lieutenant's commission are to be disarmed and apprehended, and in case of resistance to be treated as rebels; and as it appears to be a part of the system of these conspirators to take the opportunity of funerals and other occasions

cations to assemble considerable numbers of persons, the officers of his majesty's army should be directed, in pursuance of this proclamation, to watch all such assemblies, and if from their number, or other circumstances, the public peace should appear to be endangered, they will disperse them; and as various attempts have been made to seduce his majesty's troops from their duty and allegiance, you will direct all persons of suspicious appearance, who shall come within the lines of any encampment, barrack, or other stations of his majesty's troops, to be detained.

And his excellency further desires, that your lordship will, from time to time, communicate such instructions to the officers of his majesty's troops as you shall deem best adapted for carrying into effect his excellency's proclamation, and as local exigencies may demand.

I have the honor to be, my lord,

Your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

*The Earl Carhampton,
Commander in Chief, &c. &c.*

THOMAS PELHAM.

No. CVI.

Proceedings of the Freemen and Freeholders of Dublin and of Corke. (P. 634)

AT a Meeting of the FREEMEN and FREEHOLDERS of the City of DUBLIN, convened by the High Sheriffs at the Royal Exchange, on Saturday the 8th of April, 1797, to consider of a "Petition to the Throne, praying the removal of his Majesty's Ministers from his Councils for ever;" and a petition to his Majesty to that effect having been produced, the question of adjournment was moved thereupon, and a division having taken place, the sheriffs declared from the chair, that of the multitude assembled in the hall they had no hesitation to say, that the majority were against the adjournment, but that at the same time they felt it their duty to declare, "that being as well acquainted with the citizens of their bailiwicks as any other persons in the assembly, a very large number of those, who formed the majority were to their own certain knowledge neither freemen nor freeholders of the city of Dublin, but a multitude of men, who had tumultuously forced the doors, and
" made

“ made their way into the assembly ; and that, under that impression, they
 “ should think it their duty to refuse putting their names to any proceedings
 “ of the day, though they would sit in the chair as long as their fellow-citi-
 “ zens should desire.”—Whereupon the freemen and freeholders who voted
 for the adjournment, anxiously pressed for another meeting, in order that
 there might be a fair discussion of the petition ; and the sheriffs declared that
 if such a measure were adopted, they would take such precautions as would
 procure a chaste meeting of the freemen and freeholders only, by giving them
 tickets of admission ; and this they earnestly and repeatedly pressed, but hav-
 ing been objected to by the other part of the assembly, those who voted for
 the adjournment retired from the meeting, and came to the following
 resolution :

“ Resolved, That any proceedings adopted at the said meeting, are not,
 “ and cannot be considered as the sense of freemen and freeholders of the
 “ city of Dublin.”

We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, freemen and freeholders of the
 city of Dublin, agree to the above resolution.

*To Thomas Gibbings and Edward Allen, Esqrs. High Sheriffs of the City and
 County of the City of Cork.*

GENTLEMEN,

WE request that you will as soon as possible convene your
 bailiwick, to take into consideration an humble address to our most gracious
 and beloved sovereign, upon the present alarming state of public affairs ; pray-
 ing him to dismiss his present ministers in Great Britain and Ireland from his
 councils for ever, as the first step towards obtaining a speedy, honorable, and
 permanent peace.

John Cuthbert, sen.	Benj. Bousfield	Edw. Hoare, M. P.
Wm. Beamish	Wm. Crawford	Wm. Bleazby
Rich. Kellet, jun.	Francis Woodley	Wm. Stawell
Wm. Leader	Reuben Harvey, sen.	John Callanan
George Stawell	R. De la Cour	John Terry
Wm. Cuthbert	Thos. Cuthbert	Wm. Penrose
St. Leger Aldworth	Reuben Harvey, jun.	Wm. Penrose
Michael Rogers	Thos. Rochfort	Benj. Hayes
Richard Barrett	Dominick Waters	Thos. Ware

Abbot

Abbot Trayer	Arthur G. Creagh	Rich. Moylan
N. F. Coppinger	Peter Trant	Thos. Gonnell
Nicholas Therry	John Martin	Paul Abbott
Marcus Lynch, jun.	Austin Shinkwin	Philip Stackpole
Nicholas Mahon	J. Keller	Cornelius Donegan
Heyward St. Leger	Samuel Perrott	Isaac Kingston
Wm. Reynolds	Benj. Hayes, jun.	Robert Simmons
Wm. Coppinger	B. Foley	George Chinnery
Stephen Fagan	John Cremin	Thomas Mahon
Justin Mc. Carthy	John Unthank	Rev. Chas. Beamish
John Moylan	George Lombard	Andrew O'Shea
John Lyne	Robert Burke	Johnston St. Leger
M. I. Fullham	Morgan Regan	Ruffel Fitton
John H. Hoskins	James Haley	James Fagan
John Parks	George Cotter	James Kelly
Rich. Chinnery	Gerard Galway	J. Barry, M. D.
William Flynn	Rich. Maguire, jun.	† Sampson Stawell
D. Shea	John Thompson	† Eustace Stawell
D. Foley	Rich. Fitton	
Henry Sadlier	Cooper Penrose	

The high sheriffs having refused to comply with the above requisition, the freemen, freeholders, and citizens, qualified to be jurors, are requested to meet for the above constitutional purpose, at the Tholsel, on the 20th day of May, at one o'clock in the afternoon.

The freemen, freeholders, and citizens, qualified to be jurors, who were invited to meet the 20th instant, "To take into consideration an humble Address to our most gracious and beloved Sovereign, upon the present alarming state of public affairs, praying him to dismiss his present Ministers in Great Britain and Ireland, from his councils for ever, as the first step towards obtaining a speedy, honourable, and permanent peace," are requested by the gentlemen who signed the requisition, not to assemble on that day, as a proclamation, dated the 17th inst. has been issued by the lord lieutenant and council, "forewarning all persons from meeting in unusual numbers, *under any pretence whatsoever.*"

Cork, May 19, 1797.

The Gentlemen's names marked thus † were received after the requisition was delivered to the high sheriffs.

The

The gentlemen, who signed the above requisition, feel themselves called on by their love of peace, of order, and of freedom, to state to the good sense and impartial judgment of the public their opinions and conduct; particularly to express their apprehensions relative to the late proclamation, which places this kingdom in a situation awful and unprecedented. It is not necessary to mention, how much interested they are in the welfare of this country; when the enemy menaced the coast, their personal services and peculiar contributions were not the least conspicuous or effectual amidst the general loyalty and patriotism which prevailed. The peculiar calamities of the war they have long beheld, and severely feel; its dreadful consequences to the commerce and to the constitution, they cannot view without the deepest anguish. They shudder in reflecting on the waste of treasure, and the prodigality of human victims it has occasioned. They lament to see public credit shaken to its foundation, trade daily decaying, and manufactures almost annihilated, distrust and despondency pervading all ranks of the community, thousands of the lower orders unemployed, sinking under poverty and wretchedness, ministers obstinately pursuing a system dangerous to the liberty of the country, and ruinous to the interest of the empire, prompt to irritate the feelings, but slow to conciliate the affections of the people; who, when this country was in danger, saw and acknowledged the zeal and fidelity of our Catholic brethren, but so soon as that danger was removed, forgot their services, and rejected their claims. Judging from such conduct and effects, they apprehend that no confidence can be placed in the sincerity or capacity of these ministers, and looking to an immediate peace as the only probable means of rescuing the British empire from inevitable destruction, they feel the same solicitude that the authors and abettors of these misfortunes should be dismissed for ever from his majesty's councils.

When they invited their fellow-citizens to assemble and deliberate on a question involving their national existence, they conceived, that they were adhering equally to the spirit of the constitution, as to the letter of the law. They considered the right to petition for redress of grievances as inherent in the subject; they knew that right had been claimed, ratified and confirmed at the revolution of 1688; that it has since been invariably exercised, and was in the late Convention Act declared and recognized; they therefore consider it as interwoven with the principles of that Constitution, which they have ever revered, and are resolved to support.

After

After the proclamation was issued, had they not recalled their invitation they would have deemed themselves accessory to the indignities and the military coercion, which might have been directed against the unoffending loyal and peaceable inhabitants of this city, who might have felt it their duty to pour out their complaints to their gracious sovereign. From this act of the executive power, which prevents “any meeting in unusual numbers *under any pretence whatsoever*, and expressing the necessity of employing military power, and commanding the exertion of their *utmost force*,” * they apprehend additional misfortunes; they fear that the introduction of military force may bring into disrespect and disuse the civil power; they are of opinion, that to check discussion—to suppress manly and open effusions of public spirit, or of public complaint, may excite secret discontent and disaffection towards that government, which it is the duty of all good men to support, whilst affording protection and security to life, property and liberty, against violence, rapacity, and usurpation. Under the restrictions of the proclamation they conceive, that no body of electors can safely assemble to instruct their representatives, or to petition parliament; that salutary and constitutional medium for conveying the desires, the wishes, or the wants of the people is thus lost; all avenues to parliamentary enquiry, as to the legality of this proclamation, the necessity that urged it, or the justice which directed its application to this loyal city, are thereby shut up.

Having thus delivered their opinions, and stated the motives for their conduct, the subscribers to the requisition have only to deplore the adoption of a measure, that defeated their well-intended purposes—and which in its operation involving the innocent with the guilty, restraining and coercing the loyal equally as the disaffected, diffuses doubts, terror, and dismay.

By the people of Great Britain and Ireland this event will not pass unmarked---in seriously contemplating this deprivation of right, they will feel the insecurity of all their once boasted liberty.

Cork, May 24, 1797.

* Vide proclamation by the lord-lieutenant and council, Dublin Castle, 17th of May, 1797.

Copy of a Requisition made to the High Sheriff of the County of Kildare, of the names thereunto subjoined, and of the Answers of the High Sheriff.

To ROBERT LATOUCHE, Esq. High Sheriff of the County Kildare.

SIR,

YOU are hereby requested to convene the freeholders and inhabitants of your bailiwick, in order to consider the propriety of petitioning his majesty, praying him to dismiss his present ministers from his councils for ever, and to adopt such measures as may once more ensure to these countries the blessings of exterior and interior peace.

Leinster	B. Wills	P. Dever
Cloncurry	T. Swords	T. Kenna
N. Lawless	R. Dease	C. Colclough
J. Dillon	C. Nangle	John Henry
J. Huffey	C. Aylmer	Joseph Henry
W. Ponsonby	J. Gorman	G. Cockburne
G. Ponsonby	Rev. N. Ashe	D. O'Reilly
C. Lumm	M. Lewis	J. Fitzgerald
E. Fitzgerald [Lord]	E. Walsh	J. Gorman
James Ryan	G. Lalor	W. Carroll
Robert Mercer	Mau. B. St. L. Keatinge	M. Taylor
Wogan Browne	T. Fitzgerald	T. Devay
G. Daker	L. Manfergh	D. Caulfield
N. Cahill	J. Medlicott	T. Dunn
G. Chapman	T. Graydon	J. B. Lewis
P. Dunne	J. Leeson	W. Fitzgerald
Thomas Conolly	R. Aylmer	J. Cuffe
P. Lattin	W. Sherlock	J. Fitzgerald, jun.
J. Taylor	J. Haughton	H. Phelim
R. Hamilton	P. Maher	J. Moore
D. B. Daly	W. Wilkes	
A. O. Ferrall	O. Walsh	

Answer of the High Sheriff.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE received your requisition, desiring that I would convene the freeholders and inhabitants of my bailiwick, in order to consider the propriety of a petition to his majesty, praying him to dismiss his present ministers

ministers from his councils for ever, and to adopt such measures as may once more ensure to these countries the blessings of exterior and interior peace.

I have also received a paper, signed by a number of very respectable magistrates and freeholders of the county of Kildare, who having heard that such a requisition was in contemplation, and being fully convinced that a general meeting at this juncture would tend to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the county, express in the strongest terms their disapprobation of such a measure, and earnestly request that I should not accede to any such requisition at present.

Having considered this difference of opinion among men of property in the county, and being myself decidedly of opinion that such a meeting would be highly injurious to its peace and tranquillity, I cannot consistently with my duty comply with your requisition.

I have the honor to be,
Gentlemen, &c.

ROBERT LATOUCHE.

To the Gentlemen, &c.

In consequence of the above answer such persons as signed the requisition are requested to meet at the Eagle in Eustace-street, on Monday next, the 15th inst. at two o'clock, in order to consider what steps might be taken in consequence thereof.

No. CVII.

Loyal Declarations of Catholics and Orangemen. (P. 643.)

7th January, 1798.

WE, the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the parishes of Ramoan, Aunoy, Ballintoy, in the county of Antrim, regretting justly the disturbances, which have outraged and disgraced the northern parts of this kingdom, and feeling sensible of the past errors, which many of our body have been led into by the deep designs of wicked men, styling themselves United Irishmen; men who have been, and still are, the prime causes and sole movers of all the seditious proceedings, which have torn and disturbed Ireland; and detesting and abhorring as we do, from the bottom of our hearts, both their seditious principles and diabolical practices, do hereby declare, and in the most solemn manner, pledge ourselves to support, with our lives and fortunes, the blessed constitution of this country, and his majesty's happy government, established

amongst us. Determined as we are, to exert ourselves for the suppression of rebellion and sedition within our district, we further declare, that we have seen with indignation, their endeavours to sow discord between those of our and of the Protestant persuasion; being truly sensible that men, who have associated or will associate, like us, for the protection of the constitution, can have no enmity to those, who are equally anxious for its preservation, of whatever religious persuasion they may be; and we do hereby assure our Protestant brethren of the above description, of our sincere affection for them, and our absolute determination to co-operate and join with them by every means in our power, for the suppression of rebellion, the support of this happy constitution, the welfare of his majesty's happy government, and in love and loyalty to his sacred person.

Signed by Roger O'Murray, Pastor, Philip M'Keller,
and by 508 Roman Catholic inhabitants
of the aforesaid parishes.

WE, the loyal inhabitants of the province of Ulster, who have been stiled Orange men, in remembrance of our glorious deliverer, King William the Third, think it incumbent on us, at this critical period, to declare our faithful and steady attachment to his majesty King George the Third, and to our valuable constitution in church and state, as well as our gratitude for the blessings we enjoy under the present government, and our happiness in the suppression of insurrection and rebellion, and the restoration of tranquillity in this province, by the exertions of the general officers and militia, aided by the zeal of the loyal inhabitants.

We have read in the public papers, with much satisfaction, the declarations of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of several parishes of this province: we have no doubt of the sincerity of such declarations: and that the Catholics of Ireland, sensible of the benefits they enjoy, will not suffer themselves to be made the dupes of wicked and designing men, for the most diabolical purposes: and we flatter ourselves, that such declarations will be embraced, and have the happiest effects, in other parts of the kingdom; such conduct must be acceptable in the eyes of God and man.

We declare most solemnly, that we are not enemies to any body of people, on account of their religion, their faith, or their mode of worship, we consider every peaceable and loyal subject our brother, and they shall have our aid and protection.

Anxious

Anxious to co-operate in preserving internal tranquillity, and repelling invasion, (should our foreign enemies be desperate enough to attempt it), we take this opportunity of declaring our readiness to undertake any duty, in obedience to the commands of his excellency the lord lieutenant.

William Atkinson	Richard Taylor
John Crofse	Hugh Watfon
George Lendrum	John Johnston
Edward Butler	Abraham Dawson
Anthony M'Reynolds	William Hazleton
Samuel Johnston	George Taylor

And several thousand loyal inhabitants.

February 15, 1798.

WE, the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the parish of Cappoquin, in the county of Waterford, assembled at our chapel, on the 26th of December, 1797, anxiously embrace the earliest opportunity of following the example of our fellow subjects of the parish of Calfraghtrin, and Grange of Inispollan, in the county of Antrim, by expressing our unfeigned loyalty, and our sincere concern at the disturbed state of this country, which, until now, has been ever remarkable for a due obedience to the laws.

We cannot more strongly express our sentiments, than by adopting the declaration of the above parish, in justly regretting the disturbances which have outraged and disgraced our hitherto peaceable country, and feeling sensible of the past errors which many of our body have been led into by the deep designs of wicked men, styling themselves United Irishmen; who have been, and still are, the prime causers, and sole movers, of all the seditious proceedings which have torn and disturbed Ireland, and detesting and abhorring as we do, from the bottom of our hearts, both their seditious and diabolical practices, do hereby declare, and in the most solemn manner pledge ourselves to support, with our lives and fortunes, the blessed constitution of this country, and his majesty's happy government established amongst us. Determined as we are, to exert ourselves for the suppression of rebellion and sedition within our district, we further declare, that we have seen with indignation their endeavours to sow discord between those of our and the Protestant persuasion; being truly sensible that men who have associated, or will associate like us, for the protection of the constitution, can have no enmity to those who are equally

equally anxious for its preservation, of whatever religious persuasion they may be; and we do hereby assure our Protestant brethren of the above description, of our sincere affection for them, and our absolute determination to co-operate and join with them by every means in our power, for the suppression of rebellion, the support of this happy constitution, the welfare of his majesty's government, and in love and loyalty to his sacred person.

Signed by Thomas Flannery, parish priest,
and 817 persons.

WE, the Roman Catholics of the parishes of Ballinderry, in the counties of Tyrone and Londonderry, think it our duty to come forward, and thus publicly declare, our firm and determined resolution of supporting our gracious Sovereign, King George, and opposing, with all our might, his enemies, and the enemies of all we hold dear—our liberty, our religion.

With unfeigned contrition we acknowledge, that many of our body were seduced from their duty and allegiance to the best of kings, by the artifice and arguments of designing men, filing themselves United Irishmen; to their wicked designs and diabolical practices we are indebted for all the outrages that have disgraced the north of Ireland.

With unfeigned concern we hear, that the emissaries of that seditious body have been too successful in seducing many of our Roman Catholic brethren in the south of the kingdom, and that at this time, (as it was heretofore in the north) the country is disgraced with outrage, rapine, and murder. In the most earnest manner we entreat the Roman Catholics in those disturbed parts, for the honor of the religion they profess, to withdraw themselves (before it is too late) from those wicked societies—to acknowledge their error, and throw themselves on the mercy of our lenient government; then, like us, they will receive pardon for their past offences, and we hope, like us, will become dutiful and loyal subjects.

We are happy in declaring, that the most perfect good understanding has ever subsisted between us and our Protestant brethren—and we shall ever endeavour to preserve it: like them, we serve the same God, and with them we are ready, with our lives and fortunes, to support our king and constitution. When, in other places, disgraceful outrages were committed, with us the most perfect order was preserved; for that blessing we are indebted to our next resident magistrate, Andrew Newton, of Coagh, Esq. for whose prudent conduct

duct in that office, and the good behaviour of the Ballinderry yeomen under his command, our grateful acknowledgments are due.

Resolved, That this declaration, with our signatures, be delivered to Captain Newton, with our request, that a copy of it be laid before his excellency the lord lieutenant.

Ballinderry, Dec. 29, 1797.

The above declaration is signed by Patrick Develin, Pastor, and all the Roman Catholics in the parish, amounting to several hundreds.

December 10th, 1797.

WE, the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the parish of Rathlin, in the county of Antrim, justly regretting the disturbances, which have outraged and disgraced the northern parts of this kingdom, and feeling sensible of the past errors which many of our body have been led into by the deep designs of wicked men siliing themselves United Irishmen; men who have been and still are the prime causers and sole movers of all the seditious proceedings which have torn and disturbed Ireland—and detesting and abhorring as we do, from the bottom of our hearts, both their seditious principles and diabolical practices, do hereby declare, and in the most solemn manner, pledge ourselves to support with our lives and fortunes, the blessed constitution of this country, and his majesty's happy government established amongst us, determined as we are to exert ourselves for the suppression of rebellion and sedition within our districts. We further declare, that we have seen with indignation their endeavours to sow discord between those of our and the Protestant persuasion; being truly sensible that men who have associated or will associate like us, for the protection of the constitution, can have no enmity to those who are equally anxious for its preservation, of whatever religious persuasion they may be. And we do hereby assure all our Protestant brethren of the above description, of our sincere affection for them, and our absolute determination, to co-operate and join with them by every means in our power, for the suppression of rebellion, the support of this happy constitution, the welfare of his majesty's government, and in love and loyalty towards his sacred person.

Signed by Edward M'Mullan, Pastor of Rathlin.
Alexander M'Donnell, and by 180
Roman Catholic inhabitants of the
aforesaid parish.

No.

No. CVIII.

(P. 649.)

GENERAL ELECTION.

*To the Meeting of Freemen and Freeholders, assembled at the Exchange, on
Saturday, the 29th July.*

MY FELLOW CITIZENS,

A SLIGHT indisposition has prevented me from giving your resolution an immediate answer. When the country is put down, the press destroyed, and public meetings for the purpose of exercising the right of petition to remove ministers are threatened and dispersed by the military, I agree with you that a general election is no more than an opportunity to exercise, by permission of the army, the solitary privilege to return a few representatives of the people to a house occupied by the representatives of boroughs.

When the Irish parliament was perpetual or provincial, it was of little moment how that parliament was constituted: but becoming independent, it became essential, that it should become constitutional; and in order to be constitutional, it was necessary the commons should form an integral part thereof; fourteen years you gave to the experiment, and having failed, withdrew. You refuse to take a small portion of that representation, the whole of which belongs to you; you will not confirm an unjust distribution of your property, by becoming a poor-rent charger on a poor portion of your inheritance; you refuse to give your sanction to your exclusion; and will not attend a ceremony, which has proved the trade of the individual and the ruin of the country. While I entertain such an opinion, I beg to express my profound respect for some enlightened and valuable individuals, who differ from me; opposed to their opinion, I should suspect my own if it were not fortified by yours. I think the people of this country are perfectly right when they insist to be nothing less than the whole of the third estate. The people are in contemplation of the constitution only a part of the legislature, but they are the whole of the commons. Is that too much? They gave the crown—they ask the representation: they ask the representation of that prince, to whom they gave the crown. Without derogating from any of those rights, which exist independent of any artificial formation, the people claim under the general

neral constitution of the land, and under their own particular declaration of right to be an integral part of the legislature. The constitution tells them, that their liberty exists in their exemption from any laws, save those, to which by representation they consent: their declaration of right tells them that the king, the lords, and the commons of Ireland are the only body competent to make her laws, by which it is not only asserted that the Irish parliament is exclusively the Irish legislature, but that the people are an integral part thereof. If then the people are not suffered to form that integral part, the constitution of the realm and the claim of right are evaded and defeated. The minister stands in the place of parliament. He becomes the arbiter of your lives and fortunes, and transfers that dominion to the British cabinet, on whom he depends, and thus re-imposes on this realm the legislative power of another country. And when your ministers tell you, that the reform of parliament is only a popular pretence, I cannot believe them to be in earnest: I wish they had made the experiment: happy had it been for the country—happy had it been for themselves; they would then indeed have possessed but one-third of the constitution, but they would not have lost the whole of the empire.

Foreign disgrace leads naturally and of course to the subject of domestic oppression: I cannot here omit that part of your resolution which adverts to the barbarities committed upon the habitations, property, and persons of the people, and beg to join with yours my testimony against such repeated, wanton, savage, abominable, and permitted outrages, barbarities, and murders, such as no printer will now dare to print, lest he too should be plundered or murdered for the ordinary exercise of his trade.

I beg to take this opportunity of returning my thanks to the aldermen of Skinner's-alley, who have expressed their approbation of my conduct. I do believe our measures were agreeable to the sense of the nation. I lament they were not seconded by the majority of parliament; if that majority whose motives I do not discuss, whose infatuations I do lament; if that majority instead of attaching itself to the court, had considered itself as part and parcel of the people, they had consulted their dignity better. Why am I superior to ministers or viceroys? Because I do not assume to be superior to my fellow-citizens. Had that majority taken a proud post, and identified with the people—had they seized the opportunity of doing justice to Ireland, and instead of voting millions without getting any thing for the country, supported us in our motion to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry, in our

motion for an equal trade, in our attempts to emancipate the Catholics, and to reform the parliament, their country would now have liberty and peace, instead of distraction at home, and negotiation abroad. Where the British negociator remains with the Irish boroughs about his neck, to pay for every felony the minister has committed on the - - - - -

You express a wish, that my public duty should not cease with my representative capacity. In that idea I entirely concur. My seat in parliament was but a part of my situation ; the relationship to my country was higher and more permanent. The duty of a citizen is commensurate with his powers of body and mind.

I have the honor to be,

With the greatest respect,

Your most humble servant,

H. GRATTAN.

To the Citizens of Dublin.

HAVING seen an address to the citizens of Dublin, from my worthy colleague and friend Mr. Grattan, I feel it incumbent upon me, not only to take the same step, but also to state to you my most perfect coincidence of opinion, with the whole of that address; an address of such comprehension, such sublimity and truth, that he that does not feel its force must be lost to every sense of humanity, justice, and honor.

As my friend's address has been in consequence of the probability of a speedy dissolution of parliament, I should be wanting both in gratitude and respect, were I not immediately to seize the earliest opportunity of returning you my most sincere thanks for your past kindness, favor, and indulgence; in other circumstances I might have solicited, I might have aspired to a continuance of them, but till the parliament of Ireland is reformed, I renounce every thought of ever again entering the House of Commons.

To take leave of those, from whom one has experienced so much as I have from the citizens of Dublin, is a most painful task. Proportionate, I may say, with the joy and satisfaction with which we met, flushed with hope, proud of your confidence, proud of feeling myself a willing and devoted servant, I indulged in the fond illusion, as it has proved, of being instrumental, with the rest of my friends, in advancing those measures so absolutely necessary to the salvation of Ireland, and which the nation had a right to expect would
be

be brought to a happy conclusion. Vain hope ! vain struggle ! accompanied by more ceasing regret, at having engaged to work in such a fruitless vineyard. I could not do it long ; I early deserted the Irish House of Commons, but never you ; I did so on conviction, that if the honesty and talents of my friends combined were only the sport of their opponents, wallowing in corruption, there could be little necessity for the attendance of those, who, not pretending to the latter, made the former the only rule of their conduct.

A session of parliament had not passed, after the honor you had done me, before I was completely convinced, that without a reform of the parliament, the country could not be saved. Could I have thought that you would have disapproved of my absence, I can only say, that I would have dragged my person and my regrets day after day, and night after night, into that house, however irksome it might have been to me, and although peculiarly circumstanced as to this country, you would still have found me at my post, had there been the most distant prospect of any one measure proposed for the good of Ireland, on an enlightened and comprehensive scale, being crowned with success.

The time was, would that it could be recalled, when the people of Ireland, always patient, always enduring, looked to a reform of parliament as a period when, through the integrity of their representatives and an ardent love for the welfare of the kingdom, such measures might be pursued, with the concurring zeal of an œconomical and wise administration, as would have raised the character of the nation, and detached our country from the ridicule of that frivolous system, that often imposed, by the character and appearance of energy and decision, only to relapse into the most perfidious dereliction of all principle whatsoever.

At this awful crisis, when the reflecting mind wanders through the mazes of truth and error, in the teeming of eventful moments, we must not despair, though our affrighted country, with a desponding and unsteady hand, upholds a mirror to our view, that glares upon our sight ; the steady grasp shifts it but a little, and its reflection true. All is not lost, Ireland must still be saved. Words get abroad ; I have heard of United Irishmen—their system I know not—I cannot suppose it bad ; but this I know, that want of system, want of union, want of cordiality, want of real patriotism in all ranks, has hitherto been the ruin of our country.

Again let me repeat my assurances of unalterable regard for you, my fel-

low-citizens, and my most anxious wishes for your prosperity. May the lash of despotism be averted. May the liberties for which our ancestors have bled, still survive all attempts at their extinction. Put your trust in that Providence, that alone directs the blow, let the powers of this earth take what aim they may.

HENRY FITZGERALD.

Boyle Farm, July 15, 1797.

No. CIX.

A Pastoral Letter to the Catholic Clergy of the united Dioceses of Waterford and Lismore. By the R. R. Dr. Hufsey. (P. 657.)

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

IN these critical and awful times, when opinions seem spreading over this island, of a novel and dangerous tendency; when the remnants of old oppression, and new principles which tend to anarchy, are struggling for victory, and which in the collision may produce the ruin of religion; when a moral earthquake shakes all Europe, I felt no small affliction and alarm, upon receiving the superior command of the head of the church, to preside over the Catholics of these united dioceses, upon the death of your most venerable, and ever to be regretted prelate, your late bishop.

In the midst of these fears and alarms, it was a great consolation to me, to be assured of the piety, zeal, and loyalty of the clergy under my spiritual care; and that their exertions were constantly employed to keep the laity within the bounds of religion, morality, and decorum. That no part of Ireland was more exempt from turbulence and insubordination to the laws, than this district; and that the memory of the illegal injustices and cruelties formerly practised in this country by men, who made religious distinctions a stalking horse for political purposes, is completely and happily effaced, I hope, for ever.

It is upon you, very reverend, and dearly beloved brethren, that, under God, my reliance is, that the Catholic faith will produce its happy effects, in mending and improving the morals of the flock, which I commit to your care respectively. Let me beseech you, to attach yourselves to them, by frequently instructing and exhorting them, especially as often as you approach
the

the sacred altar ; and certainly you cannot fail to attach them to you, by such a pious, exemplary, and zealous conduct. Do not permit yourselves to be made the instruments of the rich of this world, who will try, by adulation, and possibly by other means, to make instruments of you over the poor, for their own temporal purposes, and perhaps to render your sacred ministry odious to them. The poor were always your friends, they inflexibly adhered to you, and to their religion, even in the worst of times : they shared their scanty meal with you, and with your predecessors, and thereby preserved a succession of spiritual pastors throughout the kingdom. If they had acted otherwise, conformed to the errors of the nation, and imitated the conduct of the rich, who not only shut their doors against you, but not unfrequently hunted you like wild beasts, I should not be able to address the present respectable body of clergy under my spiritual authority. Such a consideration cannot fail to enliven your zeal, and with affectionate attachment towards them, to impel you to instruct them in their duties, to restrain their errors, and to correct their vices. *Argue, obsecra, increpa, in omni patientia, & doctrina.* Upon all proper occasions, *speak to them the words of eternal life*, without fear or deference towards the enemies of our holy faith. The pastor, who doth not act in this manner towards his flock, hath lost the grace of his vocation, or perhaps he never received it from God. He is the mercenary shepherd, described in the scripture, who, upon seeing the wolf, runs away, and abandons his flock an easy prey to him.

At the same time that I charge you to avoid all political interferences, as unworthy the ministers of him, *whose kingdom is not of this world*, I call upon you to stand firm against all attempts, which may be made, under various pretexts, to withdraw any of your flocks from the belief and practice of the Catholic religion. Remonstrate with any parent, who will be so criminal as to expose his offspring to those places of education, where his religious faith or morals are likely to be perverted. If he will not attend to your remonstrances, refuse him the participation of Christ's body ; if he still should continue obstinate, denounce him to the church, in order that, according to Christ's commandment, *he be considered as a heathen and a publican.*

If, in any of your districts, the Catholic military frequent Protestant places of worship, it is your duty to expostulate with them, and to teach them how contrary to the principles of the Catholic faith it is, exteriorly to profess one faith, and interiorly to believe another. That such hypocrisy, even in the
eyes

eyes of the world, is mean and pusillanimous, as well as odious and abominable in the sight of God. That the military garb they wear, implies a manly candour, which abhors such duplicity. That this manly candour is peculiarly the character of an Irish foldier, who ought not to be ashamed of openly professing the Catholic religion—*the religion of Irishmen*. Instruct them, that in all matters regarding the service of the king, their officers are competent to command them, and that they are bound to obey; but in matters regarding the service of the King of Kings, their officers have no authority over them. Their personal religion is their own natural, uncontrollable, inprescriptible right, subject to the spiritual authority of the Catholic Church, and over which the laws of the land cannot enjoy a coercive authority. In all temporal matters, they are subject to their temporal rulers. In all spiritual matters, they are subject to their spiritual rulers. These two authorities, like parallel lines in mathematics, can never touch each other. By the smallest declination, they lose even their name. Guard them from being deluded by the hacknied phrase of liberality of sentiment. Surely liberality of sentiment does not consist in holding all creeds, and all forms of worship, to be equal! He who thus expresses himself, is a latitudinarian, who despises all creeds—all forms of worship! The man of true liberality is he, who conscientiously believes, and scrupulously follows that creed, and form of worship, which is conformable to his conscience, yet lives in charity, in concord, in amity with all others, of every religious persuasion. The man of true liberality is he, who employs his conscience as the helm with which he steers, in his religious voyage, leaving others to steer theirs by a similar guide. The man of true liberality is he, with whom a difference in religious opinions makes no difference in social life—living in equal harmony with all, and frequently bestowing more kindness, and more bounty, upon those who differ from him in religious opinions, when they want it, more than upon those of his own communion. The man of true liberality is he, who, when raised above the rest, to govern a great people, scorns to attend to the paltry distinctions of sect or party, spurns from his presence those interested advisers of a dangerous faction, who would dishonor him, and abuse the sacred name of majesty, to enrich themselves; but, like a true patriot, raises to power and influence, those whom, in his conscience, he thinks of most ability and integrity, to serve king and country. To sum up the whole, the truly liberal man is he, who makes his religion the guide for his own personal and private conduct,

and

and not a rule to guide, to govern, or to compel others to act against their conscience and their religion.

The many compulsory means lately employed (and several instances of them within this very diocese not many days since) to drive the Catholic military to Protestant places of worship, alarmed the *true* friends to the king and his service, and every well-wisher to the peace and quiet of the country. Such unwarrantable steps could not make profelytes of the Catholic military; it might, in time, make them indifferent to all forms of worship, and thereby jacobinize them upon the French scale, and perhaps in the hour of danger, induce them to forget their duty and their loyalty, in order to be revenged of their persecutors.

O how different are the principles of a Catholic foldier, educated in the belief, and living in the full exercise of his religion! He clearly convinces his countrymen, that military valour is not inconsistent with religious piety; but that, on the contrary, they are natural allies. That when called to protect and defend his country, he is fearless, and intrepid in the midst of danger; his bosom glowing with this consideration, that his death upon his post, promotes him to a superior post in eternity. The unbeliever, who sees nothing beyond the grave, more naturally shrinks from the danger of his dissolution, or if he seems to assume courage, it is either the brutal insensibility of his temper, or an artificial mask, which he puts on, to screen him from the contempt which is sure to follow cowardice. But the courage and intrepidity of a true Catholic, is the discharge of his duty, is a calm heroic intrepidity, which sees the danger in his road, but sees immortality beyond it. He marches courageously on, sure that if he falls, it is to rise again beyond the grave. But when the unbeliever sees the danger, he sees nothing beyond it, and thinks, that if he falls, that moment puts a final and a fatal period to all his schemes of ambition, of fortune, of pleasure, and that he *sinks into eternal night*, never—never to rise again. Surely such an impious idea is capable of transmuting even a naturally brave man into a cowardly slave. Let me say all in one sentence. Those sentiments of intrepidity, of fidelity, of honor, which high birth and polished education impress upon those of an elevated sphere in life, cannot be superior to the sentiments of fidelity, of courage, and of honor, which the Catholic religion, *if sincerely believed, and piously practised*, would inspire into the lowest in the ranks; and who, if his duty calls him, would shew a courage and intrepidity equal to Alexander and Cæsar, and

as unfulfilled loyalty and integrity as those statesmen and generals, who regulate kingdoms, or who defend them.

In all your proceedings, very reverend and dearly beloved brethren, avoid intermixing the politics of the world with the sublime and heavenly maxims of the Catholic religion; they have not the smallest connection with each other: the one is spiritual, the other is temporal; the one regards the transitory affairs of this world, the other the eternal affairs of the world to come. As the Catholic faith is a religion preached to all nations, and to all people, so it is suitable to all climes, and all forms of government, monarchies or republics, aristocracies or democracies. Despotic or popular governments are not the concerns of the Catholic faith: it may well suit a small sect to regulate its creed and form of worship, according to the shape and form of government, of the limited boundaries where that sect arose, exists, and dies away. Not so the religion, which the prophet foretold should extend from the rising to the setting sun, which has been propagated and promulgated from Peru to China, from the East to the West Indies, from Pole to Pole, teaching the same doctrine, administering the same sacraments, and offering up the adorable sacrifice of the Redeemer, wherever man is found, and God adored. It is therefore called the Catholic, or universal religion. It may well suit the laity of your respective districts, to pursue their temporal concerns, and their temporal politics, by such ways as appear to them fair, peaceable, and loyal; and their past conduct is a proof that they are incapable of pursuing them by any other means. If their conduct has always been loyal and peaceable, even in the worst of times; if, even when religious penalties made them total strangers to their native land; if, when the ruling party, with insolence in their looks, and oppression in their hands, ground them down, when some of the most powerful men in the nation declared in the senate, that they hoped to see the day when no Catholic would dare to speak to a Protestant with his hat on; when even the course of justice was perverted, and the channels of it dried up, according to the prejudices and party views of the judges who sat upon the bench, and were paid for the impartial administration of it, by taxes levied upon the oppressed sufferers; yet even in these provoking times, if the body of Catholics remained inflexibly attached to their religion, and to their king, what have you to dread from their proceedings, when not only the judges are equitable and humane, but also a great part of these impolitic religious penalties are removed, and the rest of
them

them in such a state of progress to be totally removed; that however a junto, for their own interested or other sinister views, may raise mobs to try to throw obstacles against the total repeal of them, yet all their efforts must be useless. The vast rock is already detached from the mountain's brow, and whoever opposes its descent and removal, must be crushed by his own rash endeavours. The popery laws are upon the eve of being extinguished for ever; and may no wicked hand ever again attempt to divide this land, by making religious distinctions a mask to divide, to disturb, to oppress it.

Make your flock sensible to the honor of being accounted a member of the Catholic communion, that they are not members of a small sect, limited to that country where the sect itself was formed. They are members of a great church, which has lasted more than 1700 years, which flourished in every part of the habitable world. *In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, & in fines terræ verba eorum*, and that Christ has promised that it will flourish until time shall be no more. *Usque ad consummationem sæculi, portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam*. That consequently they should not be ashamed to belong to a religion, which so many kings and princes, so many of the most polished and learned nations of the world, glory in professing.

Remind them, that two centuries of persecution have tried in vain to pervert them; that the annals of the church, the history of mankind, does not afford another example like theirs of perseverance in their religious principles. That we find, in the history of every other nation or people, that a much shorter time was sufficient, by penal restrictions of religion, to gain over the people to the religion of the state; but that two centuries of persecuting laws, immense sums of money given by parliament to gain over proselytes, and levied upon those very people, whose creeds they thereby endeavoured to purchase, left still the great body of the nation faithful to that spark, which St. Patrick lighted at the great altar of the Catholic Church, and spread over this island; and that nine-tenths of the nation at large, and ninety-nine hundredths of this diocese are still faithful and steady Catholics, notwithstanding what they and their ancestors suffered for their fidelity, and for which they are as unrivalled in the history of the church, as insulated an exception to the prevaricating versatility of man, as the geographical situation of the island itself is to the rest of the world.

That portion of the Catholics of Ireland, which God has committed to my spiritual care, I call upon you, very reverend and dearly beloved brethren,

as my coadjutors and assistants, to aid me, by word, and by example, to instruct, and to feed, with the *word of salvation*, and *with the bread of angels*. It is a laborious, but it is also a meritorious, and an honorable employment. It forms the strongest bulwark to the state, by being the best supplement to the laws; which, *without morals, are vain*. A faithful discharge of these duties, will form our crown, and our glory, when, at the last day, the Supreme Pastor will come to judge us, and to judge the world.

A Letter from Mr. Burke to Dr. Hufsey.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I HOPE in God this letter will find you in Ireland. From the moment that the government who employed you betrayed you, they determined at the same time to destroy you. They are not a people to stop short in their course. You have come to an open issue with them. On your part what you have done has been perfectly agreeable to your duty as a Catholic bishop and a man of honor and spirit. Whether it is equally agreeable to those rules of circumspect prudence, which ought to have their weight perhaps in an enslaved country, may admit of some question. That many of your people will be ready to condemn you is very probable: it is more than probable that they will give you but a feeble support, however the less you have to rely on others, the more you are to rely upon yourself. There is nothing I wish for more than to have some conversation with you. But if just now you were to come to England, it would be construed into a flight from the attack of Lord ——— and Mr. ———, at the same time that you will naturally act in a manner agreeable to the courageous dispositions, which you have from principle, from disinterestedness, and a degree perhaps from mental constitution, you will be careful to preserve that temper, in which the conflict which I fear you will be called to will certainly require. I expect you will be called before Lord D——'s committee. I did not conceive that a man of so little estimation in either kingdom, would have the lead of the House of Lords committed to him, without some purpose, that required that kind of instrument. I therefore am of opinion, that instead of coming direct from W——d to England, you ought to go without delay to Dublin. How could they expect that you, a Catholic bishop, should not prefer your own religion to all others? How could they expect, that you should be of any other opinion than mine, in which you know we frequently agreed,
“ that

“ that if the Catholics were seduced or bullied from the only religion they have or can have, they must fall into indifference or into actual atheism, or its concomitant direct tendency, actual rebellion.” How could they expect, that if you as a Catholic pastor, did not strongly assert the advantages and pre-eminence of your own religion, yet as a good citizen you would endeavour to keep the people attached to the only religion which they can possibly have. How dare they assert it is not the religion of the country, in which more than 100 to 1 in your diocese are of your communion. If they should say, as that buffoon D——n does, that this is the religion, of the common people, it is only to speak more in its favor, because it is for them that all religion, and eminently the Christian religion is meant for a guide, for a control and for a consolation. These are principles you have always held. To be sure Christ himself has given as a conclusive proof in his answer to John the Baptist of his divine mission, that the gospel was preached to the poor. The other part of the divine answer, if you cannot imitate in miracle you may as you have always done imitate in charity. As to what you said to the soldiers, why should it be wrong in you to say of them exactly what Tertullian has said of the Roman soldiers in his day? You cannot alter the language of the church, and I believe there is no Protestant pastor (and I believe you may appeal to his Grace of Cashel) who should attempt by any rigor inflicted or threatened to bring his people to mass. Who would or could mean any other language than what you have done? The great point for you (as I wrote to you before in my first long letter, because I knew that the castle junto do absolutely deny the fact) is to establish the circumstance either of menace, coercion, or punishment as the case may be. When you have bottomed yourself well upon these facts, you need not be afraid to meet the vindical Lord D—— upon this ground. I should not be sorry, that the Catholicity of this nobleman’s family should be alleged as an excuse for thinking well of your religion, for that whatever respect you have for the present Lord D——, you cannot think better of him than you did of the old lord, who certainly had been a most zealous Catholic, that if any person of those families became more enlightened you could have no objection to it, but you could not think the better of them on account of their conversion, and that you hoped they would not persecute you on principles which would equally well have justified a persecution of their ancestors and nearest relations. That you would heartily wish, that every man in the kingdom had as much zeal

for the crown, and as much abhorrence for jacobinical principles as you have shewn. I revert to it again, you cannot leave Ireland until you have seen Dublin. There is a direct attack intended to be made on all your episcopacy. Dr. Troy has not fared better than you, notwithstanding his caution and the sermons he has published against the taking of oaths. For I have this day a letter from a most respectable and dignified clergyman of the church of England, in which he tells me, that the Dublin castle runners in London propagated every where, that this prelate actually had taken the oath of united Irishmen. If you have not wisdom enough to make common cause, they will cut you off one by one. If you are called on, my opinion is, that you ought to recapitulate all the proceedings at Laughlinstown, and to state that you consider that as the pledge of government, that on your going to Ireland you would find the same course persevered in. That let them determine what they will, you are determined to do your duty. That if you have expressed your apprehensions from the persons commonly called the *junto*, it is nothing but what you are justified in by their own repeated declarations of dislike to your whole body, and the repugnance which they have always publicly expressed against the repeal of the several persecuting and disqualifying laws. This last is only a hint in case they should urge you upon the point. I feel as much concerned in you as if I was in my own person in Ireland, and in your situation, because you know I advised you to accept the D——e of P———d's invitation; though I confess (and I am sure you remember) that I trembled at your being committed at such times and with such people: but I thought it an imperious duty, and so did yourself to do every thing in your power to check the growth of jacobinism upon one hand, and oppression, which is its best friend, on the other. I hope you have put down what you intended about the protest you entered into with the D——e of P———d and Mr. P—t. Adieu. I am with little ceremony, but great truth,

Yours, &c. &c.

Bath, 16th May, 1797.

E. B.

Another Letter from Mr. Burke to Dr. Hufsey.

MY DEAR SIR,

You will easily believe, I am in the highest degree interested in any thing, with which you are connected, particularly in the most important object, by which you are now detained in Ireland. I wrote to you by
Sir

Sir George Shee. I hope you have got that letter; not that it contains any thing very material, but that I hope you will not think me inattentive to you or your most important pursuit; for a long time I have had no information, or nothing which deserves the name, about what you are doing. I hear, and am extremely alarmed at hearing, that the chancellor and the chiefs of the benches are among your trustees: if this be the case, so as to give them the power of intermeddling, I must fairly say, that I consider, not only all the benefits of the institution to be wholly lost, but that a more mischievous project was never set on foot. I should much sooner make your college, according to the first act of parliament, a subordinate department of our Protestant university, absurd as I always thought that plan to be, than to make you the instrument of the instruments of the jobbing system. I am sure that the constant meddling of your bishops and of the clergy with the castle, and of the castle with them, will infallibly set them ill with their own body; all the weight, which hitherto the clergy have had in keeping the people quiet, will be wholly lost if once this should happen; at best you will have a marked schism, and more than one kind, and I am greatly mistaken if this is not intended, and diligently and systematically pursued. I am steadily of my old opinion, that this affair had better be wholly dropped, and the government boon with civility and acknowledgment declined, than to subject yourselves and your religion to your known and avowed enemies, who connect their interest with your humiliation, and found their own reputation on the destruction of yours. I have said so much on this point already, that I shall trouble you no more about it. As to the committee of lay Catholics, I am sorry for a tone of jacobinism that was adopted by some of its principal members, but still more so, that it has been dissolved: the bad principle might have been kept under. Nothing ever can save you without some committee of the kind. I wish something of the sort re-established; your enemies are embodied, what becomes of you if you are only individuals!

Mr. Hay of the county of Wexford, who came hither with an address from that part of Ireland, is on his return to you, and takes this with him. I like him very much, he is a zealous, spirited, and active young man. He has one project in hand of great extent, and some difficulty, but like to be of great use: it is to make an exact enumeration of the inhabitants of Ireland, distinguishing their religion. The specimen he has shewn me if it is perfect; and I have no doubt, that with the assistance of the Catholic clergy
(without

(without whom nothing of that sort can be done) a very useful work towards every plan of political œconomy may be formed. I am sure every one must be sensible of the truth of Lord Fitzwilliam's assertion, on seeing Mr. Hay's plan, that the depression of the Catholics is not the persecution of a sect, but tyranny over a people. In the provinces of Ireland (out of the cities) it is almost literally true in substance and effect; it is true of the whole in the parts marked in his paper, the Protestants are not as one to forty-five; and on the whole I do not think, that the county of Wexford is much more Catholic than the other counties in Leinster and Munster. I know that an ill handle may be made of this work, but so there is, and so there will be of every thing done for the good of that country; but this invidious representation is not of so much prejudice as the knowledge of important truths will be of advantage to you, to the country, and to a confederate government.

Mr. Hay is so good as to take over to you some books of your late dear friend,* to be presented as memorials of the deceased to the new college, or to that of Carlow, as you think best.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

Beaconsfield, June 9th, 1798.

EDMUND BURKE.

To the Rev. Doctor Hufsey, Catholic College.

No. CX.

Address of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. (Page 700.)

The Address of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, on Wednesday, May the 30th, 1798.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WE, the undersigned, his majesty's most loyal subjects the Roman Catholics of Ireland, think it necessary at this moment publicly to declare our firm attachment to his majesty's royal person, and to the constitution, under which we have the happiness to live; we feel, in common with the rest of his majesty's subjects, the danger, to which both are exposed from an implacable and enterprising enemy menacing invasion from abroad, and from the machinations of evil and disaffected men conspiring treason within

* His son the late Richard Burke.

his majesty's kingdom ; under these impressions, we deem it necessary to remove, by an open and explicit declaration, every idea of countenance afforded on our part to a conduct bearing even the appearance of indifference and indiscretion, much more to a conduct holding forth symptoms of disaffection and hostility to the established order of government in this kingdom, in the preservation of which, though we differ from it in some points of spiritual concern, we feel too deeply interested to look with an indifferent eye at its overthrow.

Allow us then to assure your excellency, that we contemplate with horror the evils of every description, which the conduct of the French republic has produced on every nation hitherto weak enough to be deluded with its promises of liberty, and offers of fraternity ; we anticipate similar misfortunes as awaiting this his majesty's kingdom, in the deprecated event of successful invasion ; with confidence we date our determination not to be outdone by any description of our fellow subjects, in zealous endeavours for averting that calamity : and that although anxious to enjoy, free of every restriction, the full benefit of our constitution, we reject with indignation any idea of removing the restrictions, under which we still labour, by means of foreign invasion, or by any other step inconsistent with the known laws of the land ; we prefer, without hesitation, our present state to any alteration thus obtained ; and with gratitude to the best of kings, and to our enlightened legislature, we acknowledge such a share of political liberty and advantage, already in our possession, as leaves us nothing to expect from foreign aid, nor any motive to look elsewhere, than to the tried benignity of our sovereign, and the unbiassed determination of the legislature, as the source of future advantage.

We cannot avoid expressing to your excellency our regret at seeing, amid the general delusion, many, particularly of the lower orders, of our religious persuasion engaged in unlawful associations and practices. Yet we trust that your excellency's discernment will lead you to make every just allowance for the facility, with which men open to delusion from their situation in life, are led astray from their political duty : it shall be our endeavour to call such men to a sense of that duty, by pointing out to them, how inconsistent their conduct is with their real interest, and how contrary to the maxims of religion which they profess ; nor shall we less endeavour, by our conduct, to convince all descriptions of our fellow-subjects, how much we are impressed with the necessity of laying aside all considerations of religious distinctions, and joining

ing in one common effort for the preservation of our constitution, of social order, and of the Christian religion, against a nation whose avowed principles aim at the destruction of them all.

We request your excellency will make these our sentiments known to his majesty, and we rely with confidence on your excellency's acknowledged candour and generosity, that you will represent us in that light, to which we venture to hope our conduct and principles have given us a just claim.

FINGAL, SOUTHWELL,
GORMANSTOWN, KENMARE,

With seventy-two baronets, gentlemen of distinction, and professors of divinity, together with the Rev. Peter Hood, D. D. president of the Royal College of Maynooth, for himself and the professors and students of said college, and above 2000 whose names are too numerous to be inserted.

The following Address was presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant by the Earl of Fingall, Viscounts Gormanstown, Southwell, and Kenmare, the Rev. Dr. Troy, the Hon. Mr. Barnewall, Denis Thomas O'Brien, Hugh Hamil, and George Goold, Esqrs. and signed by great numbers of Roman Catholics of Dublin, and of other parts of the kingdom :

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WE, the undersigned Roman Catholics, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, beg leave to approach your excellency with our warmest congratulations on your excellency's appointment to the government of this kingdom.

Firmly attached to his majesty's royal person and family, and to the principles of our excellent constitution, we cannot omit this opportunity of expressing to your excellency our deep concern and regret, at seeing in this kingdom the existence of a rebellion, threatening the destruction of each. We beg leave to assure your excellency, that we are determined to spare no exertion in our power for stopping its progress; and that, however our religious tenets may prevent us from subscribing some of the tests, which, by some of the existing laws, are required as qualifications in certain instances, yet none of these tenets militate against the principles of our happy constitution. Our religious principles lead us to resist all rebellious conduct, as well as every species of turbulence and insubordination, and our individual attachment to his

his

his majesty and the constitution further invites us to such resistance ; by these principles your excellency will find our conduct ever guided, and led by them to a zealous co-operation with all others of his majesty's loyal subjects. We anticipate with confidence, under the direction of your excellency's acknowledged military and political talents, a speedy determination of the present unhappy state of this his majesty's kingdom, and an early restoration of the blessings of internal peace and tranquillity.

The Lord Lieutenant's Answer.

I HAVE the highest satisfaction in receiving your address. The loyalty of the principles you profess will, I doubt not, be fully evinced by your public and effectual exertions. The present unhappy conjuncture calls equally upon men of all religious persuasions to mark their attachment to their sovereign and our constitution, by counteracting the spirit of anarchy and rebellion, which had disgraced the country. The influence of your example and authority may be of essential service, and you may be assured of my determination to do justice to your efforts, in repressing every species of turbulence and insubordination.

No. CXI.

(Page 710.)

The following Declaration and Address have been transmitted by James Stewart, Esq. of Killymoon, and laid before the Lord Lieutenant :

WE the Dissenting Congregation of Cookestown, in the county of Tyrone, assembled at our Meeting-house, on the 27th of May 1798, feel ourselves called upon, at this important and alarming period, to come forward and express our attachment and loyalty in this public manner to our king and the constitution, and pledge ourselves, to the utmost of our power, to preserve the peace and good order of the community, and prevent, as far as our influence shall extend, that anarchy and confusion, which are so lamentably disgracing other parts of the kingdom.

Signed, by order of the session,

JOHN DAVIS, Minister.

And we do also request that James Stewart, Esq. of Killymoon, will present these our sentiments to his excellency the lord lieutenant.

The Address of the Roman Catholics of the parish of Desartcreat and Derryloran, in the county of Tyrone, unanimously agreed to at their respective chapels, on Sunday the 3d day of June, 1798, to be presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WE, the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the parish of Desartcreat and Derryloran, understanding with the utmost concern that most daring outrages have, for some time past, disgraced our unfortunate country, and which, in some parts of the kingdom, seem as yet disturbing the public peace, do think it necessary at this moment of alarm, (when many of our unfortunate countrymen, and, amidst the general delusion many of our religious persuasion, are engaged in those unlawful practices,) publicly to declare our firm attachment to his gracious majesty's royal person, and the constitution under which we have the happiness to live. Under these impressions, we also think it necessary to remove, by an explicit declaration, every idea which may be entertained of our assisting or even countenancing the conduct of these misguided people, who are attempting to introduce into our country anarchy and confusion: and we pledge ourselves, solemnly and without hesitation to protect, at the hazard of all we hold most dear, the person of our most gracious sovereign King George the third, and the constitution of this kingdom, against all enemies foreign or domestic, who are now or may hereafter disturb the public peace or tranquillity.

Signed by upwards of 1000 of the inhabitants of said
parishes in the presence of

ARTHUR TEGART, Parish Priest.

N. B. The signatures may be seen with Mr. Tegart.

No. CXII.

*Roman Catholic Chapels destroyed or damaged during the late Rebellion.**(Page 726.)*

<i>County of Wexford and Ferns.</i>		<i>County of Wexford and Ferns.</i>	
<i>Denominations.</i>	<i>Dates.</i>	<i>Denominations.</i>	<i>Dates.</i>
Boolevogue, WhitSunday,	27 May, 1798	Adamstown, damaged	1 Sept. 1799
Maglus -	30 ditto	Gucrane - -	Oct.
Arklow - -	9 June	Gurnacuddy, damaged	ditto
Ramsgrange -	19 ditto	Glanbryan -	13 Mar. 1800
Drumgold -	21 ditto	Ballimakefy - -	16 July
Ballymurrin -	22 ditto	Camie - -	3 Sept.
Anamoe - -	28 ditto	Davidstown, damaged	Oct.
Gorey -	4 Aug.	<i>Arch-diocese Dublin, County Wicklow.</i>	
Crane - -	17 Sept.	Arklow - -	9 June 1798
Rock -	12 Oct.	Roundwood -	26 ditto
Ballyduffe - -	19 ditto	Anamoe - -	28 ditto
River -	19 ditto	Annacorra (Diocese Ferns)	2 Sept.
Monaseed - -	25 ditto	Wicklow, damaged)	2 ditto
Clogone -	26 ditto	Kilpatrick -	11 Oct.
Ferns - -	18 Nov.	Ballinvolagh - -	11 ditto
Oulart -	28 ditto	Killeveny (Diocese Ferns)	11 Nov.
Ballygarret -	15 Jan. 1799	Castletown - -	ditto
Ballynamonabeg -	24 Feb.	Ashford - -	25 Jan. 1799
Murrtown - -	24 Apr.	Glenaly - -	Feb.
Monomolin -	3 May	Kilquiggan, on Easter Sunday	
Kilrush - -	15 ditto	(Diocese of Leighlin)	24 Mar.
Marshallstown -	7 June	<i>County Wicklow, Arch-diocese of Dublin.</i>	
Crossebegs - -	23 ditto	Johnstown -	20 Apr. 1799
Killenenrin -	29 ditto	Wicklow Abbey, residence	
Litter, damaged -	29 ditto	of the Parish Priest -	12 July
Blackwater, ditto -	29 ditto	Kilmurry - -	23 Aug.
Monageer -	1 July		
Killely - -	1 Sept.		

<i>Denominations.</i>	<i>Dates.</i>	<i>Denominations.</i>	<i>Dates.</i>
Newbridge, partly destroyed,	Nov. 1799	<i>Queen's County, Diocese of Leighlin.</i>	
Maceredin, otherwise Curyf-		Stradbally -	24 June 1798
fort -	March 1800	<i>County Diocese of Meath.</i>	
<i>County of Kilkenny, Diocese of Ossory.</i>		Dunbayne - -	26 May 1798
Rosbercon, near New Rofs	18 Dec. 1798	<i>County Cavan.</i>	
Corren, near Kilkenny	4 July 1799	Killeshandra, Diocese of Kil-	
Murkally, ditto -	ditto	more - -	July 1800
Tullagher, near Rosbercon	Sept. 1800	Caolency, ditto - -	ditto
<i>County Carlow, Diocese of Leighlin.</i>		<i>King's County.</i>	
Clonmore - -	6 Mar. 1799	Shinrone, Diocese of Killaloe,	
Hacketstown, on Easter-day	4 May	<i>County Dublin.</i>	
Rathloe -	Aug.	Ballyboghil, Arch-diocese of Dublin,	
Newtown, damaged -	Mar. 1800	accidentally destroyed by foldiers	
<i>County Kildare.</i>		before the rebellion.	
Kildare, Diocese of Kildare	4 June 1798	<i>County Cork.</i>	
Castledermot, (Arch-diocese		Kilbrogan, near Bandon, destroyed be-	
of Dublin) -	28 Mar. 1799	fore the rebellion, or at the com-	
Athy, ditto - -	May	mencement of it, by Scotch foldiers.	

In all sixty-nine chapels destroyed or damaged, of which fifty have been surveyed, and compensation allowed and paid by order of government, which has likewise ordered the others to be estimated.---Dublin, 6th May, 1801, add the parish priest's house at Wicklow.

No. CXIII.

Mr. Hay's Letter to the Rev. Mr. Gordon. (Page 742.)

REV. SIR,

AS you have publicly professed a wish to be informed of any involuntary errors contained in your history, when speculative opinions supply the place of fact, and are so prevalent, hearsay evidence, whether oral, manuscript, or printed, is to be received with the greatest caution, and the greatest superiority of ocular information to any other, induces me, from
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my personal knowledge of facts, to send you, along with my own opinion, auxiliary documents, that cannot fail to convince you that the introduction of my name into your history is not such as I am entitled to, and I hope your professions of liberality and candour may be realized in doing justice to my present communication. According to the plan contained in Mr. Byrne's circular letter, two persons deputed from each Catholic congregation in the county of Wexford, assembled at Enniscorthy, on the 29th of July, 1792, where they elected delegates to represent the county in the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland; I attended this meeting as a voter from the congregation I belong to, and had the honor of being elected one of the delegates for the county of Wexford, so that the intermediate step of baronials (which you mention in your history) had but a speculative existence, invented I do naturally suppose, for the purpose of assimilating the Catholic committee with the system of United Irishmen, a circumstance totally devoid of truth, as no kind of communication existed between them. In order that the meeting of the general committee should be publicly attended, proposals were made to hire the Rotunda and other public places, which could not be obtained. Such disappointment was the more conspicuous, as such refusal was not signified to many other applications of the same kind, so that no other place but the Taylor's-Hall, in Back-Lane, could be obtained, which precluded the possibility of being able to admit any but the delegates, as it was scarcely sufficient to contain them, and thus was the committee frustrated in having their assembly publicly attended. The first meeting of this general committee took place in December, 1792, for seven days only; which you mention to be many weeks; and the second and final meeting was for eight days, from the 16th of April, 1793, to the 25th only, meeting on Saturday the 20th, being in the Court of King's Bench, where all the delegates attended to take the oaths of allegiance prescribed in the late act of parliament, and this meeting ended in dissolution. The collections made by the Catholics of Ireland to defray the necessary expences attendant on the pursuit of their emancipation were voluntary subscriptions, not in any degree assessments, as it is evident, that the entreaties of the sub-committee (by no means orders) were not attended to, as two-thirds of the counties of Ireland never produced one farthing. I paid the collection of the county of Wexford to the treasurer in 1792, and no second collection ever was made there. The statue of the king could not be erected, although voted by Catholic gratitude, which along with other honorable engagements

engagements of the committee, were superseded by the illiberality of the general and calumnious outcry raised at the time against our collections. The petition of the Catholics of Ireland, presented to the king on the 2d January, 1798, might be supposed to escape animadversion, when his majesty was graciously pleased to signify his strongest approbation in his recommendation to the parliament of Ireland, who in consequence repealed the greater part of the penal statutes against Catholics. The late Earl of Clare did assert, as you have done in your history, that the Catholic petition was surprisingly fraught with misrepresentation. On this assertion being so publicly made, the petition was re-printed, reciting the statutes, on which the allegations were grounded, prepared by the honorable Simon Butler, whose reputation as a lawyer, the chancellor was too well aware of to attempt to expose his error again, and gave up the point; so that I imagine this public document will be equally convincing to you, as I send it to you along with all the proceedings of the Catholic committee relating to this event, for your perusal, as I should wish your avowal to proceed from the most perfect information on the subject. Although I profess the Roman Catholic religion, I should not be of that communion one single hour were their tenets as they are represented, through that baneful prejudice so prevalent in Ireland, that proves such an effectual drawback to the otherwise infallible prosperity of the country, and I cannot sufficiently lament to see so industriously circulated, as it only serves to keep alive those prejudices that all liberal men see through and reprobate as a pest to society. A sloop had been fitted out by the insurgents, but twice condemned as totally unfit for that service, was hauled on one side in the harbour, where she sunk within a foot of her deck, and remained in that situation for a month, when she was pumped out, and I was on the same day, without trial or inquiry, sent on board along with those that had been tried, and sentenced to transportation. The wet straw was left in the hold, and a little dry straw shook over it, which our walking on soon made as bad as the rest, so that it was not possible to sit or lie down without imbibing the wet, nor could we even have the satisfaction of resting against the sides of the ship, as the planks were water soaked, and the effervescence of the putrid malt so strong as to turn money black in our pockets in the course of a few hours; we had also a profusion of rats, that bit some of the prisoners. My health has been greatly impaired by five weeks confinement on board this sloop, and I fear it may never be perfectly re-established. I should detain you too long was I to enumerate
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the various hardships I have endured during a period of thirteen months that I was confined, which I was at last released from by an honorable acquittal, at the summer assizes in Wexford, 1799, independent of the amnesty bill, whereas my persecutors could be punished by the fundamental laws of the constitution, had they not the indemnity bills to screen their base and tyrannical conduct toward me. I have confined myself merely to the facts stated in your history, in which I have been an eye witness, and in some degree concerned, so that it precludes the possibility of cavilling or contradiction, and hope you may be kind enough to set them in their proper colours. I request the favor of your answer, as I am anxious to learn your determination on a subject you have hitherto been so much misinformed, as I do not mean to let such a misrepresentation pass unrefuted, to posterity, I am therefore anxious to learn your answer, and have the honor to be, with great respect,

Rev. Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Dublin, 6th July, 1802.

EDWARD HAY.

No. CXIV.

(Page 743.)

At a Meeting of the General and several Officers of the United Army of the County of Wexford, the following Resolutions were agreed upon:

Resolved, That the commander in chief shall send guards to certain baronies, for the purpose of bringing in all men they shall find loitering and delaying at home, or elsewhere; and if any resistance be given to those guards, so to be sent by the commanding officer's orders, it is our desire and order that such persons so giving resistance shall be liable to be put to death by the guards, who are to bear a commission for that purpose, and all such persons found to be so loitering and delaying at home, when brought in by the guards, shall be tried by a court martial, appointed and chosen from among the commanders of all the different corps, and be punished with death.

Resolved, That all officers shall immediately repair to their respective quarters, and remain with their different corps, and not depart therefrom under pain

pain of death, unless authorized to quit by written orders from the commander in chief for that purpose.

It is also ordered, that a guard shall be kept in rear of the different armies, with orders to shoot all persons who shall fly or desert from any engagement; and that these orders shall be taken notice of by all officers commanding in such engagement.

All men refusing to obey their superior officers, to be tried by a court martial and punished according to their sentence.

It is ordered, that all men who shall attempt to leave their respective quarters, when they have been halted by the commander in chief, shall suffer death, unless they shall have leave from their officers for so doing.

It is ordered by the commander in chief, that all persons, who have stolen or taken away any horse or horses, shall immediately bring in all such horses to the camp, at head quarters, otherwise for any horse that shall be found in the possession of any person to whom he does not belong, that person shall on being convicted thereof, suffer death.

And any goods that shall have been plundered from any house, if not brought into head quarters, or returned immediately to the houses or owners, that all persons so plundering as aforesaid, shall, on being convicted thereof, suffer death.

It is also resolved, that any person, who shall take upon them to kill or murder any person or prisoner, burn any house, or commit any plunder, without special written orders from the commander in chief, shall suffer death.

By Order of B. B. HARVEY, commander in Chief,

*Head-Quarters, Carrick-
Byrne Camp, June 6, 1798.*

FRANCIS BREEN, Sec. and Adj.

A proclamation of similar tendency was issued at Wexford on the 17th, addressed to the insurgent armies by General Edward Roche, conceived in the following words :

To the People of Ireland.

COUNTRYMEN AND FELLOW SOLDIERS !

YOUR patriotic exertions in the cause of your country have hitherto exceeded your most sanguine expectations, and in a short time must ultimately be crowned with success. Liberty has raised her drooping head,

head, thousands daily flock to her standard, the voice of her children every where prevails. Let us then in the moment of triumph, return thanks to the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, that a total stop has been put to those sanguinary measures, which of late were but too often resorted to by the creatures of government, to keep the people in slavery.

Nothing now my countrymen, appears necessary to secure the conquests you have already won, but an implicit obedience to the commands of your chiefs; for through a want of proper subordination and discipline, all may be changed.

At this eventful period, all Europe must admire, and posterity will read with astonishment, the heroic acts achieved by people strangers to military tactics, and having few professional commanders; but what power can resist men fighting for liberty?

In the moment of triumph, my countrymen, let not your victories be tarnished with any wanton act of cruelty; many of those unfortunate men now in prison were not your enemies from principle; most of them, compelled by necessity, were obliged to oppose you; neither let a difference in religious sentiments cause a difference among the people. Recur to the debates in the Irish House of Lords on the 19th of February last; you will there see a patriotic and enlightened Protestant bishop (Down, and many of the lay lords) with manly eloquence, pleading for Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform, in opposition to the haughty arguments of the lord chancellor, and the powerful opposition of his fellow-courtiers.

To promote a union of brotherhood and affection among our countrymen of all religious persuasions, has been our principal object: we have sworn in the most solemn manner, have associated for this laudable purpose, and no power on earth shall shake our resolution.

To my Protestant soldiers I feel much indebted for their gallant behaviour in the field, where they exhibited signal proofs of bravery in the cause.

Wexford, June 7, 1798.

EDWARD ROCHE.

No. CXV.

(Page 758.)

Refutation of the Charges against Dr. Caulfield and the Catholic Clergy of Wexford.

SIR Richard Musgrave, in a pamphlet entitled, *Observations on the Reply of the Rev. Doctor Caulfield, and of the Roman Catholic Clergy of Wexford*, has lately published a copy of an affidavit without any date, supposed to have been made by one Higginbottom, with a view to criminate the Catholic bishop of Ferns and his clergy, to the following effect, viz.

John Higginbottom sweareth on the Holy Evangelists, that he was a prisoner with the rebels in Gorey, the day of the battle of Arklow; that he was bailed out by Furlong, D'Arcy, and Rossiter, of Gorey, and thereby permitted to be a prisoner at large; that he went with Rossiter into D'Arcy's, a public house, and into a room where they sat to drink, and shortly after, Kavanagh and Synnott, priests, and two other rebels, came in to them; that, after some time, Synnott said, Murphy had but seven men when he began the business, and now you see what it has come to; he then took out a letter and shewed it to Redmond, saying, you may read that, and see how long I have been concerned in this business; and though I stood against it as long as I could, you may see, in that letter, how I was compelled by my bishop to it: some time after, while the battle raged and could be heard, he said, there are some people now lashed round hell with an iron flail.

Sworn before me, PETER BROWNE.

JOHN HIGGINBOTTOM.

I certify, that the above affidavit was made before me, and that I know Higginbottom well, and believe him to be well worthy of credit.

PETER BROWNE, Dean of Ferns.

Too many persons are attempted to be traduced and criminated by the publication of the above affidavit, not to set the public right upon the fact. The prurient lust for falsehood in some authors is as unbounded as it is incomprehensible. The following declaration of Mr. Synnott is submitted to the reader, with some affidavits of respectable persons in refutation of that of Higginbottom.

I, John Synnott, parish priest of Gorey, mentioned, or supposed to be mentioned, in a form of affidavit, said to have been made by John Higginbottom, and published in a pamphlet entitled, *Observations on the Reply of the Right Rev.*

Rev. Doctor Caulfield, &c. Dublin, printed by Marchbank, 1802, and supposed to be written by Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart, feeling myself criminally and falsely charged therein, deem it a duty to the public and myself to do away, so far as in my lies, the unfavorable impression which the misstatements of the publisher are calculated to make to the prejudice of my bishop and of the Roman Catholic ministry in general, do make the following solemn declaration :

In the awful presence of Almighty God, the sovereign judge of the living and the dead, I do solemnly declare, that I was not in Gorey during the battle of Arklow; that I was not in D'Arcy's house on that day; and that I did not see the deponent, John Higginbottom, during the battle of Arklow, or on that whole day; that I did not any where take out or shew Redmond the letter referred to in the said affidavit, setting forth how long I was concerned in the business (rebellion), and that though I stood against it as long as I could, I was compelled by the bishop to it; that I never expressed or used such words, or others of similar tendency attributed to me; nor these—*there are some people now lashed round hell with an iron flail*, words which I never heard of until I read them in the alleged affidavit of Higginbottom. I also declare in same manner, that I could not shew any letter of the import alluded to above, because I never received from my bishop, Right Rev. Doctor Caulfield, any letter, tending to sedition, turbulence, or rebellion; on the contrary, I received several letters from him, in the course of the year, before the rebellion, and in the beginning of that very year until he was called to Dublin, directing and ordering me and the other clergy of the district, to use our utmost endeavours to impress on our flocks respectively the sinfulness of unlawful oaths, of all combinations or conspiracies, and unlawful meetings, tending to sedition, turbulence, or disturbance of the public peace and tranquillity, and that such had been the Doctor's constant theme whenever he personally met his clergy, uniformly on such occasions, and by circular letters, declaring, that any Roman Catholic, who did not conduct himself conformably to these instructions, was absolutely disqualified, and could not be admitted to sacraments: that loyalty to our king, and submission to his government, were indispensable Christian duties, and that no one can be a good Christian, who is not a good subject.

How or why that supposed affidavit without date, has not made its appearance in public till this late period, is not easily accounted for, or how it could

have so long eluded the diligence of the compiler of the memoirs: but let the candid public compare it with what I have now truly set forth, (which I am ready to declare on oath in any court) and with the following affidavits made by the very men stated to have been present, when the subject matter of Higginbottom's affidavit occurred, and let them or any man of common sense judge of its authenticity, and how far it tends to criminate the conduct of Dr. Caulfield, and reverend Father Kavanagh, so often mentioned in those memoirs, published by Sir Richard Musgrave.

Gorey, 4th Nov. 1802.

JOHN SYNNOTT, P. P.

I. Matthew D'Arcey, late of Gorey, sweareth on the holy Evangelists, that he lived in Gorey the day of the battle of Arklow; that he remembers John Higginbottom to have been in his house that day in company with John Rossiter, of Gorey, has no recollection of Rev. John Synnott, or Rev. Francis Kavanagh, to have been in his house, or in Higginbottom's company on that day; and positively denies to have not seen or heard any thing of the letter spoken of in Higginbottom's affidavit; and further saith, that his affidavit is made at the request of the Rev. John Synnott, of the county Wexford.

HUGH TREVOR.

MATTHEW D'ARCEY.

Dublin, June 15th, 1802.

II. John Redmond, late of Kilkavin, in the county of Wexford, maketh oath on the Holy Evangelists, that the Rev. John Synnott never shewed him any such letter from his bishop, nor ever used any such expressions in his hearing, as stated in John Higginbottom's affidavit, and that he, John Redmond, was as far distant from Gorey as Kilkavin, which is three miles, from the commencement of the battle of Arklow until the day following; and further saith, that this affidavit is made at the request of the Rev. John Synnott, of the county Wexford. Sworn before me this 15th day of June, 1802.

HUGH TREVOR.

JOHN REDMOND.

III. *County of Wexford to Wit.*—The Rev. Patrick Stafford, of Clonilla, in said county, priest, came before me one of the justices of the peace for said county, and made his voluntary oath on the Holy Evangelists, that on
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the day of the battle of Arklow, the Rev. John Synnott, P.P. was in company with him ; and that during the continuance of the battle they were not in Gorey, or within a mile of it ; and further faith, that this affidavit is made at the request of said John Synnott. Sworn before me 18th June, 1802.

ANNESLEY BROWNRIGG.

PATRICK STAFFORD.

IV. *County of Wexford to Wit.*—John Rosseter, of Gorey, fadler of said county, came before me one of the justices of the peace for said county, and made his voluntary oath on the Holy Evangelists, and faith, that on the battle day of Arklow, in the late rebellion, he did not see the Rev. John Synnott, the Rev. Francis Kavanagh, or John Redmond of Kilkavin, at Matthew D'Arcey's, or any other house in Gorey, or any other place on said day ; and further, he had never seen the Rev. John Synnott hand a letter to John Redmond, or say he had any orders from his bishop, or any other person to act in that business ; and further declare, that he never used such expressions in his hearing as is stated in John Higginbottom's affidavit.

Sworn before me this 19th day of June, 1802. This affidavit was made at the request of the Rev. John Synnott.

JAMES WHITE.

JOHN ROSSETER.

No. CXVI. a.

A List of the Members who voted against and for an Union with Great Britain, on the 24th of January, 1799. (Page 875.)

The following gentlemen voted against the Union.

Hon. A. Acheson (1)	Arthur Browne	Hon. A. Creighton
W. C. Alcock	William Burton (1)	Jos. Edward Cooper (1)
M. Archdall (1)	Robert Crowe	Henry Coddington
David Babington	Lord Viscount Corry (1)	James Cane
John Bagwell (1)	Lord Clements (1)	Lord Caulfield (1)
William Bagwell	Lord Cole (1)	D. B. Daly (1)
John Ball	Hon. Col. Cole	Richard Dawson
Jonah Barrington	George Crookshank	Arthur Dawson
J. C. Beresford	Hon. J. Creighton	Francis Dobbs
		Richard

Richard F. Edgeworth	Robert Latouche	W. C. Plunket
John Egan	Day. Latouche, jun.	William Ruxton
George Evans	C. P. Leslie (1)	Abel Ram (1)
Sir John Freke, Bt.	Edward Lee	Gustavus Rochford (1)
Fred. J. Falkiner (1)	Sir Thomas Leighton	John S. Rochford
Rt. Hon. J. Fitzgerald	A. Montgomery (1)	Sir Wm. Richardson
W. C. Fortescue (1)	Sir John M'Cartney	Fr. Saunderfon (1)
Hon. Thomas Foster	Colonel John Maxwell	W. Smyth, Westm. (1)
Arthur French (1)	Wm. Thomas Monfell	James Stewart (1)
William Gore	Arthur Moore	Henry Stewart (2)
Han Gorges (1)	Lord Mathew (1)	Sir R. St. George
Hans Hamilton (1)	John Metge	Hon. B. Stratford
William Handcock	Richard Neville	Hon. Barry St. Leger
Edward Hardman	Thomas Newenham	Nathaniel Sneyd
Francis Hardy	Charles O'Hara (1)	H. W. J. Skeffington
Sir Jof. Hoare	Henry Osborne	Thomas Stannus
Alexander Hamilton	Sir Edward O'Brien	Francis Savage (1) (2)
Hon. A. C. Hamilton	Hon. W. O'Callaghan (2)	William Tighe
Sir Francis Hopkins	Hugh O'Donnel	Henry Tighe
Gilbert King	James M. O'Donnel	Hon. R. Trench (1)
Charles King	Rt. Hon. G. Ogle	John Taylor
Hon. Robert King	Rt. Hon. Wm. Brabazon	Hon. R. Taylor (2)
Rt. Hon. Henry King	Ponfonby (1)	Thomas Townsend
John King (2)	George Ponfonby	Charles Vereker
Lord Viscount Kingsbo-	Major Wm. Ponfonby	Owen Wynne
rough (1)	John Preston	John Waller (1)
Hon. G. Knox	Joseph Preston	E. D. Wilfon
Francis Knox	Sir John Parnel (1)	
John Latouche (1)	Richard Power (1)	[111]
John Latouche, jun.	Sir L. Parsons (1) (3)	

The following are those who voted for an Union.

R. Alexander	William Barley	J. Bingham
H. Alexander	R. Hon. J. Beresford (1 2)	J. H. Blake (1)
R. Annesley	J. Beresford, jun.	W. Blakeney
R. Archdall	Marcus Beresford	Sir J. Blaquiery

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APPENDIX.

311

Anthony Botel	Colonel B. Henniker	Thomas Nesbit
James Boyd	Peter Holmes	Sir W. Newcomen (1)
Lord Boyle (1)	Hon. F. Hutchinſon	W. Odell (1)
Rt. Hon. D. Browne (1)	Hon. J. Hutchinſon	C. M. Ormsby
Stewart Bruce	Col. G. Jackſon (1)	Charles Oſborn
George Burdett	Denham Jephſon	T. Pakenham
Thomas Burgh	Hon. John Jocelyn	Frederick Trench
Lord Caſtlereagh (1)	Robert Johnſon	Sir Boyle Roche
Sir H. Cavendiſh	Walter Jones	R. Rutledge
George Cavendiſh	Theo. Jones	Sir George Shee
Broderick Chinnery	John Keane	H. Skeffington
Rt. Hon. T. Conolly (1)	James Kearney	William Smith
E. Cooke	Henry Kemmis	Henry M. Sandford
C. H. Coote (1)	William Knott	Edmond Stanley
R. Cornwall	Andrew Knox	John Staples (1)
Rt. Hon. J. Corry	James Knox	John Stewart
Sir J. Cotter	Sir H. Langriſhe (2)	John Stratton
R. Cotter	Thomas Lindſay, ſen.	Charles Tottenham
W. A. Croſbie	Thomas Lindſay, jun.	Rt. Hon. J. Toler
St. George Daly	M. Longfield	J. Townſend
William Elliot	John Longfield	Lord Tyrone (3)
General Euſtace	Captain J. Longfield	R. Uniacke
Lord Cha. Fitzgerald	Francis M'Namara	J. O. Vandeleur
A. Ferguſon	Roſs Mahon	James Verner
Maurice Fitzgerald	Richard Martin	Lieut. Col. Wemyſs
R. U. Fitzgerald (1) (3)	Rt. Hon. J. M. Maſon	Henry Weſtenra
Hon. W. Forward	H. Dillon Maſſey	Thomas Whaley
Sir C. Forteſcue	James M'Cleland	Ben. B. Woodward
J. Galbraith	E. A. M'Naghten	W. Yelverton
H. D. Grady	Lorenzo Moor	
Richard Hare	Stephen Moor	[106]
F. Hare	Rt. Hon. Lodge Morres	
Hugh Howard	Sir Richard Muſgrave	

Thus marked (1), country members.

Thus marked (2), abſent on the firſt day.

Thus marked (3), tellers the firſt day.

No.

No. CXVI.

Copy of a Letter from Dr. Caulfield to James Boyd, Esq. (P. 761.)

SIR,

WITH equal surprise and concern I have lately been told, that it is whispered about, you have many grievous charges against me, as many as would hang fifty men. If this report be founded in truth, conscious innocence presses me to request, and I expect from your candour, that you will have the goodness to let me know it; for I do not, nor will I skulk, or fly from justice, or the laws. I shall be here, or in the neighbourhood, openly, and ready to answer any legal or fair call: I hope you will believe me, when I assure you, that I shall by many degrees prefer innocent death to inglorious and wounded honor.

That I have been foully calumniated, and most grossly insulted, is too notorious; and that I bore it in all meekness and patience is not less so; nor is it a secret, though since overlooked, that during the horrid rebellion in Wexford, I did every thing in my power to serve and save my Protestant neighbours and their property; and if I did not more, it was unfortunate for them and painful for me, that I could not effect it, being myself in constant terror for my life. The fabrications and false tales of the ignorant I can, I thank God, despise; but charges of treason or felony are too much for a Christian innocent man to bear.

This consideration, I hope, will make my apology for giving you this trouble; humbly requesting you will inform me how I stand in that respect.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

SIR,

Your most humble

And most obedient servant,

Baltimore, May 11, 1800.

JAMES CAULFIELD.

No. CXVII.

Resolutions in Favor of Mr. Foster. (P. 914.)

COUNTY OF LOUTH.

AT a numerous and respectable meeting of the Freeholders of the county of Louth, held at Dundalk, on Monday, January the 14th, 1799, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

JOHN M'CLINTOCK, Esq. jun. High Sheriff in the chair.

Resolved, That it is the duty as well as the right of the freeholders and burgeses of Ireland to express their sentiments on the subject of a Union.

Resolved, That our representatives were not empowered at their election to surrender the constitutional privileges of their constituents.

Resolved, That the rapid improvement of this kingdom since the date of her legislative independence, clearly evinces that an independent Irish legislature is as necessary as British connexion to the prosperity of Ireland.

Resolved, That an Union would not only deprive us of many of our dearest rights, but render the enjoyment of the remainder precarious and uncertain, and would for ever destroy the security that Ireland now possesses, for their continuance.

Resolved, That it is impolitic and unwise to agitate, at this time, a question that may lead to a recurrence to first principles.

Resolved, That firmly attached as we are to British connexion, we do totally disapprove of a plan of a legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland.

Resolved, That these our sentiments be communicated to our representatives, in whose attachment to the constitution and true interests of Ireland we have the most firm reliance.

The high sheriff having left the chair, and Mr. Balfour having taken it, it was resolved,

That our thanks be given to our worthy high sheriff, for his readiness to convene the county, and his proper conduct in the chair.

To the ELECTORS of the County of LOUTH.

GENTLEMEN,

I THANK you for your sentiments, and it is a great satisfaction to me, to find my own opinion strengthened by your explicit de-

claration, that an Irish independent legislature is as necessary as British connexion to the prosperity of Ireland.

The House of Commons have said so in strong language, when they stated to his majesty in 1782, that the very essence of our liberties exists in the right of a sole legislature, the parliament of Ireland, a right which they then claimed on the part of all the people as their birthright, and which they declared to his majesty they could not yield but with their lives.

I joined in that statement, and we were afterwards told from the throne, that both countries had pledged their good faith to each other, that their best security would be an inviolable adherence to that compact; and we were desired to convince the people, that the two kingdoms were then one, indissolubly connected in unity of constitution, and unity of Interest.

Nothing then remains to strengthen our union. We have adhered to that compact, so has Great Britain; and we have risen to prosperity with a rapidness beyond example since it was made. I see no concern either of imperial concern or local necessity, which can justify our attempting a change, much less such a change as would annihilate that birthright, by the confirmation of which our trade and manufactures felt a security that immediately roused a happy spirit of exertion, the surrender of which would not only make the employment of those exertions precarious, but would equally take away all security of permanence from every advantage, which any persons might be ignorantly deluded into a hope of from the projected measure of a legislative Union. In truth, I see much danger, and a probable decrease to our trade and manufactures from the measure, and I cannot conceive any one advantage to them from it.

If the linen manufacture rests at all on any compact, that compact was made with the Irish parliament, the extinction of which takes away a security we have found adequate, and leaves it without the protection of its natural guardians, who by their vigilance, their regulations, and their bounties, have more than doubled its export within a few years past.

As an Irishman then, I should oppose the measure, and as a member of the empire, I should not be less averse to it; for the innovation it would make in the constitution of Great Britain, with whom we must stand or fall, may so endanger that constitution, as in the end to overturn it, and with it the whole of the empire.

Nor can I look at the circumstances of the times without depreciating its
being

being proposed, when the French proceedings teach us the danger of innovating on the established constitution, and, when it must be peculiarly alarming to Ireland, scarcely rested from a cruel and unprovoked rebellion, to have the public mind again agitated by an unnecessary, unprovoked, and unsolicited project. These are my sentiments.

The entire confidence you repose in my attachment to the constitution, and the true interests of Ireland, call upon me to state them fully to you. You shall not find that confidence misplaced. I shall oppose the measure, and I remain, with the most perfect esteem and affection,

§ Your very obliged and faithful humble servant,

Collon, January 15th, 1799.

JOHN FOSTER.

To the ELECTORS of the County of LOUTH.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE received your address, and return you my thanks for the confidence you have placed in me.

I entirely agree with you, that an independent Irish legislature is as necessary as British connexion to the prosperity of Ireland, and that it is impolitic at present to agitate a question of legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland.

I have the honor to be,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient humble servant,

WILLIAM CHARLES FORTESCUE.

Ravenstale Park, January 15th, 1799.

CITY OF DUBLIN.

At a general assembly of the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, held on the 18th of January, 1799, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

Resolved, That by the exertions of the people and parliament of this kingdom, the trade and constitution thereof were settled on principles so liberal, that the nation has risen ever since rapidly in wealth and consequence.

Resolved, That having boldly defended the constitution in king, lords, and commons, against the open and secret abettors of rebellion, we are determined steadily to oppose any attempt that may be made to surrender the

free legislation of this kingdom, by uniting it with the legislature of Great Britain.

Resolved, That viewing the measure of an Union with Great Britain as one fraught with the most fatal consequences to this kingdom, tending to annihilate the constitution thereof, any person bringing forward such a proposition, would in our opinion be an enemy to the king's government in this country, by endangering the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom.

Resolved, That it is our duty and our determination to support inviolably the prerogatives of the crown, as well as the privileges of the people.

Resolved, That any minister who shall advise his majesty, by the exercise of any of his prerogatives, to influence or deter any member of the legislature from the free use of his judgment in parliament, will thereby commit a high crime against the honor and dignity of the crown, the independence of the parliament, and the constitution of the realm.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions be published.

Signed by order,

ALLEN and GREENE, Town Clerks.

Be it remembered, that at a general assembly of the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, held on the 18th day of January, 1799, it was resolved unanimously, that the following address be presented to the Right Honorable John Foster, Speaker of the House of Commons of Ireland.

The Address of the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens of Dublin, in Common Council assembled.

SIR,

AMIDST the terror which the threatened invasion of our liberties, and our fortunes, and our commerce have spread around, the hearts of Irishmen, though sickened with disgust, and influenced with indignation, are yet strangers to despair. From those talents and that virtue, in which she has often found relief, your country again demands protection. Suffer not a nation, to which you have heretofore been a shield, to expire without an effort to save her. Come forward with all that animated zeal for the welfare of the empire, with that affectionate attachment to British connexion, with that ardent love for Ireland, and that parental care of her commercial and constitutional rights, by which you have been ever distinguished. Bring with you that penetrating judgment and capacious wisdom, that command-

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ing eloquence and bold integrity, with which you have hitherto supported those dear but valuable interests. Demonstrate to the world, that the assertions of our enemies are not motives, but pretexts; that their arguments are idle and delusive; that while they affect to promote the trade and agriculture of Ireland, to secure our alliance with Britain, and to invigorate the energies of the empire, they are proceeding wickedly and wantonly to undermine them all.

In testimony whereof the common seal of said city is hereunto affixed, the day and year aforesaid.

The Right Honorable the Lord Mayor, board of Aldermen, Town Clerks, High Sheriff, and Corporation at large, having waited on the Right Honorable the Speaker with said address, he was pleased to return the following answer:

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

TO be so honored by the city of Dublin, which has ever been eminently conspicuous for its loyalty, its attachment to our constitution, and its watchful vigilance over all our rights and interests, fills me with sentiments of gratitude and honest pride, which you can more readily conceive than I can express. Accept my grateful and cordial thanks, and be sure of my zealous perseverance in the conduct you approve.

You have very justly joined a zeal for the empire and attachment to British connexion with an ardent love for Ireland. No man can be a sound friend to Ireland, who does not feel that zeal and that attachment, nor can he ever be an efficient friend, if he does not in every public measure hold them in his view, and make them the rule of his conduct.

Since the constitution of this kingdom was settled, by its right to a sole, separate, and exclusive legislation, being unequivocally confirmed, we have seen its prosperity rising rapidly, yet steadily, its resources increasing for the support of the empire, and those resources liberally and effectually applied. We have seen, and still see mutual acts of kindness between the two kingdoms strengthening their connexion, and any commercial jealousies that ever existed happily subsiding. Inseparably united under the same executive power, which is equally a branch of the legislature of each kingdom, our Union is complete to every beneficial purpose, and the project in contemplation deserves not the name of Union. In my soul, I think it is fraught with possible consequences, certainly not foreseen by those who bring it forward, that
will

will tend, if not to actual separation, to attempts at least to separate us from Great Britain, to our utter ruin and to the subversion of the British empire, now the most happy and glorious on the face of the earth.

I am, my Lord and Gentlemen,
With the utmost respect, gratitude, and veneration,
Your very obliged and obedient servant,

JOHN FOSTER.

Ordered, That said address and answer be published,

ALLEN and GREENE, Town Clerks.

No. CXVIII.

Addresses of Roman Catholics upon the Union. (Page 979.)

CITY OF WATERFORD.

AT a general meeting of the Roman Catholics of the city of Waterford and its vicinity, held at the Great Chapel, on the 28th of June, 1799,

PETER ST. LEDGER, Esq. in the Chair,

The following five gentlemen were appointed a committee, to prepare a declaration on the measure of a legislative Union:

Rev. Dr. Thomas Hearn, Thomas Sherlock, Esq.

Edward Sheil, Esq. Jeremiah Ryan, Esq.

Thomas Hearn, Esq. M. D.

Resolved, That the following declaration be adopted.

THE measure of a legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland having been recommended to the consideration of both of his parliaments by our most gracious sovereign, the common father of his people, we, his majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects the Catholics of the city of Waterford and its vicinity, have thought it incumbent on us to make this public avowal of our sentiments on the important and interesting occasion.

We are firmly convinced, that a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles and on a sense of mutual interests and affection, is a measure of wisdom and expediency for this kingdom, and will effectually promote the strength and prosperity of both; and we trust it will afford the surest means of allaying those unhappy distractions

tions and removing those penal exclusions on the score of religion, which have too long prevailed in this country, and by consolidating the resources of both kingdoms oppose the most effectual resistance to the destructive projects of both foreign and domestic enemies.

Strongly impressed with these sentiments, we look forward with earnest anxiety to the moment when the two sister nations may be inseparably united in the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free constitution, in the support of the honor and dignity of his majesty's crown, and in the preservation and advancement of the welfare and prosperity of the whole British empire.

Resolved unanimously, That Lord Viscount Donoughmore, the sincere and attached friend of the Catholic interest, be requested to communicate these our sentiments most respectfully to his excellency the lord lieutenant.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Thomas Sherlock, Esq. for his public and spirited exertions in promoting this our declaration, and that he be requested to hand it to Lord Viscount Donoughmore.

Signed, by order,

PETER ST. LEDGER, Chairman.

[Signed by 280 subscribers.]

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, 16th July, 1799.

I AM directed by my lord lieutenant to request your lordship will have the goodness to express to the Roman Catholics of Waterford, the satisfaction his excellency feels, from their declaration of the 28th of June, which they desired your lordship to lay before him, and which is so respectably signed.

The measure of a legislative Union upon just and liberal principles between this kingdom and Great Britain is near his excellency's heart; he is convinced, that nothing will so effectually tend to bury the religious animosities in oblivion, which have unhappily prevailed in this kingdom, to conciliate the affections of all his majesty's subjects to the mild government under which they live, to encrease the happiness and prosperity of Ireland, and to augment the power and stability of the British empire.

I have the honor to be,

With the truest esteem and regard,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

Lord Viscount Donoughmore.

CASTLEREAGH.

Rath-

Rathfarnham Castle, Nov. 5th, 1799.

DEAR SIR,

THE Roman Catholics of the town of Wexford and its neighbourhood having requested of me, through Dr. Caulfield, to present a dutiful and loyal address from them to his excellency the lord lieutenant, I feel great satisfaction in complying with their desire, and from the signature I have every reliance on the sincerity of their professions; I therefore beg of you, to lay it before his excellency with my humble respects.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

To Lieut. Col. Littlehales.

ELY.

AT a meeting of the Roman Catholics of the town of Wexford and its vicinity, in the Chapel of Wexford, on Sunday the 22d of September, 1799,

Reverend Doctor CAULFIELD in the Chair.

To His Excellency Charles Marquis CORNWALLIS, Lord Lieutenant
General and General Governor of Ireland.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

HOWEVER depraved or ungrateful some of our communion in this country may have been, when acting under that fatal impulse of temporary madness and delusion, which unfortunately prevailed in this kingdom last year, we humbly presume to approach your excellency with our unfeigned assurance of perpetual loyalty and decided attachment to the royal person, family, and government of our beloved and most gracious sovereign, whose paternal indulgence towards us we can never forget.

We recollect with abhorrence and detestation the late unnatural rebellion, and the crimes it produced; but entertain the consoling reflection, that the generality of the Roman Catholics in this country, of respectability, consequence, or property, with some exceptions, and even many amongst those, who still labour under the painful appearance of delinquency, were perfectly innocent—nevertheless we have to lament, that there were too many guilty.

The compulsive sway and irresistible predominancy of a wicked and armed conspiracy dragged many peaceable and loyal subjects from their home into the field, and forced them, however reluctant, to take or to seem to take a part, and to appear in arms under the criminal banner of rebellion, during that dreadful paroxysm of political phrenzy, which we earnestly pray and hope

God

God in his mercy will never again permit to convulse and desolate this once prosperous and happy country.

Allow us likewise, my Lord, to express our deep indelible sense of gratitude to our beloved monarch for his majesty's attention to the happiness of all his subjects in this kingdom, clearly evinced by the appointment of your excellency to the chief government thereof at a difficult and awful crisis, when the social band was broken asunder, and social order appeared shaken from its very foundation by the wildest anarchy, excited and fostered by the baneful operation of modern French revolutionary maxims, which threatened us with all the moral and political evils that have so long and so grievously afflicted that ill-fated country.

The presence of your excellency happily arrested the progress of this contagious malady, and the inflexible perseverance in the wise, humane, and decisive measures, which so eminently characterizes your excellency's administration, has overawed the conspirators, reclaimed the deluded rebel, protected the loyalist, and gradually introduced into the mind of even the most obdurate offender an anxious desire to submit to legal government, and to live in an uninterrupted state of eternal peace in the spirit of Christian charity with his fellow subjects of every religious persuasion or denomination whatsoever.

As we look forward with an anxious interest to the most effectual means of establishing the internal peace and prosperity of this hitherto distracted country, upon a comprehensive and permanent basis, we consider it a duty we owe to ourselves and to our posterity, thus openly to declare, that we conceive these desirable objects can only be attained by the happy completion of the great and useful measure of a legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, which the common father of the people has in his wisdom recommended to the serious consideration of his parliament.

We are indeed firmly persuaded, that the proposed incorporation of both legislatures must give additional energy to the resources and vigor of the empire, by consolidating and identifying the common interests of the whole people, and that by the liberal efficiency of its operation, diffusing from the centre to the extremities of the empire, all those blessings which naturally flow from the genuine principles of the British constitution, it will afford to every description of his majesty's subjects in Ireland perfect security in the full enjoyment of civil, political, and religious freedom.

Resolved, That the Right Honorable the Earl of Ely be humbly and re-

respectfully requested to present this our address to his Excellency the Marquis Cornwallis.

[Signed by above 3000 persons.]

Dublin Castle, Nov. 6, 1799.

MY LORD,

IN answer to the honor of your lordship's letter of yesterday's date, and its inclosure, I am directed by my lord lieutenant to request, that you will have the goodness to convey his excellency's sincere acknowledgments to the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the town of Wexford and other parishes in that county, for their address transmitted by your lordship.

His excellency desires me to state to your lordship, the satisfaction he receives from finding from the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the county of Wexford, so general a concurrence of sentiment in favor of a legislative Union with Great Britain, which measure he considers essentially necessary for the future prosperity and tranquillity of his majesty's loyal subjects in Ireland.

I have the honor to be,

My Lord, &c.

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

The Earl of Ely.

To His Excellency Charles Marquis Cornwallis, Lord Lieutenant General,
and General Governor of Ireland,

The Address of the Roman Catholics of the City of Cork.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WITH the most affectionate and unfeigned respect, we beg leave to congratulate your excellency on your arrival in this city, and to assure your excellency of the high sense we entertain of the wisdom, firmness, and benevolence of your government, which has so happily subdued a desperate rebellion, and restored this lately distracted country to peace and tranquillity.

Our most gracious sovereign lord the king, to whose illustrious house we are bound by every tie of loyalty and gratitude, having in his parental care recommended to his parliaments in both countries the consideration of an Union of the legislatures of his kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, on the broad and permanent basis of mutual advantages and general security, we beg
leave

leave to express our sentiments on so important a question, and to declare to your excellency, that we consider it the most effectual means to promote the strength and happiness of the empire, to allay the unhappy distractions which have raged, and that nothing short of this salutary measure can ensure to us a continuance of the confidence, of the tranquillity, and the blessings which the wisdom of your auspicious government has restored to this country.

[Signed by 308 Subscribers.]

To the Roman Catholics of the City of Cork.

IT affords me singular pleasure to be assured, that the government of Ireland has been administered in a manner that has given you satisfaction during the period in which his majesty has graciously thought proper to commit it to my care.

In full expectation that the salutary measure to be brought forward will upon the completion of it, be the means of eventually terminating all religious and civil dissensions, and of giving reciprocal advantage and general security to the whole empire, it is with unfeigned gratification that I find a coincidence of opinion in this great work on the part of the loyal Roman Catholic inhabitants of the ancient and opulent city of Cork.*

No. CXIX.

The Articles of Union. (P. 1043.)

RESOLVED, 1. That in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions as may be established by the acts of the respective parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

* Many other such addresses were made by the different bodies of Roman Catholics: viz. From the county of Leitrim, signed by 1836; one from the county of Longford; from the inhabitants of Tipperary and Cahir; from those of the united parishes of Monasterevan, Lacka, Harristown, Nurney and Ballybrackin; from the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Kilkenny; from those of the diocese of Elphin in the county of Roscommon, &c. &c.

Resolved, 2. That for the purpose of establishing an Union, upon the basis stated in the resolution of the two houses of parliament of Great Britain, communicated by his majesty's command in the message sent to this house by his excellency the lord lieutenant, it would be fit to propose as the first article of Union, that the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall upon the first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and one, and for ever after, be united in one kingdom, by the name of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and that the royal stile and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom and its dependencies, and also the ensigns, armorial flags and banners thereof, shall be such as his majesty by his royal proclamation, under the great seal of the united kingdom shall be pleased to appoint.

Resolved, 3. That for the same purpose, it would be fit to propose, that the succession to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner, as the succession to the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of the Union between England and Scotland.

Resolved, 4. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same parliament, to be stiled the parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Resolved, 5. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest and sinking fund, for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively.

That for the space of twenty years after the Union shall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland respectively, towards the expenditure of the united kingdom in each year, shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain and two parts for Ireland, that at the expiration of the said twenty years, the future expenditure of the united kingdom, other than the interest and charges of the debt to which either country shall be separately liable, shall be defrayed in such proportion as the said united parliament shall deem just and reasonable, upon a comparison of the real value of the exports and imports of the respective countries, upon an average of the three years next preceding the period of revision, or on a
comparison

comparifon of the value of the quantities of the following articles confumed within the refpective countries, on a fimilar average, viz. beer, fpirits, fugar, wine, tea, tobacco and malt; or according to the aggregate proportion refulting from both thefe confiderations combined, or on a comparifon of the amount of income in each country, eftimated from the produce for the fame periods of a general tax, if fuch fhall have been impofed on the fame defcriptions of income in both countries, and that the parliament of the united kingdoms fhall afterwards proceed in like manner, to revife and fix the faid proportions according to the fame rules or any of them, at periods not more diftant than twenty years, nor lefs than feven years from each other, unlefs previous to any fuch period the united parliament fhall have declared as herein after provided, that the general expences of the empire fhall be defrayed indifcriminately by equal taxes, impofed on the like articles in both countries.

Resolved, 6. That for defraying the faid expences, according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland fhall hereafter conftitute a confolidated fund, upon which charges equal to the intereft of the debt and finking fund, fhall, in the firft inftance be charged, and the remainder fhall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the general expence of the united kingdom, to which Ireland may be liable in each year.

That the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will by thefe articles be liable, fhall be raifed by fuch taxes in each kingdom refpectively, as the parliament of the united kingdom fhall from time to time deem fit, provided always, that in regulating the taxes in each country by which their refpective proportion fhall be levied, no article in Ireland fhall be liable to be taxed to any amount exceeding that which will be thereafter payable in England on the like articles.

Resolved, 7. That if at the end of any year, any furplus fhall accrue from the revenues of Ireland, after defraying the intereft, finking fund, and proportioned contribution, and feparate charges to which the faid country is liable, either taxes fhall be taken off the amount of fuch furplus, or the furplus fhall be applied by the united parliament to local purpofes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may arife in her revenues in time of peace, or invefted by the commiffioners of the national debt of Ireland in the funds, to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland, at compound intereft, in cafe of contribution in time of war. Provided the furplus fo to accumulate, fhall at no future period be fuffered to exceed the fum of five millions.

Resolved,

Resolved, 8. That all monies hereafter to be raised by loan in peace or war, for the service of the united kingdom by the parliament thereof, shall be considered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respective countries in the proportion of their respective contributions. Provided, that if at any time in raising the respective contributions hereby fixed for each kingdom, the parliament of the united kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contributions in one kingdom within the year than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole, or any part of the loan raised on account of the one country than that raised on account of the other country, then such part of the said loan for the liquidation of which different provisions have been made for the respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which, the respective countries shall have made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions.

Resolved, 9. That if at any future day, the separate debt of each kingdom respectively shall have been liquidated, or the values of their respective debts (estimated according to the amount of the interest and annuities attending the same, of the sinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and the period within which the whole capital of such debt shall appear to be redeemable by such sinking fund) shall be to each other, in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each kingdom respectively, or where the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion, shall not exceed one hundredth part of the said value; and if it shall appear to the united parliament, that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each, to the future general expence of the united kingdom, it shall be competent to the said united parliament to declare, that all future expence thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth from time to time as circumstances may require to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand, that from the period of such declaration, it shall

shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future general expences, according to any of the rules herein before provided.

Provided nevertheless, that the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either country is chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionably as above, shall, until extinguished, continue to be defrayed by separate taxes in each country.

Resolved, 10. That a sum not less than the sum which has been granted by the parliament of Ireland, on the average of six years, as premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufacture, or for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied for the period of twenty years after the Union to such local purposes, in such manner as the parliament of the united kingdom shall direct.

Resolved, 11. That from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all public revenue arising from the territorial dependencies of the united kingdom, shall be applied to the general expenditure of the empire, in the proportions of the respective contributions of the two countries.

Resolved, 12. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose that lords spiritual of Ireland, and lords temporal of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the parliament of the united kingdom, and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Cork, one for the University of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns and boroughs) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland, in the House of Commons in the parliament of the united kingdom.

Resolved, 13. That such acts as shall be passed in the parliament of Ireland previous to the Union, to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned or returned to the said parliament, shall be considered as forming part of the treaty of Union, and shall be incorporated in the act of the respective parliaments, by which the said Union shall be ratified and established.

Resolved, 14. That all questions touching the election of members to sit on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the united kingdom, shall be

be heard and decided in the same manner as questions touching such elections in Great Britain now are, or at any time hereafter shall by law be heard and decided, subject nevertheless, to such particular regulations in respect of Ireland, as from local circumstances the parliament of the said united kingdom may from time to time deem expedient.

Resolved, 15. That the qualifications in respect of property of the members elected on the part of Ireland to sit in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, shall be respectively the same as are now provided by law, in cases of elections for counties, and cities and boroughs respectively, in that part of Great Britain called England, unless any other provision shall hereafter be made in that respect by act of the parliament of the united kingdom.

Resolved, 16. That when his majesty, his heirs or successors, shall declare his, her, or their pleasure, for holding the first or any subsequent parliament of the united kingdom, a proclamation shall issue under the great seal of the united kingdom, to cause the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons who are to serve in the parliament thereof on the part of Ireland, to be returned in such manner as by any act of this present session of the parliament of Ireland shall be provided; and that the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons of Great Britain shall together with the lords spiritual and temporal and commons so returned as aforesaid, on the part of Ireland, constitute the two houses of parliament of the united kingdom.

Resolved, 17. That if his majesty on or before the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, on which day the Union is to take place, shall declare, under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the Lords and Commons of the present parliament of Great Britain, should be members of the respective house of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain, then the said Lords and Commons of the present parliament of Great Britain shall accordingly be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain, and they, together with the Lords spiritual and temporal and commons so summoned and returned as above on the part of Ireland, shall be the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of the first parliament of the united kingdom; and such first parliament may (in that case), if not sooner dissolved, continue to sit so long as the present parliament of Great Britain may now by law continue to sit, and that every one of the lords of parliament of the united kingdom, and every member of the House of Commons of the united kingdom in the first and all succeeding parliaments, shall, until the parliament

parliament of the united kingdom shall otherwise provide, take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration, which are at present by law enjoined to be taken, made and subscribed by the lords and commons of the parliament of Great Britain.

Resolved, 18. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose that the churches of that part of Great Britain called England and of Ireland should be united into one church, and the archbishops, bishops, deans and clergy of the churches of England and Ireland shall, from time to time, be summoned to and entitled to sit in convocation of the united church in the like manner, and subject to the same regulations as are at present by law established, with respect to the like orders of the church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of the united church shall be preserved as now by law established for the church of England; and the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of the church of Scotland shall likewise be preserved as now by law established for the church of Scotland. And that the continuance and preservation for ever of the said united church, as the established church of that part of the united kingdom called England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental condition of the treaty of Union.

Resolved, 19. That for the same purpose, all laws in force at the time of the Union, and all courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established, subject only to such alterations and regulations, from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require, provided that all writs of error and appeals depending at the time of the Union, or hereafter to be brought, and which might now be finally decided by the House of Lords of either kingdom, shall from and after the Union be finally decided by the House of Lords of the united kingdom; and provided, that from and after the Union there shall remain in Ireland an instance Court of Admiralty, for the determination of causes, civil and maritime only; and that all laws at present in force in either kingdom, which shall be contrary to any of the provisions which may be enacted by any act for carrying this article into effect, be from and after the Union repealed.

Resolved, 20. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose that his majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, be entitled to the same

privileges, and be on the same footing as to encouragement and bounties on the like articles, being the growth, produce or manufacture of either kingdom, respectively and generally in respect of trade and navigation, in all ports and places in the united kingdom and its dependencies ; and that in all treaties made by his majesty, his heirs and successors, with any foreign power, his majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges, and be on the same footing as his majesty's subjects of Great Britain.

Resolved, 21. That from the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles the growth or manufacture of either country to the other shall cease and determine ; and that the said articles shall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other without duty or bounty on such export.

Resolved, 22. That all articles, the growth, produce or manufacture of either kingdom, not herein-after enumerated as subject to specific duties, shall from henceforth be imported into each country from the other free from duty, other than such countervailing duty as shall be annexed to the several articles contained in the Schedule No. I. ; and that the articles herein after enumerated shall be subject for the period of twenty years from the Union, on importation into each country from the other, to the duties specified in the schedule No. II. annexed to this article, viz.

Apparel	Lace, gold and silver, gold and
Brafs, wrought	silver threads
Cabinet ware	Thread, bullion for lace, pearl and
Coaches and carriages	spangles
Copper, wrought	Millinery
Cottons	Paper, stained
Glass	Pottery
Haberdashery	Sadlery
Hats	Silk, manufacture
Tin plates, wrought iron and hard- ware	Stockings

And that the woollen manufacture shall pay on importation into each country, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland ; salt and hops on importation into Ireland, duties not exceeding those which are now paid in Ireland ; and coals on importation to be subject to burdens not exceeding those to which they are now subject.

That

That calicoes and muslins be subject and liable to the duties now payable on the same, until the fifth day of January one thousand eight hundred and eight; and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced in such proportions, and at such periods as shall hereafter be enacted, so as that the said duties shall stand at ten per cent. from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, until the fifth day of January, which shall be in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one; and that cotton, yarn, and cotton twist, shall also be subject and liable to the duties now payable upon the same, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced at such times, and in such proportions, as shall be hereafter enacted, so as that all duties shall cease on the said articles from and after the fifth day of January one thousand eight hundred and sixteen.

Resolved, 23. That any articles of the growth, produce or manufacture of either country, which are or may be subject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are composed, may be made subject on their importation into each country respectively from the other, to such countervailing duty as shall appear to be just and reasonable in respect to such internal duty or duties on the materials; and that for the said purposes the articles specified in the said schedule, No. I. should, upon importation into Ireland, be subject to the duty which shall be set forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminished or increased in the manner herein specified; and that upon the like export of the like articles from each country to the other respectively, a drawback shall be given, equal in amount to the countervailing duty, payable on the articles herein before specified, on the import into the same country with the other; and that in like manner, in future, it shall be competent to the united parliament to impose any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off or diminish such existing countervailing duties as may appear on like principles to be just and reasonable, in respect of any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth or manufacture of either country, or of any new additional duty on any materials of which such article may be composed, or any abatement of the same; and that when any such new or additional countervailing duty shall be so imposed on the import of any article into either country from the other, a drawback equal in amount to such countervailing duty, shall be given in like manner on the export of every such article respectively from the same country.

Resolved, 24. That all articles, the growth, produce or manufacture of either kingdom, when exported through the other, shall in all cases be exported subject to the same charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce or manufacture.

Resolved, 25. That all duty charged on the import of foreign or colonial goods into either country, shall, on their export to the other, be either drawn back, or the amount, if any be retained, shall be placed to the credit of the country to which they shall be so exported, so long as the general expences of the empire shall be defrayed by proportional contributions. Provided nothing herein shall extend to take away any duty, bounty or prohibition which exists with respect to corn, meal, malt, flower and biscuit, but that the same may be regulated, varied or repeated, from time to time, as the united parliament shall deem expedient.

SCHEDULE, No. I.

Of the articles to be charged with countervailing duties upon importation from Great Britain into Ireland, according to the sixth article of Union.

Articles to be charged with countervailing duty in Ireland:

Beer	Silk
Glasses	Spirits
Leather	Sugar, refined
Paper, stained	Sweets
Paper	Tobacco.

SCHEDULE, No. II.

Of the articles charged with the duties specified upon importation into Great Britain and Ireland respectively, according to the sixth article of the Union.

Ten per cent. on the true value.

Apparel	Cotton, except callicoes and
Brass, wrought	muslins
Cabinet ware	Glasses
Coaches and other carriages	Haberdashery
Copper, wrought	Hats

Tin

Tin plates, wrought iron and hard-ware	Paper, stained
Lace, gold and silver, gold and silver threads, bullion for lace,	Pottery
pearl and spangles	Sadlery and other manufactured leather
Millinery	Silk manufacture
	Stockings.

No. CXX.

(P. 1066.)

Veneris, 6^o Junii, 1800.

The House of Commons was moved, that the following Address be presented to his Majesty.

WE, your majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, the Commons of Ireland, at all times sensible of the numerous and essential advantages, which we, in common with your subjects in Ireland, have derived under your auspicious reign, beg leave to assure you, that none have more impressed the hearts of your majesty's subjects than the adjustment at your majesty's gracious recommendation entered into by the parliament of Great Britain and Ireland in 1782, thereby forming the most solemn compact which can subsist between two countries under a common sovereign; that the result of that compact and adjustment was the increase of our trade and of our revenue, together with the harmony of the two parliaments and the support of the connection; that the said compact on the part of your majesty's parliament of Ireland, has been religiously and beneficially adhered to, inasmuch, that a final termination of all constitutional questions between the two nations took place, and the commercial points which at that time remained to be settled, have since, without agitation or ferment, been gradually and satisfactorily disposed of.

That under these circumstances it is with the deepest concern and the greatest surprize we have seen a measure propounded, under the name of Union, to set aside this most important and sacred covenant, to deprive this country of her parliament in time to come, and in lieu thereof to introduce an innovation, consisting of a separate Irish government without an Irish parliament, whose power is to be transferred to a British parliament without an availing
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Irish representation therein, an innovation such as may impair and corrupt the constitution of Britain without preserving the liberties of Ireland ; so that this country shall be in time to come taxed without being duly represented and legislated by a body out of the realm, incapable of applying proper remedies, and remote from the means of knowing her wants, her wishes, and her interests.

That giving the name of Union to the measure is a delusion ; the two kingdoms are already united to each other in one common empire, one in unity of interest and unity of constitution, as has been emphatically pronounced from the throne by your majesty's former viceroy, bound together by law, and what is more effectual than law, by mutual interest, mutual affection, and mutual duty, to promote the common prosperity of the empire, and it is our glory and happiness that we form an inseparable part of it.

That this union has stood the test of ages, unbroken by the many foreign wars, civil commotions and rebellions which have assailed it, and we dread the rash and desperate innovation which now would wantonly and unnecessarily put it to the hazard ; an innovation which does not affect to strengthen the unalterable interest of each country in supporting the revolution that placed your majesty's illustrious family on the throne, for that interest cannot be increased by any law ; it is implanted in our hearts---it is interwoven with our prosperity—it grows with our growth, and strengthens with our strength.

Neither does it profess their connection together, because that interest already exists, and we know and feel that such connection includes all that is dear to us, and is essential to the common happiness and existence of both nations.

We therefore do, with all humility, implore your majesty's protection of that glorious revolution, and of that essential connection against the perseverance of your majesty's ministers in their endeavours to enforce this ruinous measure.

Their avowed object is a union of the two nations ; but the only union they attempt is a union of the two parliaments, and the articles which are to attend their partial and defective union, are all so many enumerations of existing distinct interests in the two kingdoms, which it cannot identify, and which require separate parliaments resident in each duly to attend them.

In respect to taxes, the purse of each nation is vested in its own House of Commons by the principles of the constitution ; the security of our liberty,
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and the great constitutional balance of the powers of the state, lie in its being left there; but the articles acknowledge a separate purse, and a separate interest in that purse, by providing for a separate proportion of expence, separate modes and laws of taxation, separate debts, separate sinking funds, separate treasury, separate exchequer, separate accounts of revenue to be kept, and separate articles of produce to be placed in the way of debtor and creditor between the two kingdoms as between two unconnected parties; and though they state, acknowledge and attempt to form regulations for all these many distinct interests, which no laws can identify or consolidate; and though even the legal interest of money remains different in the two kingdoms without their attempting to assimilate it, yet they take away the Irish parliament, which these distinctnesses ought rather to have suggested the creation of, if it did not exist, and they lay the foundation of distress, discontent, and jealousies in this kingdom, if not of worse evils, and tend to familiarize ideas of separation instead of union, to the utter ruin of this your ancient kingdom, and your loyal subjects therein.

In regard to manufactures, they acknowledge the interest in them to be so distinct, that they are forced to provide in express terms against a free intercourse being allowed between the two kingdoms, in more than twenty general denominations, and they establish countervailing duties on the mutual import of at least twenty-four species of goods, on account of the necessary difference in taxation and the distinctness of revenue, which, from the separate interest of the two kingdoms in them, will not admit of consolidation.

On the mutual interchange of corn, that great necessary of life, they not only continue duties, but they provide for retaining prohibitions and bounties; and instead of even alleging an identity of interest in so important and general an article. they avow such separate interest to exist in it as law cannot remove: and an interdict is necessary to be laid on its free communication between two kingdoms, which your majesty's ministers have at the same time the hardness to tell us, their project is to unite, identify, and consolidate throughout all their interests.

We see with them that these interests are distinct, and we therefore raise up our voices to your majesty against their impracticable attempt to consolidate them; an attempt which they themselves acknowledge to be so by their many provisions, all intended to secure a continuance of their distinctness.

But, however separate these interests are in taxes, in revenue, in trade, and
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in manufactures, and however incapable of being identified, we have the happiness of knowing, that in the great point of constitution no difference exists; both nations have a full right to all the blessings of the British constitution, and we have an identity, not a distinctness of interest, in the possession of it; yet such is the strange passion of your majesty's ministers for innovation, that not finding any such distinctness, they do by these articles create several highly alarming to us, and to all your majesty's subjects of this kingdom, who claim an equal right with Great Britain in the full and free enjoyment of that constitution.

All the Irish temporal lords, except twenty-eight, are to be incapacitated by this measure exercising their rights and duties as peers and hereditary counsellors, while every British temporal lord is to retain his full functions.

Four spiritual lords only are to have a share in the legislature, while all the British spiritual lords are to continue theirs; and two-thirds of the Irish commoners are to be disqualified, while every British commoner remains.

The articles further declare, that all Irish peerages shall be considered as peerages of the united kingdom, whereby the Irish peers who are to be incapacitated from legislating as peers are to continue peers, and may legislate as commoners, against every known principle and established practice of the constitution; nay, even when chosen commoners, they are not to represent any place in Ireland, the country from whence they derive their honors, although their voices as commoners will extend equally with that of every other commoner to all the corners of this kingdom; and thus the Irish purse will be eventually put into the hands of the Irish peers, in direct defiance of a great and fundamental principle of the constitution.

All these degrading and unconstitutional distinctions are not only created in the Irish peerage, but are to remain for ever without power of alteration, by a provision being made in the articles for a constant creation of peers for Ireland.

That the Irish peerage is to be kept for ever a distinct body from the British, though the project professes a union of the two kingdoms of Britain and Ireland, and attempts a union of the two parliaments, of which the peerage, a constituent part, stripped as it will be of all parliamentary function, perpetuates a distinction insulting and degrading to this kingdom, which our ministers, if they had solely in view, without any regard to influence, a lasting union of the parliaments, to which this continuance no way contributes,

would

would have avoided by providing that the Irish peers when reduced to the proposed number of twenty-eight, should be declared peers of the united empire equally with the British, and thus would have dissolved all national distinctions between them for the time to come.

But it is not in trade, revenue, and manufactures only, that distinct interests are declared to exist, nor in constitution alone that separate interests are to be created; the same distinction is to be preserved in the administration of justice, every difference of law, every variation of practice and of regulation which now prevails, is to be allowed to distinguish the civil and ecclesiastical courts, with this one exception only, that in the ultimate appeal every Irish suitor is to be again at the expence and hazard of going to Westminster, instead of having a court in Dublin to resort to.

We enlarge the more on these several enumerations of separate interests, avowed or created by your majesty's ministers, because the many provisions they propose for their future regulation, are so many acknowledgments that no force of law can identify them so as to admit of their consolidation. Provisions all in themselves presumptuous and insufficient, inasmuch as it is not in the power of human wisdom to foresee the events of time, and provide now by a system declared immutable, for the varying changes which must naturally take place in the lapse of years.

Under the same conviction, though they profess a union of the two parliaments, they do not attempt out of them one with equal and common powers for both kingdoms; it is to be free in all its functions in respect to Britain, but shackled and bound up by restrictions as to Ireland.

In this they deprive your majesty's Irish subjects of a parliament such only as the British constitution acknowledges, free in its deliberations for every part of the empire it is to legislate for, such as we have a right to enjoy, equally unrestrained in its powers and unfettered in its proceedings as to the interests of this your majesty's kingdom; and such a one free and independent in all its functions, as we solemnly claimed to be our birthright in 1782, and as your majesty in your wisdom and justice did then graciously confirm to this kingdom for ever, but which claim and gracious confirmation your ministers now seek to take away from the kingdom for ever.

That having thus shewn to your majesty how very inefficient the project of your ministers is to answer even the purpose it avows, and how very ruinous its operation must be, if you shall not be graciously pleased to interfere, we feel it our further duty to expose fully to your majesty's view not only the

artful delusions which those ministers have presumed to hold out of supposed advantages in commerce, in revenue, in taxes and in manufactures to deceive the people into an approbation of their scheme, but the corrupt and unconstitutional means which they have used, the undue manner in which they have employed the influence of the crown and the misrepresentations which they have made of the sense of your majesty's people of Ireland on the measure.

Were all the advantages, which without any foundation they have declared that this measure offers, to be its instant and immediate consequence, we do not hesitate to say expressly, that we could not harbour the thought of accepting them in exchange for our freedom for commerce, or our constitution for revenue; but the offers are mere impositions, and we state with the firmest confidence, that in commerce or trade their measure confers no one advantage, nor can it confer any, for by your majesty's gracious and paternal attention to this your ancient realm of Ireland, every restriction under which its commerce laboured has been removed during your majesty's auspicious reign, and we are now as free to trade to all the world as Britain is.

In manufactures any attempt it makes, to offer any benefit which we do not now enjoy, is vain and delusive, and wherever it is to have effect, that effect will be to our injury; most of the duties on import which operate as protections to our manufactures are under its provision either to be removed or reduced immediately, and those which will be reduced are to cease entirely at a limited time; though many of our manufactures owe their existence to the protection of those duties, and though it is not in the power of human wisdom to foresee any precise time, when they may be able to thrive without them. Your majesty's faithful commons feel more than an ordinary interest in laying this fact before you, because they have under your majesty's approbation raised up and nursed many of those manufactures, and by so doing have encouraged much capital to be vested in them, the proprietors of which are now to be left unprotected, and to be deprived of the parliament on whose faith they embarked themselves, their families and properties in the undertaking.

In revenue we shall not only lose the amount of the duties which are thus to be removed or lowered, and which the papers laid before us by the lord lieutenant shew to amount to the immediate annual sum of 50,000*l.* but we shall be deprived of nearly as much more by the annihilation of various export duties, which have subsisted for above a century on other articles of intercourse

tercourse, without being felt or complained of by us; and this whole revenue of 50,000*l.* operating beneficially to our manufactures, and of near 50,000*l.* more which oppressed no manufacture, is to be wantonly given up without the desire or wish of either nation, at a time when our income is more than ever unequal to our expences, and when the difficulty of raising new taxes to supply its place, is alarmingly encreased by our having been obliged in this very session, to impose new burthens to the estimated amount of 200,000*l.* a year, and we cannot but remark that in this arrangement, while we give up this revenue of near 100,000*l.* a year, Great Britain is to give up one not amounting quite to 40,000*l.* an inequality no way consonant with the impartiality or justice professed by your majesty's ministers, nor any wise consistent with the comparative abilities of the two countries to replace the loss.

But the imposition of your majesty's ministers is still more glaring, in their having presumed to fix a proportion of contribution towards the general future expences, to be observed by the two kingdoms in the ratio of one by Ireland, for every seven parts and a half by Britain.

If they had any plausible grounds, whereon they calculated this proportion, they have not deigned to lay them before your parliament, and the usual and established forms of committees to investigate into matters of such intricate and extended calculation have been superseded by them.

Your majesty's faithful commons are satisfied that the calculation is extremely erroneous, and that on a just and fair enquiry into the comparative means of each country, this kingdom ought not and is not able to contribute in any thing like the proportion.

They feel a duty too to protest most solemnly against any arrangement of taxation, to none of which they have had documents, or made any enquiry to guide their judgments, and in which they understand no consideration whatever has been had to the different legal interest of money in this kingdom, which causes a disadvantage of 20*l.* per cent. in procuring capital, nor to the relative quantity of shipping possessed and used by each country, nor to the export trade in foreign articles, nor to the extent of manufacture for home consumption, nor to the balance of trade which shews the annual increase of its clear profit, and of course the annual increase of the fund, it creates to contribute from, in all of which the means of Britain very far exceed the foregoing proportion, and particularly in the balance of trade, which in Ireland amounts to little more than half a million with all the world, but it is

stated by authority to have amounted to 14,800,000*l.* in Britain, exclusive of an annual influx of money from the East and West Indies to the amount of four millions to the proprietors resident in Britain, and of two millions from Ireland to the proprietors of Irish estates resident there, and of another million from Ireland for the charges of her debt due in Britain; whereas the only known or visible influx of money into Ireland is the above balance of trade of half a million only, and these two sums of two millions and one million, while they add to the wealth and means of Britain unfortunately take away in the same amount from the ability of Ireland.

Thus had a due investigation been made, and a fair enquiry gone into with a view to obtain a true knowledge of facts whereon to ground a just calculation, it would have appeared that this proportion for Ireland is not only unjust, but far beyond what it will be in her power to discharge; and the rashness of your majesty's ministers in hazarding such a measure, is the more to be lamented or wondered at, because should Ireland engage to pay more than she is able to answer, the necessary consequence must be a rapid decrease of her capital, the decline of her trade, a failure in the produce of her taxes, and in the end her total bankruptcy; but under such circumstances she cannot be alone a bankrupt; and should she fatally become so by an injudicious or avaricious apportionment of constitution, Great Britain must share in her ruin, and our great and glorious empire be brought to the brink of destruction, by an innovating attempt to take from Ireland its constitution, and substitute a theoretic, visionary and untried system in its room.

We should therefore earnestly supplicate your majesty, to oblige your ministers to defer the measure, until a full and satisfactory investigation should be made, if we did not feel, that it ought to be entirely relinquished, and that the injuries and dangers attending on it, could not be removed by any change of that proportion, or reconciled by any modification of detail whatsoever.

Subordinate however as the consideration of it is, we cannot omit remarking to your majesty, that there is cunningly and insidiously annexed to it a provision for its ceasing, even within the short period of three years, should the war continue so long; and that when we shall increase our debt so, as that it shall bear the like proportion to the permanent debt of Britain, all the delusive benefit held out by this proportion is to cease, and we are to undergo common taxes with Britain.

We lament such delusion should be resorted to, it is too palpable not to be
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seen, and instead of the confidence which ought to attend every arrangement between the kingdoms, such conduct must excite diffidence and distrust.

This proportion of their respective permanent debts is to be attained by increasing our debt, which we must do, and by Britain lessening her's, which she is in the actual course of reducing, as rapidly at least as that of Ireland increases; the absurdity therefore of the position is self-evident, for it says, that Ireland by increasing her debt, and its annual charges, will become more wealthy and more able to bear equal taxes with Britain, but that Britain by decreasing her's will be less able to pay her contribution and can only pay equal taxes.

Another delusion (omitted however in the articles proposed,) has been also plausibly offered, still further to deceive your majesty's subjects of Ireland into an approbation of this destructive measure, and a promise has been authoritatively announced or artfully insinuated by your ministers in this kingdom, that Ireland is to save by it, or that Great Britain is to give her a million a year revenue in time of war and half a million a year in time of peace.

But we know, that during a war like the present such a promise is impracticable, and both kingdoms must strain every nerve and draw forth every resource.

We seek not to load our sister kingdom unnecessarily by lessening our own burthen, and our loyalty forbids us to listen to arguments which offer to save our purse at the expense of Britain; but it is all a delusion, for we see nothing in the uniting the two parliaments which can change the course of the war, or lessen the total mass of expense of both nations; and we assert most confidently, that no gift can be made or saving ensue in our expenses by the Union, however they may be attempted to be encreased by the unfounded and unfair proportion ascertained for us to bear of the general expenditure; but were the offer founded, were it effectual and desirable, its advantages rest on the misfortunes of war, and we should feel ourselves unworthy of the trust reposed in us, if we could suffer a hope, arising from the continuation of such a dreadful calamity, to direct our conduct in any measure, much less in one which calls on us to give up our constitution for ever.

Neither can we look forward to any proposed saving from the Union in peace, for we are not told, nor could we believe it, if your majesty's ministers did tell us, that a bill professing to unite the two kingdoms, inseparably united without a bill, can have an influence on the situation of the affairs of Europe, or that it can allow us, during the next peace, to dispense with keeping up the
same

same military force as during the last, and we are further given to understand, that your majesty's royal court, and all its establishment, the courts of law, the exchequer, and all the revenue expenses are to be continued without the parliament equally as with it; but were the saving practicable, we feel it our own duty to make it without a Union, and we know no parliament can do it for Ireland, with the same safety as the resident parliament of Ireland.

But it is not only in respect to these delusions held out as to trade and revenue that we feel it our duty to lay before your majesty the conduct of your ministers on this measure; we must state the means by which they have endeavoured to carry it. That in the first instance, admitting the necessity of conforming to the sense of the parliament and the people, they took the sense of the commons, and found that sense to be against it; that they then affected to appeal against the parliament to the people, at the same time endeavouring by their choice of sheriffs to obstruct the regular and constitutional mode whereby the sense of the people has been usually collected; that on the contrary, they did use or abet and encourage the using of various arts and stratagems to procure from individuals of the lowest order, some of whom were their prisoners and felons, scandalous signatures against the constitution; that notwithstanding these attempts to procure a fallacious appearance of strength and muster against parliament, the people have expressed their sentiments decidedly against the Union, and twenty-one counties at public meetings legally convened, and also many other counties by petitions signed by the freeholders, and many cities and towns, have expressed either to your majesty or to this house, or to both, their decided and unalterable hostility to the Union; yet your ministers have as we believe, taken upon them to state to your majesty and your ministers in Britain, in defiance of all these facts, that the sense of the nation is not adverse to the measure; that if there could be any doubt that your majesty's ministers in the appointment of sheriffs did consider how they might obstruct the people in delivering their opinion regarding the Union, that doubt is fully explained by their continuing in office the sheriffs of the former year in more than one instance, whence it also appears how decidedly the sense of the country is against this measure, when your majesty's ministers found it difficult to procure any person to serve the office of sheriff who was properly qualified, and was also a friend to the measure; that finding the sense of the people as well as the parliament to be against it, your majesty's ministers attempted to change the parliament itself,
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and refusing to take the sense of the nation by a general election, they procured a partial dissolution, and did so publicly abuse the disqualifying clause in the Place Bill, (which was enacted for the express purpose of preserving the freedom and independence of parliament,) that by vacating seats under its authority very many new returns were made to this house for the purpose of carrying it, and thus did they change the parliament without restoring to the people; that before the ministry had perverted the place bill, the sense of parliament was against their Union, and if that bill had not been so perverted, that sense had remained unaltered; that of those who voted for the Union, we beg leave to inform your majesty that seventy-six had places or pensions under the crown, and others were under the immediate influence of constituents who held great offices under the crown; that the practices of influence above mentioned were accompanied by the removal from office of various servants of the crown who had seats in parliament, particularly the chancellor of the exchequer, the prime serjeant, three commissioners of the revenue, a commissioner of accounts, a commissioner of barracks and the curitor of the court of chancery, because they would not vote away the parliament, also by their withdrawing their confidence from others of your majesty's faithful and able counsellors for the same reason; that they procured or encouraged the purchase of seats in this house to return members to vote for the Union, also the introduction of persons unconnected with this country to vote away her parliament; that they have also attempted to prostitute the peerage by promising to persons, not even commoners in parliament her sacred honors, if they would come into this house and vote for the Union: and that, finally, they have annexed to their plan of Union an artful device, whereby a million and a half of money is to be given to private persons possessing returns, who are to receive said sum of the event of the Union, for the carrying of which to such an amount said persons are to be paid; and this nation is to make good the sale by which she is thus disinherited of her parliament, and is to be taxed for ever to raise the whole amount, although if your ministers shall persevere in such a flagrant, unconstitutional scheme, and the money is to be raised, it is for the Union, and being therefore an imperial concern ought to be borne in the proportion already laid down for imperial expences, that is, two seventeenths by Ireland and fifteen seventeenths by Britain; that under these unconstitutional circumstances your majesty's ministers have endeavoured, against
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the declared sense of the people, to impose upon them a new constitution, subverting the old one.

That when we consider the peculiar situation of this kingdom, with the annual drains of money from it by persons possessing property in it who don't reside, to the estimated amount of at least two millions annually, when we advert to the further inevitable drain of a million a year by the public revenue to be remitted to Britain for the annual charges of our public debt, and that to countervail these great and tremendous issues of money, amounting to three millions, we have only our general balance of trade not 600,000*l.* a year to balance against them; we look with dread on a measure which must, on the one hand, necessarily add to those drains by adding a new and large portion of our wealthiest fellow-subjects to the present absentees, and which must, on the other hand, decrease that balance by encouraging and promoting new imports of manufacture in the room of those which will decline here.

We look to it with the more dread, because, notwithstanding the great loans from England to the amount of six millions in the last three years, we have not been able to counterbalance the existing drains from hence and the exchange has been and still continues regularly and uniformly against us.

And further, because our inability to raise the necessary loans with this kingdom, even to the small extent that has been expected, is unfortunately now too evident; and the continuing to supply our treasury by loans from Britain, though it may afford some temporary relief, will regularly increase the evil.

Your majesty's ministers, therefore, if they promise to themselves, or to the British nation, any easement to their own taxes from the supposed accession of power over our wealth and over our resources, will find themselves most thoroughly disappointed; and if the difficulty of remittance shall increase, the manufacturers of Britain who have hitherto supplied this kingdom will find the demand for their goods decrease in proportion as that difficulty shall rise.

That we understand one benefit which they hold out from the proposed measure is what your ministers affect to call tranquillizing Ireland, but that when we look to our parliament, and see with what efficacy and promptness it has contributed to put down the late unfortunate rebellion, how inadequate a parliament not resident would have been; when we reflect that in a kingdom containing four and a half millions of people, a resident parliament must possess

less the quick and authoritative means of giving energy to the executive, which a parliament in another country cannot have ; that the removing the parliament tends to remove with it from the kingdom those men of large property and influence, of talents and respectability, whose presence is at all times essential to tranquillity, and may at some conjuncture be alone capable of preserving it ; that their absence will leave room for political agitators, and men of talents without principle or property, to disturb and irritate the public mind ; we tremble for the consequences of that measure at once the most rash and unnecessary that ever was brought forward by any ministers, and at a time most fitted to produce every evil dreaded, and least fitted to promote any one benefit held forth.

That when we consider the time chosen to introduce such a measure we feel additional repugnance, it being the moment of our weakness and distress, when the country is of course less free to deliver its full and heart-felt sentiments against the illiberality of such an attempt ; peculiarly mortifying to those your majesty's subjects who had recently exerted themselves in defence of that constitution which they are now called upon to surrender, and at a time too when the spirit of innovation is abroad and likely to be much encouraged by the example of your majesty's ministers in this their proceeding against the ancient liberties of the people, who may be rendered an unprofitable or dangerous part of the British empire, whether in consequence of this Union they become slavish and abject, or restless and dissatisfied.

That when we reflect on the great value of the acts for trying controverted elections, how eminently and effectually they have been framed for preserving the purity of election, without which purity of parliament cannot exist ; and when we see that your ministers, well knowing the value we set on them, have proposed various means to continue those benefits to us in the few elections which will remain to be held here after the Union, and have withdrawn them all from their inefficacy and insufficiency almost as soon as they were proposed, and have now abandoned all hope of framing any ; we foresee and dread the formidable power which the measure of Union will give to the minister in all Irish elections, by destroying the beneficial operation of these acts ; for the expence, trouble and delay of trying controverted Irish elections in London, will deter many candidates, entitled to be returned, from seeking redress ; the sheriffs, who are all appointed by the minister, will, in fact, nominate the members, and many of them having already obeyed the wishes of the minister in

endeavouring to stifle the constitutional voice of the people, give us too sure an omen of the conduct which may be expected from them in elections.

That whether we rest on this incontrovertible and self-evident truth, that no parliament in another kingdom can have the local information or knowledge of the manners, habits, wants or wishes of the nation, which its own parliament naturally possesses, and which is requisite for beneficial legislation, nor can be supplied with the necessary information, either as promptly or accurately; or whether we look to the clear proofs of that truth which the progress of this measure has afforded, by your ministers having called to their assistance in London the great officers of this kingdom most likely from their station to give full information for framing their measure; and though all their talents and all their own information, and what they obtained by letters while it was pending, were employed for months there, yet when they brought it back, a few hours, or rather a few minutes enquiry on the spot in Dublin, forced them to alter their project in very many articles, complete and perfect as they thought it: we have strong additional reason to feel and to represent the manifest and irreparable injuries which this kingdom must sustain by the want of a resident parliament, and the impossibility of legislation being carried on for it as it ought to be. Therefore, inasmuch as the measure of a Union is an unnecessary innovation, and innovations, at all times hazardous, are rendered peculiarly so now by the awful situation of the times; inasmuch too, as far from being an innocent experiment, it is replete with changes injurious to our trade and manufactures and our revenues; inasmuch also, as it destroys our constitution which has worked well, and substitutes a new one, the benefits of which we cannot see, but the numerous evils and dangers of which are apparent, and which in every change it offers militates against some known and established principle of the British constitution; inasmuch also, as it so far endangers the constitution of Britain, as not to leave us the certainty of enjoying a free constitution there when our own shall be destroyed;

Inasmuch as it tends to impoverish and subjugate Ireland, without giving wealth or strength to Britain;

Inasmuch as it tends to raise and perpetuate discontent and jealousies, to create new and strengthen old distinctions of interest in our concerns of trade, manufactures, revenue and constitution; and instead of encreasing the connection between the two kingdoms, may tend to their separation,

to

to our consequent ruin, and to the destruction or dismemberment of the empire ;

Inasmuch as it endangers instead of promoting or securing the tranquillity of Ireland, as it degrades the national pride and character, debases its rank from a kingdom to that of a dependant province, yet leaves us every expense and mark of a kingdom but the great essential one of a parliament ;

Inasmuch as it has been proposed and hitherto carried against the decided and expressed sense of the people, notwithstanding the improper means resorted to to prevent that sense being declared, and to misrepresent it when known ;

Inasmuch as it is not grounded in all its intricate and momentous parts on that solemn and full investigation which ought to attend every measure of great moment, and has been introduced and conducted with various delusions and impositions, and with an unbecoming and suspicious haste ;

Inasmuch as it provides for sending one hundred of the present representatives to legislate in another kingdom, though elected only to sit in the parliament in this, and does not give the people an opportunity, by a new election, to exercise their discretion in a new choice of persons for such a new, altered and increased trust ;

Inasmuch as it leaves to be determined, by the chance of drawing lots, the choice of thirty-two members to represent as many great cities and towns, with a levity which tends to turn into ridicule the sacred and serious trust of representative ; and while it commits to one person the office which the constitution commits to two, of speaking the voice of the people and granting their money, it does not allow the electors to chuse which of the two they will entrust with that power ;

And inasmuch as means the most unconstitutional, influence the most undue, and bribes openly avowed, have been resorted to, to carry it against the known sense of the commons and people during the existence of martial law throughout the land :

We feel it our bounden duty to ourselves, our country, and our posterity, to lay this our most solemn protest and prayer before your majesty, that you will be graciously pleased to extend your paternal protection to your faithful and loyal subjects, and to save them from the danger threatened by your majesty's ministers in this their ruinous and destructive project, humbly declaring with the most cordial and warm sincerity, that we are actuated therein by an irresistible sense of duty, by an unshaken loyalty to your majesty, by a veneration

for the British name, by an ardent attachment to the British nation, with whom we have so often declared we will stand or fall, and by a determination to preserve for ever the connection between the two kingdoms on which the happiness, the power and the strength of each irrevocably and unalterably depend.

The question being put on the foregoing motion, the house divided,

Tellers for the Ayes, who went out, Lord Visc. Corry }
and Mr. Saurin, - - - - - } 77

Tellers for the Noes, who stayed within, Right Hon. }
Mr. Attorney General, and Mr. Robert John, } 135

It passed in the negative.

No. CXXI.

Protest of the Irish Peers against the Union. (Page 1066.)

DISSENTIENT,

1. Because the measure recommended by our most gracious sovereign was a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be founded upon equal and liberal principles. We cannot help observing, that the terms proposed in the said bill are inconsistent with those principles, and are totally unequal. That Great Britain is thereby to retain entire and undiminished her Houses of Lords and Commons, and that two-fifteenths of the Irish peers are to be degraded and deprived of their legislative functions, and that two-thirds of the Irish House of Commons are to be struck off.

Such a proceeding appears to us totally unequal, both in respect of numbers, and the mode of forming the united parliament; and we cannot suggest any reason for reducing the number of members of the Irish houses of parliament, which does not apply with more force to reducing the number of the members in the British houses of parliament, whose numbers so greatly exceed that of the members of the Irish houses of parliament.

2. Because the measure recommended by his majesty, was a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland, by which we understand such an Union as should so perfectly identify the two nations, that they should become

come one nation, and that there should not exist any distinct interest between them.

When we consider the provisions of the said bill, we find that although its professed object is to form a perfect Union between them, it does not in any sort effect it. It unites the legislature, but does not identify the nations. Their interests will remain as distinct as they are at present. Ireland will continue to be governed by a viceroy, assisted by an Irish privy council. Her purse, her revenues, her expenditure, and her taxes, will be as distinct as they are at present from those of Great Britain, even their intercourse of trade must be carried on as between two separate nations, through the medium of revenue officers. Such distinctnesses of interest prove that they require separate parliaments, resident in each kingdom to attend to them. That such Union is only nominal, and that it does not effect that complete and entire Union recommended by his majesty, but shews that from the circumstances of the two nations, the same is totally impracticable.

3. Because the adjustment of the numbers of the Irish members to be added to the two houses of the imperial parliament, has been determined upon without any official documents, or other authentic information, having been laid before parliament. That upon the Union with Scotland, such proportion was adjusted by the commissioners appointed for England and Scotland, upon an examination of their respective claims, having thereupon agreed that the number of commoners to be added to the English commoners, consisting of five hundred and thirteen, should be forty-five on the part of Scotland; and the number of English peers, being then one hundred and eighty-five, they calculated that sixteen were the same proportion to that number which forty-five were to the English House of Commons, and therefore determined upon that number of peers. This calculation justified the propriety of such adjustment, and we cannot conceive upon what principle the number of Irish peers was reduced to thirty-two, when, according to the proportion aforesaid, it ought to have been fifty-three. We must consider such conduct as unjust in its principle, and wantonly casting a stigma upon the Irish peerage, by depriving twenty-one of their body of their just rights of sitting in the united parliament.

4. Because, that however proper it may have been for two parliaments to mark out the great outlines for forming an Union between the two nations, we think that from their situations in different kingdoms, and the impracticability

cability of communication between them, they were ill suited to the adjustment of matters which required detail.

That the mode of proceeding adopted by the great Lord Somers upon the Union with Scotland, of appointing commissioners on the behalf of each nation, is proved by experience to have been well adapted to that purpose. That such commissioners having the means of procuring information, and communication with each other, were thereby enabled to settle with propriety, and to the satisfaction of both nations, such matters as should be necessary to be adjusted between them. That instead of adopting that wise and rational mode of proceeding, the adjustment of the numbers to be added to the imperial parliament has been established in pursuance of the mandate of the British minister, without laying before Parliament any official document whatsoever, or taking any step to procure information concerning the respective claims of the two nations.

5. Because by the original distribution of power between the two houses of parliament, it has been established as a leading and fundamental principle of the constitution, that the commons should hold the purse of the nation without the interference of the peerage; notwithstanding which, and that the said bill declares that Irish peerages shall be considered as peerages of the united kingdom; it directs that Irish peers shall be eligible as commoners to represent any place in Great Britain, whereby the purse of the nation will be eventually put into the hands of the peers of the united kingdom, under the description of Irish peers, in direct defiance of the aforesaid principle. That it is evident, that such innovation was introduced by the minister, for the purpose of preventing the opposition which the measure might receive from such Irish peers as were members of the British House of Commons, which is clearly evinced by their not being made eligible for any place in Ireland, from whence they derive their honours.

That by the provision in the bill for a constant creation of Peers for Ireland, the Irish peerage is to be kept up for ever, thereby perpetuating the degrading distinction by which the Irish peerage is to continue stripped of all parliamentary functions. That the perpetuity of such distinction would have been avoided, by providing, that no Irish peer should hereafter be created, (which is the case of Scotch Peers.) And that whenever the Irish peers shall be reduced to the number of twenty-eight, they should be declared peers of the United Empire, agreeably with the British. From which time all national distinctions between them should cease.

6. Because

6. Because, when we advert to the corrupt and unconstitutional language held out by the ministers, to such members as claimed property in boroughs, intimating to them, that they should be considered as their private property, and should be purchased as such, and the price paid out of the public purse, such language appears to us to amount to a proposal to buy the Irish parliament for government, and makes the Union a measure of bargain and sale between the minister and the individual.

7. Because, when we compare the relative abilities of Great Britain and Ireland, we find the contribution to be paid by two kingdoms to the expences of the united empire most unequally adjusted, and that the share of two-seventeenths, fixed upon as the proportion to be paid by Ireland, is far beyond what the resources will enable her to discharge. Should Ireland undertake to pay more than she shall be able to answer, the act will be irrevocable, and the necessary consequences will be a gradual diminution of her capital, the decline of her trade, a failure in the produce of her taxes, and finally, her total bankruptcy. Should Ireland fail, Great Britain must necessarily be involved in her ruin, and we will have to lament, that our great and glorious empire will be brought to the brink of destruction by the dangerous and visionary speculation of substituting a new system of government for Ireland, in the place of that constitution, which she has experienced to be the firmest security for the preservation of her liberties. We think it proper to observe, that if the ministry had any plausible grounds whereon they have calculated the said proportion, they have not deigned to lay them before the parliament, nor have the usual and established forms of proceeding to investigate matters of intricate and extended calculation been resorted to, by appointing committees for their examination, neither have commissioners been appointed, as was done upon the Union with Scotland. Had the minister applied his attention to that very necessary enquiry, of ascertaining the relative ability of the two nations, he would have compared the balance which Great Britain has in her favor from her trade with all the world, amounting to fourteen millions eight hundred thousand pounds, with that of Ireland upon the whole of her trade, amounting to five hundred and nine thousand three hundred and twelve pounds, bearing a proportion to each other of about twenty-nine to one. He would have examined into the amount of the revenue out of which the said proportions must naturally be paid, namely, the produce of the permanent taxes of each nation, which he
would

would have found to have produced in Great Britain in the year ending the fifth of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, the sum of twenty-six millions, and that the permanent taxes of Ireland in the corresponding year did not exceed two millions, bearing a proportion to each other of about thirteen to one. He would have been informed, that the only influx of money into Ireland which can be discovered, is the said balance of her trade of five hundred thousand pounds, and that she remits to Great Britain annually seven hundred and twenty-four thousand seven hundred and fifty-three pounds, a sum exceeding by upward of two hundred and fifteen thousand pounds the amount of such balance.

That the remittances to her absentees, as stated by Mr. Pitt, amount to one million, but are computed really to amount to double that sum, and must necessarily greatly increase, should the Union take place, such drains exhausting in a great degree the resources of this kingdom, and adding to the opulence of Great Britain. The facility with which large sums of money have lately been raised in Great Britain, compared with the unsuccessful attempt to raise so small a sum in this kingdom as one million and a half, would have afforded to him the strongest proof of the opulence of the one, and the poverty of the other. From the Irish minister's own statement, he has computed, that the sum for which this kingdom shall be called upon annually in time of war as her contribution, will amount to four millions four hundred and ninety-two thousand six hundred and eighty pounds, but has not attempted to point out the means by which she can raise so enormous a sum. When the minister shall find, that the circumstances of Ireland are such as have been herein stated, and shall recollect, that this new project has been suggested by him, and forced upon this nation, he will feel the immense responsibility, which falls upon him for the disastrous consequence which it may produce, not only upon this kingdom, but upon the whole empire. He will be alarmed at the discontents, which an imposition of taxes beyond the abilities of the people to pay must produce, and the fatal consequences that they may occasion.

8. Because the transfer of our legislature to another kingdom will deprive us of the only security we have for the enjoyment of our liberties, and being against the sense of the people, amounts to a gross breach of trust, and we consider the substitute for our constitution, namely, the return of the proposed number of persons to the united parliament as delusive, amounting indeed

to

to an acknowledgment of the necessity of representation, but in no sort supplying it. Inasmuch as the thirty-two peers and the one hundred commoners will be merged in the vast disproportion of British members, who will in fact be the legislators of Ireland; and when we consider, that all the establishments are to continue, which must add to the influence of the minister over the conduct of parliament, and advert to his power in the return of Irish members to parliament, we conceive, that such portion is more likely to overturn the constitution of Great Britain than to preserve our own.

9. Because we consider the intended Union a direct breach of trust, not only by the parliament with the people, but by the parliament of Great Britain with that of Ireland.

Inasmuch as the tenor and purport of the settlement of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two, did intentionally and expressly exclude the re-agitation of constitutional questions between the two countries, and did establish the exclusive legislative authority of the Irish parliament without the interference of any other, that the breach of such a solemn contract, founded on the internal weakness of the country, and its inability at this time to withstand the destructive design of the minister, must tend to destroy the future harmony of both, by forming a precedent, and generating a principle of mutual encroachment in times of mutual difficulties.

10. Because, that when we consider the weakness of this kingdom at the time that the measure was brought forward, and her inability to withstand the destructive designs of the minister, and couple to the act itself the means that have been employed to accomplish it, such as the abuse of the place bill for the purpose of modelling the parliament, the appointment of sheriffs to prevent county meetings, the dismissal of the old steadfast friends of constitutional government, for their adherence to the constitution, and the return of persons into parliament, who had neither connexion nor stake in this country, and were therefore selected to decide upon her fate: when we consider the armed force of the minister, added to his powers and practices of corruption, when we couple these things together, we are warranted to say, that the basest means have been used to accomplish this great innovation, that the measure of Union tends to dishonor the ancient peerage for ever, to disqualify both houses of parliament, and subjugate the people of Ireland for ever. Such circumstances, we apprehend, will be recollected with abhorrence, and

will create jealousy between the two nations, in the place of that harmony, which for so many centuries has been the cement of their union.

11. Because the argument made use of in favor of the Union, namely, that the sense of the people of Ireland is in its favor, we know to be untrue; and as the ministers have declared, that they would not press the measure against the sense of the people, and as the people have pronounced decidedly, and under all difficulties their judgment against it, we have, together with the sense of the country, the authority of the minister to enter our protest against the project of Union, against the yoke which it imposes, the dishonor which it inflicts, the disqualification passed upon the peerage, the stigma thereby branded on the realm, the disproportionate principle of expence it introduces, the means employed to effect it, the discontents it has excited, and must continue to excite: against all these, and the fatal consequences they may produce, we have endeavoured to interpose our votes, and failing, we transmit to after-times our names, in solemn protest on behalf of the parliamentary constitution of this realm, the liberty which it secured, the trade which it protected, the connexion which it preserved, and the constitution which it supplied and fortified, this we feel ourselves called upon to do in support of our characters, our honor, and whatever is left to us worthy to be transmitted to our posterity.

Leinster	Rd. Waterford and Lismore
Arran	Powercourt
Mount Cashell	De Vescei
Farnham	Charlemont,
Belmore, by proxy	Kingston, by proxy
Maffy, by proxy	Riversdale, by proxy
Strangford	Meath
Granard	Lismore, by proxy
Ludlow, by proxy	Sunderlin, except for the 7th
Moir, by proxy, for the 8th, 10th,	reason.
and 11th reasons	

DISSENTIENT.

1. BECAUSE I conceive that this bill, in radically altering the organization and powers of the state, in and for the respective kingdoms, does essentially adulterate the spirit of the constitution as to both.

That

That in depriving Ireland of her local resident parliament, it divests her of those essential benefits of the British constitution, protection and control.

That by reducing the kingdom of Ireland to a British province, it merges essential powers of the crown and parliament of Ireland, not in the imperial crown, but in the imperial parliament of Great Britain, thereby rendering the British constitution by so much the more aristocratic, and by so much the less monarchical, in the *ratio* of the representation of Ireland as set out in this bill. That this radical alteration of the British constitution is most prominently conspicuous in the nomination and appointment of the peers to sit in the incorporated parliament for Ireland, the term of which appointment not only divests the king of one of his elementary and brightest prerogatives, the exclusive creation of the peerage, but by its departure even from the precedent of the Scottish Union, (which, however inapplicable, has been pertinaciously insisted upon by the advocates for the measure,) does according to the tenor of this bill, for ever exclude his majesty and his successors, even from the benefit, which might be derived to the monarchy from a periodical return of such nomination.

2. Because I apprehend that this radical alteration of the constitution of both kingdoms, may sooner or later be productive of the most injurious and fatal consequences to the crown and to the people of each, by warping the interests of the minister from the interests of the crown, and by identifying the personal interests of the former with the personal interest of the imperial parliament, thus drawing a line of distinction between those interests, which every principle of the constitution has provided should at all times be one and the same, and blending those personal interests which every principle of the constitution does provide, should be for ever kept distinct, thereby destroying the responsibility of the minister, and with it that great preserver of order and of right, a strong executive under the control of a strong balanced constitution, the possible ultimate consequence of which, however remote, cannot escape the eye of any man, who is capable of taking a prospective view of causes and effects.

3. Because every allegation which has been advanced, and every argument, which has been urged by the advocates for this measure, may with equal truth and consistency be made a plea for a total subversion and abolition of the British constitution as to Great Britain herself, to whom alone, we are now to look forward for the preservation of any vestige of that inestimable blessing.

ing. A consideration rendered more weighty to the understanding, and impressive on the mind of every thinking loyal subject of both kingdoms, by the apophthegm, with which this system has been from high official authority wound up, and the alarming innovation to which it is applied. It is as follows, “ that in this measure is recorded a main and fundamental principle of
 “ the British constitution, viz. that the liberties of the people do not depend
 “ upon their being represented in any one precise and specific manner, or
 “ upon each individual having a vote in the representation, but, they result
 “ from the admission of various modes of election, and from the different
 “ combinations of the various interests of the country.

“ This is fully recognized in the article as approved of by both legislatures,
 “ that there is no species of representation, which may not with propriety and
 “ benefit be admitted into the constitution, provided it be admitted within
 “ a limited degree.” A doctrine, which dangerous in theory, and critical in practice, is here subversively brought into action by the fifth clause of the fourth article of this bill, which provides, that peers of Ireland may upon certain conditions sit in the House of Commons for the imperial parliament for any British county, city, or borough, for which they may be so elected, though by the thirteenth clause of the said article, all peerages of Ireland now subsisting, or hereafter to be created, shall from the date of the Union, be considered as peerages of the united kingdom under certain limitations and restrictions therein stated, thereby breaking down the lines established by the constitution, and with them, every idea of distinctness, of function, and of inherent dignity attached to peerage, introducing a principle tending to divert the respective orders of the state from their constitutional channels.

4. Because the plea, upon which this measure is avowedly founded, viz. that of necessity arising from the existing state of things in this kingdom, together with the causes, which are considered as having conducted thereto, is as I conceive, with regard to the necessity of the measure merely factitious in this, that each and every of those causes as to times past, together with every possible consequence as to times to come, might have been, as was suggested, for ever effectually done away, and prevented by an act of the Irish parliament alone, “ declaring and enacting the rightful supremacy of the
 “ British state as to all matters of imperial, external concern, upon terms of
 “ equal benefit to Ireland as to Great Britain, said act further declaring and
 “ enacting, that as Ireland did by original compact derive the benefits and
 “ enjoyment

“ enjoyment of the British constitution, communicated and guaranteed to her upon terms of her maintenance thereof, and conformity thereto, the parliament of Ireland does for ever disclaim all right, faculty, and power of altering as to herself, without the express consent of the British state, and of the fundamental principles of the constitution, whether as originally established, or as since modified,” that as the adjustment respecting the act of navigation and channel trade, as likewise the adoption and adjustment of a contribution on the part of Ireland, have from their nature required, that they be regulated and carried into effect by the respective parliaments of the respective kingdoms, as established previous to the passing of this bill, and until it receive the royal assent, it cannot be assumed, even by the most daring assertion, that those measures could not be validated, and for ever rendered to all intents and purposes alike authentic and permanent, although this bill were for ever to fall to the ground, thus steering clear of the manifold, obvious, and unforeseen dangers inseparable from experimental projects on such vital points, renovating the spirit and faculties, without innovating upon the principles or organization of that imperial constitution of the united kingdom, which for more than six hundred years has stood the shock of time and event. A constitution so founded, upon an union of interests and sentiments, that it has given to each kingdom such rapid prosperity and solid resources, and to the empire at large, such unexampled energy and authority as have enabled her to stand the unshaken bulwark of religion, civil government, and social order, even at this awful period, when the greater part of the civilized world suffers under the ineffable horrors of innovation, revolution, and intestine warfare, without any apparent practicable object or termination to their self-extirpating distractions. And finally, because in whatever point of view I consider this bill, whether as referring to the monarchy, the aristocracy, or the representation, and people of both kingdoms, throughout every department and order of the entire state, upon the most mature consideration directed for a series of years to this great subject, and to all its relative bearings, tendencies, and consequences, I do most strongly apprehend that this bill will, in its operation and effects, prove alike injurious to all, and that it will so undermine the confidence even of the well-disposed in this kingdom, that the utmost influence which will remain to such of the nobility, first rate gentry, and other persons of high character, and to this of personal weight, who shall continue to reside therein, will prove ineffectual

to

to prevent the abatement of those affections, and of that zeal, which from the nature and formation of the human mind, ever rise or sink in proportion to that confidence, on which they are founded. For which reasons, together with many others, which it is not my object to enumerate or to set forth, and which are, I fear, already too deeply and impulsively felt by almost the entire kingdom, I feel it incumbent upon me, in assertion of my national pride and personal character, in justice to my political consistency and personal honor, to transmit to posterity this my solemn protest against this dereliction of national right, the degradation of national dignity.

BELLAMONT.

DISSENTIENT.

TO that clause in the bill recited in the fourth article, which makes it competent to the peers of Ireland to be elected members of the House of Commons of the united kingdom as the representatives of places in Great Britain.

1. Because, as the peers of Ireland are after the Union to enjoy all the privileges of the peers of Great Britain, (with the exception of sitting in the House of Lords) it gives to the counties and boroughs of Great Britain the power of choosing a representative from the peers, and is therefore an anomaly in the constitution.

2. Because I consider the peerage to be degraded thereby, inasmuch as the peer so elected must divest himself of the rights and privileges of the peerage, and assume the condition of a commoner.

3. Because I conceive it to be repugnant to a fixed principle of the constitution, that the peerage with the privileges incident thereto, constitute an indefeasible inheritance, and cannot be surrendered.

4. Because it creates a confusion of the orders of the state, enabling the subject, being a peer, to act in the capacity of a commoner, and then upon his ceasing to be a representative of the commons, to return to his condition of a peer.

Impressed with such considerations, I cannot refrain from recording my opinion thereupon, although these provisions to which I dissent make part of a measure, to the remainder of which I have given every support, and which, considered as to its general scope, and its other relations, will, I am convinced, be productive of the greatest advantages to Ireland; at the same time that

that it will increase the strength, the security, and the resources of the British empire.

GLANDORE.

No. CXXII.

A correct List of all the Writs issued with a View to parliamentary Arrangements in Ireland, in the Year 1800. (P. 1067.)

No.	For what Place.	In the Room of	On what Account.	Date.
1	Ardfert	Lorenzo Moore, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	1800 Jan. 15
2	—	John Talbot, Esq.	Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	Aug. 1
3	Armagh, county	Lord Viscount Caulfield	Earl of Charlemont	Jan. 15
4	Athboy	Hugh Howard, Esq.	Deceased	Ibid.
5	Athenry	Theophilus Blakeney, Esq.	Escheator of Ulster	April 12
6	Athlone	William Blakeney, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	
7	Ballynakill	Sir Rich. Bligh St. George	Escheator of Ulster	May 12
8	—	Hon. Montague Matthew	Escheator of Munster	Jan. 15
9	Banagher	David Walshe, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	March 1
10	Bannow	Edward Hoare, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	May 28
11	—	Robert Shaw, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	Jan. 15
12	Belfast	Major-Gen. Wm. Loftus	Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	March 1
13	—	George Crookshank, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	Ibid.
14	Belturbet	Alexander Hamilton, Esq.	Escheator of Ulster	
15	Blesfington	Charles King, Esq.	Deceased	Jan. 15
16	Carrick	Rt. Hon. R. Annelly, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	Jan. 20
17	—	William Gore, Esq.	Commissioner of Barracks	Jan. 17
18	Carysfort	Nathaniel Sneyd, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	Ibid.
19	Castlebar	Robert Aldridge, Esq.	Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant	Jan. 20
20	Castlemartyr	Thomas Lindsay, sen.	Escheator of Ulster	Ibid.
21	Charleville	John Townshend, Esq.	Commissioner of the Revenue	Jan. 17
22	Clogher	Hon. Charles Boyle	Escheator of Munster	Feb. 14
23	—	Jonah Barrington, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	Jan. 17
24	Clonmel	Thomas Burgh, Esq.	Commissioner of Account	Ibid.
25	Clonmines	Thomas Newenham, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	Feb. 13
26	Cork, city	Henry Luttrell, Esq.	Escheator of Ulster	Jan. 15
27	Dingle-Isouch	Mountiford Longfield, Esq.	Commissioner of the Revenue	Ibid.
28	—	William Monsell, Esq.	Escheator of Ulster	Ibid.
29	Donegal, borough	Rt. Hon. Lodge Morris	Lord Baron Frankfort	Aug. 2
30	Doneraile	Colonel Hugh O'Donnell	Deceased	Jan. 15
31	Duleek	Hon. Barry Boyle St. Leger	Escheator of Ulster	Ibid.
32	Dungannon	Ch. Mont. Ormsby, Esq.	Commissioner of Barracks	Jan. 15
33	Dunleer	Rich. Fortesc. Sharkey, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	July 18
		Henry Coddington, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	Feb. 5

No.

No.	For what Place.	In the Room of	On what Account.	Date.
				1803
34	Ennis	J. Ormsby Vandeleur, Esq.	Commissioner of the Revenue	July 15
35	Enniscorthy	Robert Cornwall, Esq.	Commissioner of Barracks	Ibid.
36	_____	Thomas Whaley, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	June 21
37	Enniskillen	{ Hon. Col. Galbraith Lowry Cole }	{ Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant }	{ Jan. 18
38	Fethard	George H. Read, Esq.	Port Surveyor of Wexford	Jan. 15
39	Fore	Sir John Tydd, Bart.	Escheator of Munster	Feb. 3
40	Galway, county	Joseph Henry Blake, Esq.	Lord Baron Wallscourt	Aug. 1
41	Gowran	George Bunbury, Esq.	Escheator of Ulster	March 28
42	Granard	Geo. Fulke Lyttleton, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	Jan. 15
43	Hillborough	Wm. Montgomery, Esq.	Deceased	Ibid.
44	_____	Robert Johnson, Esq.	Escheator of Ulster	Jan. 20
45	Kells	Hon. Robert Taylor	Escheator of Munster	Jan. 15
46	Kerry, county	Maurice Fitzgerald, Esq.	Commissioner of the Revenue	Ibid.
47	Kilbeggan	Sir Fran. Hopkins, Bart.	Escheator of Munster	Ibid.
48	Killyleagh	Hans Blackwood, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	Feb. 13
49	Knocktopher	Sir George Shee, Bart.	{ Secretary to the Commissioners of the Treasury }	{ Jan. 15
50	_____	{ Right Hon. Sir Hercules Langrishe, Bart. }	{ Escheator of Munster	{ March 10
51	_____	Thomas Staples, Esq.	Escheator of Ulster	April 12
52	Laneborough	Richard Martin, Esq.	{ Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant }	{ Aug. 1
53	Londonderry, co.	Rt. Hon. Thos. Conolly	Escheator of Munster	May 8
54	Longford, borough	Hon. Edw. Pakenham	{ Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant }	{ March 28
55	Maryborough	General Eyre Coote	Escheator of Munster	Jan. 18
56	Meath, county	Hon. Clotworthy Rowley	Lord Baron Longford	Aug. 1
57	Middleton	General Cradock	{ Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant }	{ April 12
58	Monaghan, bor.	William Fortescue, Esq.	{ Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant }	{ Jan. 18
59	Monaghan, co.	Ch. Powell Leslie, Esq.	Deceased	Aug. 1
60	Naas	Hon. F. Hely Hutchinson	Collector of Dublin Port	Jan. 15
61	Newtownards	Robert Alexander, Esq.	Escheator of Ulster	Jan. 20
62	Philpstown	Robert Crowe, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	Jan. 15
63	_____	Francis Knox, Esq.	King's Counsel	Ibid.
64	Portarlington	Thomas Stannus, Esq.	Escheator of Leinster	Jan. 20
65	Roscommon, bor.	Hen. Moore Sandford, Esq.	Lord Baron Sandford	Aug. 1
66	{ St. Johnstown, co. Donegal }	Rt. Hon. Wm. Forward	Treasurer of the Post Office	Jan. 20
67	{ St. Johnstown, co. Longford }	Hon. Wm. Moore	Escheator of Munster	Jan. 15
68	Thomastown	George Dunbar, Esq.	{ Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant }	{ March 6
69	_____	James Kearney, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	March 28
70	_____	Hon. Ch. Wm. Stuart	Escheator of Ulster	May 8
71	Tuam	Hon. Walter Yelverton	Curfitor of the Court of Chancery	Jan. 15
72	_____	John Bingham, Esq.	Escheator of Munster	Feb. 8
73	Tulsk	Anthony Botel, Esq.	{ Gentleman at large to the Lord Lieutenant }	{ Jan. 20
74	Wexford, co.	Lord Viscount Loftus	Commissioner of the Treasury	Aug. 1
75	Wexford, town	James Boyd, Esq.	Collector of Wexford Port	Jan. 15
76	Wicklow, bor.	Daniel Gahan, Esq.	Deceased	Ibid.
77	Youghall	Robert Uniacke, Esq.	Surveyor General of the Ordnance	Ibid.

Irish Parliament Annuitants.

The following is the list of the annuities voted by the parliament of Ireland, to the several persons under-named, for their respective lives, to the amount affixed to their respective names, net, without any deduction or abatement whatsoever, as a compensation for their respective losses by reason of the discontinuance of their emoluments or offices as officers or attendants of the two houses of parliament.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
John, Earl of Clare, lord chancellor, speaker -	3973	3	4
John, Earl of Mayo, chairman of the committees -	1443	6	0
Edmond Henry, Lord Glentworth, clerk of the crown in chancery - - - -	379	10	0
William Meek, Esq. clerk of the parliament - -	2705	16	0
Thomas Lindsay, Esq. usher of the black rod -	964	9	9
Edward Westby, Thomas Walker, William Hornn, and S. King, Esqs. masters in chancery, each - - -	104	4	2
Joseph Gayer, Esq. deputy clerk of the parliament -	631	13	4
Thomas Bouchier, Esq. deputy clerk of the crown in chancery	101	2	1
Joseph Gregg, Esq. clerk of assizes - - -	786	12	4
Joseph Griffith, Esq. reading clerk - - -	293	3	1
Henry Minchin, Esq. serjeant at arms - - -	314	2	2
Richard C. Smith, jun. Esq. committee clerk -	231	6	0
Edward Fenner, Esq. journal clerk - - -	287	7	6
B. Connor, Esq. yeoman usher - - - -	243	16	6
W. Walker, Esq. add. clerk - - - -	70	0	0
T. R. O'Flaherty, clerk in the parliament office -	74	10	8
W. Corbett, door-keeper to the speaker's chamber -	105	0	4
C. W. Jolly, J. Polden, P. Martin, W. Graham, P. Thompson, and G. Payn, door-keepers, each - - -	92	2	8
P. Long, W. Cavendish, M. Quinan, and J. Tobin, messengers, each - - - -	91	13	9
Mrs. Albini Taylor, keeper of the parliament house -	877	18	9
Mary Foster, house-keeper - - - -	472	18	11
Mary Anne Foster, house-maid - - - -	30	9	6
VOL. II.	7	z	Sir

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Sir Chichester Fortescue, Ulster king at arms -	290	19	5
Philip O'Bryen, gate-keeper - - -	42	6	8
Richard Taylor, keeper of the speaker's chamber -	50	0	0
Henry Welbore, Viscount Clifden, clerk of the council -	181	13	4
Henry Upton, Esq. deputy do. - - -	104	8	11
Jos. Patrickson, Esq. deputy clerk, usher of the council-chamber, and solicitor for turnpike-bills - - -	421	9	5
Mr. William M'Kay, assistant clerk of the council -	100	17	0
John Ebbs and Elizabeth Grant, door-keeper and council-office keeper - - - -	14	8	2
John Dwyer, Esq. secretary to the lord chancellor -	29	2	8
John Beresford, Esq. purse bearer to do. - - -	14	11	2
Andrew Bowen, water porter - - - -	4	11	0
Right Honorable John Foster, speaker of the House of Commons	583	8	4
Henry Alexander, Esq. chairman of the committees of supply and ways and means - - - -	500	0	0
Sir G. Fitzgerald Hill, Bart. clerk of the house -	2263	13	2½
Edward Cooke, clerk of the house in reversion -	500	0	0
John M'Clintock and William F. M'Clintock, Esqs. serjeants at arms, including 100 <i>l.</i> on the civil list - - -	1200	0	0
Edward Tresham, clerk assistant - - - -	594	6	10
G. F. Winstanley, and Jonathan Rogers, committee clerks, each	250	0	0
D. Ellis, superin. engrossing clerk - - - -	140	0	0
C. H. Tandy, engrossing clerk - - - -	398	7	0
T. Richardson, assistant do. - - - -	150	0	0
William Ratferty, clerk in the chief clerks office, clerk of the minutes, and clerk of the fees - - - -	470	0	0
H. Coddington, Esq. deputy serjeant at arms - - -	350	0	0
James Corry, Esq. clerk of the journals and records -	660	0	0
John Smith, assistant do. - - - -	230	0	0
R. Connor, attending clerk - - - -	60	0	0
Mr. Hume, clerk of the brief - - - -	100	0	0
John Judd, assistant clerk in the chief clerk's office -	63	6	8
J. L. Foster, Esq. speaker's secretary - - - -	10	0	5
G. Dunleavy, messenger - - - -	68	0	0
R. Burnside and R. Fleming, back-door keepers, each -	48	0	0

John

APPENDIX.

363

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
John Dogherty, and D. Smith, messengers, each - -	46	0	0
L. Dunlevey, R. Grace, R. Garland, E. Byrne, D. Brenan, H. Gahan, J. Brown, A. Carlon, P. Ferrall, J. Morley, G. Shirley, M. Dalton, and J. King, each - - -	36	0	0
J. Banen, do. - - - -	51	18	6
W. Brown, distributor of votes - - -	130	0	0
Sarah Connor, house-keeper - - -	401	13	2
John Kennedy and John Walker, front door-keepers, each	168	4	9½
Mary Connor, house attendant - - -	4	11	0
T. Seavers, fire-lighter - - - -	11	7	6
R. Watham, do. - - - -	6	16	6
Lord Viscount Glentworth, clerk of the crown and hanaper	131	8	6½
T. Bouchier, deputy do. - - - -	52	5	6
John Beresford, Esq. purse bearer to the lord chancellor -	33	18	9
Mrs. Albini Taylor, keeper of the parliament house -	140	0	0

An account of Gold coined at his Majesty's Mint, from Michaelmas 1796, to the present time, distinguishing the quantity in each year.

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Quantity coined in pounds weight.</i>	<i>Value.</i>
1796 from Michaelmas - 3,480 -	162,603	0 0
1797 - - - 42,810 -	2,000,297	5 0
1798 - - - 63,510 -	2,967,504	15 0
1799 - - - 9,630 -	449,961	15 0
1800 to the 20th November - 4,065 -	189,937	2 6
Total - - - £ 123,495	£ 5,770,303	17 6

Mint Office, 20th November, 1800.

HAWKESBURY, Master.

A Correct List of the Anti-Unionists and Unionists.

ANTI-UNIONISTS.

Hon. A. Achefon	David Babbington	Charles Buthe
Wm. C. Alcock	John Ball	Wm. Blakeney
Wm. H. Armstrong	J. C. Beresford	H. V. Brooke
Mervyn Archdal	Wm. Burton	Col. J. Maxwell Barry
	7 z 2	Blayney

Blayney Balfour	Wm. Hoare Hume	J. B. Ponfonby
Sir Richard Butler	Edward Hoare	Major Wm. Ponfonby
Peter Burrowes	H. Irvin	George Ponfonby
John Bagwell	Gilbert King	Sir Lau. Parsons
John Bagwell, jun.	John King	Richard Power
Wm. Bagwell	Hon. Robert King	Gustavus Rochfort
Lord Vif. Corry	Hon. G. Knox	John St. Rochfort
Lord Clements	Rt. Hon. Henry King	Sir William Richardson
Lord Cole	Gustavus Lambart	Wm. Ruxton
Jof. Edward Cooper	John Latouche	Wm. P. Ruxton
R. S. Carew	John Latouche, jun.	John Reilly
D. B. Daly	Robert Latouche	W. E. Reilly
Noah Dalway	Charles Powel Leslie	Clotworthy Rowley
Richard Dawson T.	Edward Lee	S. C. Rowley
Arthur Dawson	Sir Thomas Lighton	W. Rowley
Francis Dobbs	Lord Maxwell	Francis Saunderson
John Egan	Alexander Montgomery	Wm. Smyth—Westmeath
Geo. Evans	Sir John Macartney	James Stewart
R. L. Edgworth	Arthur Moore	Hon. W. J. Skeffington
Sir John Freke, Bart.	Lord Mathew	Francis Savage T.
Fred. John Falkiner	John Metge	Francis Synge
Rt. Hon. Jam. Fitzgerald	Step. Moore, Clonmell	Robert Shaw
Wm. Charles Fortescue	John Moore	Wm. Saurin
Hon. Thomas Foster	Thomas Mahon	Sir R. St. George
Arthur French	Charles O'Hara	William Tighe
Chichester Fortescue	Sir Edward O'Brien	Henry Tighe
Sir Thomas Fetherston	James M. O'Donnell	John Taylor
Hamilton Gorges	Hon. W. O'Callaghan	Thomas Townshend
Henry Grattan	Right Hon. G. Ogle	Charles Vereker T.
Thomas Gould	Henry Osborne	Owen Wynne
Hans Hamilton	Joseph Preston	John Waller
Edward Hardman	Sir John Parnell	E. D. Wilson
Francis Hardy	Henry Parnell	Nic. Westby
Sir Joseph Hoare	William C. Plunket	John Wolfe
Hon. A. C. Hamilton	R. H. Wm. B. Ponfonby	Thomas Whaley

UNIONISTS.

UNIONISTS.

H. Alexander	W. A. Crosbie	W. Jones
Hon. D. Alexander	Hon. A. Creighton	Theophilus Jones
R. Archdall	Hon. J. Creighton	Major Geo. Jackson
Rt. Hon. Rich. Annesley	J. Cuffe	Wm. Johnson
Wm. Bailey	St. G. Daly	Robert Johnson
Rt. Hon. J. Beresford	Pat. Duigenan	John Keane
J. Beresford, jun.	William Elliot	James Kearney
Col. M. Beresford	General Eustace	Henry Kemmis
J. Bingham	Major Eustace	William Knott
Joseph Henry Blake	Lord Charles Fitzgerald	James Knox
Sir J. S. Blackwood	Rt. Hon. Wm. Forward	Andrew Knox
Sir J. Blaquiére	Sir C. Fortescue	Rt. H. Sir H. Langrishe
Hon. Col. Burton	A. Ferguson	Thomas Lindsay, jun.
Lord Boyle	Luke Fox	John Longfield
Rt. Hon. D. Brown, T.	Faithful Fortescue	Capt. J. Longfield
Stewart Bruce	R. U. Fitzgerald	Montiford Longfield
George Burdet	J. Galbraith	Lord Loftus
G. Bunbury	H. D. Grady	General Lake
Arthur Browne	Wm. Gregory	Rt. Hon. D. Latouche
Thomas Bligh	General Gardiner	General Loftus
Edward Bligh	Wm. Gore	Francis Leigh
Hon. J. Butler	Richard Hare	Francis M'Namara
Lord Castlereagh	Wm. Hare	Rofs Mahon
G. Cavendish	Gen. B. Henniker	Richard Martin
Sir H. Cavendish	Peter Holmes	Rt. Hon. J. M. Mason
Sir Broderick Chinnery	G. Hatton	H. D. Massey
James Cane	Hon. M. G. Hutchinso	E. A. M'Naghton
Thomas Casey	Hon. F. H. Hutchinso	S. Moore
Col. R. C. Cope	Hugh Howard	N. M. Moore
Gen. Cradock	Wm. Handcock	Rt. Hon. Lodge Morris
James Crosbie	John Hobson	Sir R. Musgrave
E. Cooke	Sir Vere Hunt	James M'Clelland
C. H. Coote	Richard Herbert	Col. Charles M'Donnell
Rt. Hon. Isaac Corry	Col. G. Jackson	Richard Magennis
Sir J. Cotter	Denh. Jephson	G. Miller
R. Cotter	Hon. J. Jocelyn	James Mahon

Edward

Edward May	G. H. Reade	Earl of Tyrone
John M'Clean	R. Rutlege	Chas. Tottenham
Thomas Nesbitt	Hon. C. Rowley	Hon. Richard Trench
Sir Wm. Newcomen	Abel Ram	— Chas. Trench
Richard Neville	Hon. H. Skeffington	Wm. Talbot
William Odell	W. Smith	P. Tottenham
Charles Osborne	H. M. Sandford	John Townsend
J. M. Ormsby	Edmond Stanley	Robert Tighe
C. M. Ormsby	John Staples	Robert Uniacke
T. Packenham	John Stewart	James Verner
John Preston	John Stratton	J. O. Vandaleur
H. S. Prittie	Hon. J. Stratford	Colonel Wemys
R. Penefather	R. Sharkey	Henry Westenra
Col. Edw. Packenham	Sir George Shee	Benjamin B. Woodward
Thos. Prendergast	J. Savage	Hon. R. Ward
Thomas Pepper	Col. Singleton	P. Walsh
Sir Richard Quin	Rt. Hon. J. Toler	
Sir Boyle Roche	Frederick Trench	

No. CXXIII.

(P. 1067).

An Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland. 2d July 1800.

WHEREAS in pursuance of his majesty's most gracious recommendation to the two houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, to consider of such measures as might best tend to strengthen and consolidate the connection between the two kingdoms, the two houses of the parliament of Great Britain and the two houses of the parliament of Ireland have severally agreed and resolved, that, in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be adviseable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions,

tions, as may be established by the acts of the respective parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

And whereas, in furtherance of the said resolution, both houses of the said two parliaments respectively have likewise agreed upon certain articles for effectuating and establishing the said purposes, in the tenor following :

Article I. That it be the first article of the Union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon the first day of January which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, and for ever after, be united into one kingdom, by the name of *The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*; and that the royal stile and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom and its dependencies; and also the ensigus, armorial flags and banners thereof, shall be such as his majesty, by his royal proclamation under the great seal of the united kingdom, shall be pleased to appoint.

Art. II. That it be the second article of Union, that the succession to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner as the succession to the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of Union between England and Scotland.

Art. III. That it be the third article of Union, that the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same parliament, to be stiled *The Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*.

Art. IV. That it be the fourth article of Union, that four lords spiritual of Ireland by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the parliament of the united kingdom; and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the University of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs), be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom :

That such act as shall be passed in the parliament of Ireland previous to the Union, to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said parliament, shall be considered

considered as forming part of the treaty of Union, and shall be incorporated in the acts of the respective parliaments by which the said Union shall be ratified and established :

That all questions touching the rotation or election of lords spiritual or temporal of Ireland to sit in the parliament of the united kingdom, shall be decided by the House of Lords thereof ; and whenever, by reason of an equality of votes in the election of any such lords temporal, a complete election shall not be made according to the true intent of this article, the names of those peers for whom such equality of votes shall be so given, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass, by the clerk of the parliaments at the table of the House of Lords whilst the house is sitting ; and the peer or peers whose name or names shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the parliaments, shall be deemed the peer or peers elected as the case may be :

That any person holding any peerage of Ireland now subsisting, or hereafter to be created, shall not thereby be disqualified from being elected to serve if he shall so think fit, or from serving or continuing to serve, if he shall so think fit, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, in the House of Commons of the united kingdom, unless he shall have been previously elected as above, to sit in the House of Lords of the united kingdom ; but that so long as such peer of Ireland shall so continue to be a member of the House of Commons, he shall not be entitled to the privilege of peerage, nor be capable of being elected to serve as a peer on the part of Ireland, or of voting at any such election ; and that he shall be liable to be sued, indicted, proceeded against, and tried as a commoner, for any offence with which he may be charged :

That it shall be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to create peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, and to make promotions in the peerage thereof, after the Union ; provided that no new creation of any such peers shall take place after the Union until three of the peerages of Ireland, which shall have been existing at the time of the Union, shall have become extinct ; and upon such extinction of three peerages, that it shall be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland ; and in like manner so often as three peerages of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall become extinct, it shall be lawful for his majesty his heirs and successors, to create one
other

other peer of the said part of the united kingdom ; and if it shall happen that the peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall, by extinction of peerages or otherwise, be reduced to the number of one hundred, exclusive of all such peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, as shall hold any peerage of Great Britain subsisting at the time of the Union, or of the united kingdom created since the Union, by which such peers shall be entitled to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the united kingdom, then and in that case it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland as often as any one of such one hundred peerages shall fail by extinction, or as often as any one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall become entitled, by descent or creation, to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the united kingdom ; it being the true intent and meaning of this article, that at all times after the Union it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to keep up the peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland to the number of one hundred, over and above the number of such of the said peers as shall be entitled by descent or creation to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the united kingdom :

That if any peerage shall at any time be in abeyance, such peerage shall be deemed and taken as an existing peerage ; and no peerage shall be deemed extinct, unless on default of claimants to the inheritance of such peerage for the space of one year from the death of the person who shall have been last possessed thereof : and if no claim shall be made to the inheritance of such peerage, in such form and manner as may from time to time be prescribed by the House of Lords of the united kingdom, before the expiration of the said period of a year, then and in that case such peerage shall be deemed extinct ; provided that nothing herein shall exclude any person from afterwards putting in a claim to the peerage so deemed extinct ; and if such claim shall be allowed as valid, by judgment of the House of Lords of the united kingdom, reported to his majesty, such peerage shall be considered as revived ; and in case any new creation of a peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall have taken place in the interval, in consequence of the supposed extinction of such peerage, then no new right of creation shall accrue to his majesty, his heirs or successors, in consequence of the next extinction

which shall take place of any peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland :

That all questions touching the election of members to sit on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the united kingdom shall be heard and decided in the same manner as questions touching such elections in Great Britain now are or at any time hereafter shall by law be heard and decided ; subject nevertheless to such particular regulations in respect to Ireland as, from local circumstances, the parliament of the united kingdom may from time to time deem expedient :

That the qualifications in respect of property of the members elected on the part of Ireland to sit in the House of Commons of the united kingdom, shall be respectively the same as are now provided by law in the cases of elections for counties and cities and boroughs respectively in that part of Great Britain called England, unless any other provision shall hereafter be made in that respect by act of parliament of the united kingdom :

That when his majesty, his heirs or successors, shall declare his, her, or their pleasure for holding the first or any subsequent parliament of the united kingdom, a proclamation shall issue, under the great seal of the united kingdom, to cause the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, who are to serve in the parliament thereof on the part of Ireland, to be returned in such manner as by any act of this present session of the parliament of Ireland shall be provided ; and that the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of Great Britain shall, together with the lords spiritual and temporal and commons so returned as aforesaid on the part of Ireland, constitute the two houses of the parliament of the united kingdom :

That if his majesty, on or before the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and one, on which day the Union is to take place, shall declare, under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain ; then the said lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain shall accordingly be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain ; and they, together with the lords spiritual and temporal and commons, so summoned and returned as above on the part of Ireland, shall be the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of the first parliament of the united kingdom ;

dom ; and such first parliament may (in that case) if not sooner dissolved continue to sit so long as the present parliament of Great Britain may now by law continue to sit, if not sooner dissolved : provided always, that until an act shall have passed in the parliament of the united kingdom, providing in what cases persons holding offices or places of profit under the crown in Ireland, shall be incapable of being members of the House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom, no greater number of members than twenty, holding such offices or places as aforesaid, shall be capable of sitting in the said House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom ; and if such a number of members shall be returned to serve in the said house as to make the whole number of members of the said house holding such offices or places as aforesaid more than twenty, then and in such case the seats or places of such members as shall have last accepted such offices or places shall be vacated, at the option of such members, so as to reduce the number of members holding such offices or places to the number of twenty ; and no person holding any such office or place shall be capable of being elected or of sitting in the said house, while there are twenty persons holding such offices or places sitting in the said house ; and that every one of the lords of parliament of the united kingdom, and every member of the House of Commons in the united kingdom, in the first and all succeeding parliaments, shall, until the parliament of the united kingdom shall otherwise provide, take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration, and take and subscribe the oath now by law enjoined to be taken, made, and subscribed by the lords and commons of the parliament of Great Britain :

That the lords of parliament on the part of Ireland, in the House of Lords of the united kingdom, shall at all times have the same privileges of parliament which shall belong to the lords of parliament on the part of Great Britain ; and the lords spiritual and temporal respectively on the part of Ireland shall at all times have the same rights in respect of their sitting and voting upon the trial of peers, as the lords spiritual and temporal respectively on the part of Great Britain ; and that all lords spiritual of Ireland shall have rank and precedency next and immediately after the lords spiritual of the same rank and degree of Great Britain, and shall enjoy all privileges as fully as the lords spiritual of Great Britain do now or may hereafter enjoy the same (the right and privilege of sitting in the House of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of sitting on the trial of peers, excepted) ; and that the persons holding any temporal peerages of Ireland,

existing at the time of the Union, shall, from and after the Union, have rank and precedence next and immediately after all the persons holding peerages of the like orders and degrees in Great Britain, subsisting at the time of the Union; and that all peerages of Ireland created after the Union shall have rank and precedence with the peerages of the united kingdom, so created, according to the dates of their creations; and that all peerages both of Great Britain and Ireland, now subsisting or hereafter to be created, shall in all other respects, from the date of the Union, be considered as peerages of the united kingdom; and that the peers of Ireland shall, as peers of the united kingdom, be sued and tried as peers, except as aforesaid, and shall enjoy all privileges of peers as fully as the peers of Great Britain; the right and privilege of sitting in the House of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and the right of sitting on the trial of peers, only excepted:

Art. V. That it be the fifth article of Union, that the churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one Protestant Episcopal church, to be called, *The United Church of England and Ireland*; and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said united church shall be and shall remain in full force for ever, as the same are now by law established for the church of England; and that the continuance and preservation of the said united church, as the established church of England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the Union; and that in like manner the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of the church of Scotland, shall remain and be preserved as the same are now established by law, and by the acts for the Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland:

Art. VI. That it be the sixth article of Union, that his majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall, from and after the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and one, be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing, as to encouragements and bounties on the like articles being the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country respectively, and generally in respect of trade and navigation in all ports and places in the united kingdom and its dependencies; and that in all treaties made by his majesty, his heirs and successors, with any foreign power, his majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges, and be on the same footing, as his majesty's subjects of Great Britain:

That, from the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and one,
all

all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, to the other, shall cease and determine; and that the said articles shall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other, without duty or bounty on such export:

That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, (not herein after enumerated as subject to specific duties), shall from thenceforth be imported into each country from the other, free from duty, other than such countervailing duties on the several articles enumerated in the schedule number One A. and B. hereunto annexed, as are therein specified, or to such other countervailing duties as shall hereafter be imposed by the parliament of the united kingdom, in the manner herein after provided; and that, for the period of twenty years from the Union, the articles enumerated in the schedule number Two hereunto annexed, shall be subject on importation into each country from the other, to the duties specified in the said schedule number Two; and the woollen manufactures, known by the names of *Old and New Drapery*, shall pay, on importation into each country from the other, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland: Salt and hops, on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, duties not exceeding those which are now paid on importation into Ireland; and coals on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, shall be subject to burthens not exceeding those to which they are now subject:

That callicoes and muslins shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable on the same on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January one thousand eight hundred and eight; and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced, by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, so as that the said duties shall stand at ten *per centum* from and after the fifth day of January one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, until the 5th day of January one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one: and that cotton yarn and cotton twist shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable upon the same on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January one thousand eight hundred and eight, and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, so that as that all duties shall cease on the said articles from and after the fifth day of January one thousand eight hundred and sixteen:

That

That any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, which are or may be subject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are composed, may be made subject, on their importation into each country respectively from the other, to such countervailing duty as shall appear to be just and reasonable in respect of such internal duty or duties on the materials; and that for the said purposes the articles specified in the said schedule number one, A. and B. shall be subject to the duties set forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminished, or increased, in the manner herein specified; and that upon the export of the said articles from each country to the other respectively, a drawback shall be given equal in amount to the countervailing duty payable on such articles on the import thereof into the same country from the other; and that in like manner in future it shall be competent to the united parliament to impose any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off, or diminish such existing countervailing as may appear, on like principles, to be just and reasonable in respect of any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, or of any new or additional duty on any materials of which such article may be composed, or of any abatement of duty on the same; and that when any such new or additional countervailing duty shall be so imposed on the import of any article into either country from the other, a drawback, equal in amount to such countervailing duty, shall be given in like manner on the export of every such article respectively from the same country to the other:

That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, when exported through the other, shall in all cases be exported subject to the same charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce, or manufacture:

That all duty charged on the import of foreign or colonial goods into either country, shall on their export to the other, be either drawn back, or the amount, if any be retained, shall be placed to the credit of the country to which they shall be so exported, so long as the expenditure of the united kingdom shall be defrayed by proportional contributions: Provided always, that nothing herein shall extend to take away any duty, bounty, or prohibition, which exists with respect to corn, meal, malt, flour, or biscuit; but that all duties, bounties, or prohibitions, on the said articles, may be regulated, varied, or repealed, from time to time, as the united parliament shall deem expedient.

SCHEDULE

SCHEDULE, No. I.

Of the articles to be charged with countervailing duties upon importation from Ireland into Great Britain, and from Great Britain into Ireland, respectively, according to the sixth article of Union.

(A.) *On Importation into Great Britain from Ireland.*

Beer.—For every barrel consisting of thirty-six gallons, English beer measure, of Irish beer, ale, or mum, which shall be imported into Great Britain directly from Ireland, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, to be paid by the importer thereof, 8s. excise.

Bricks and Tiles.—For every thousand of Irish bricks, 5s. excise.

For every thousand of Irish plain tiles, 4s. 10d. excise.

For every thousand of Irish pan or ridge tiles, 12s. 10d. excise.

For every hundred of Irish paving tiles, not exceeding ten inches square, 2s. 5d. excise.

For every hundred of Irish paving tiles exceeding ten inches square, 4s. 10d. excise.

For every thousand of Irish tiles, other than such as are herein-before enumerated and described, by whatsoever name or names such tiles are or may be called or known, 4s. 10d. excise.

Candles.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish candles of tallow, and other candles whatsoever (except wax and spermaceti), 1d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish candles, which may be made of wax or spermaceti, or which are usually called or sold either for wax or spermaceti, notwithstanding the mixture of any other ingredient therewith, 3½d. excise.

Chocolate, &c.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish cocoa, cocoa paste, or chocolate, 2s. excise.

Cordage; videlicet.—To be used as standing rigging, or other cordage made from topt hemp, the ton, containing twenty hundred weight, 4l. 10s. 3d. customs.

Of any other sort, cable yarn, packthread, and twine, the ton, containing twenty hundred weight, 4l. 4s. 4d. customs.

Cyder and Perry.—For every hogshhead, consisting of sixty-three gallons English wine measure, of Irish cyder and perry, which shall be imported as
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merchandize or for sale, and which shall be sent or consigned to any factor or agent to sell or dispose of, 19s. 2d. excise.

Glasfs.—For every square foot superficial measure of Irish plate glasfs, 2s. 2½d. excise.

For every hundred weight of Irish flint, enamel, stained, paste, or phial glasfs, 2l. 3s. 6d. excise.

For every hundred weight of Irish spread window glasfs, commonly called broad glasfs, 8s. 1d. excise.

For every hundred weight of Irish window glasfs (not being spread glasfs) whether flashed or otherwise manufactured, and commonly called or known by the name of *crown glasfs*, or *German sheet glasfs*, 1l. 9s. 9d. exc.

For every hundred weight of vessels made use of in chemical laboratories, and of garden glassfs, and of all other vessels or utensils of common bottle metal, manufactured in Ireland, common bottles excepted, 4s. 0½d. exc.

For every hundred weight of any sort or species of Irish glasfs, not hereinbefore enumerated or described, 2l. 2s. excise.

Bottles of common green glasfs, the dozen quarts, 9d. customs.

Hops.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish hops, 1½d. excise.

Leather, unmanufactured.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of hides, of what kind soever, and of calf skins, kips, hog skins, dog skins, and seal skins, tanned in Ireland, and of sheep skins and lamb skins so tanned for gloves and bazils, which shall be imported in the whole hide or skin, and neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever, 1½d. excise.

For every dozen of goat skins tanned in Ireland to resemble Spanish leather, 4s. excise.

For every dozen of sheep skins tanned in Ireland for roans, being after the nature of Spanish leather, 2s. 3d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides or skins not hereinbefore enumerated and described, and of all pieces and parts of hides or skins which shall be tanned in Ireland, 6d. excise.

For all hides of horses, mares, and geldings, which shall be dressed in allum and salt or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, for each and every such hide, 1s. 6d. excise.

For all hides of steers, cows, or any other hides of what kind soever (those of horses, mares, and geldings excepted) which shall be dressed in allum
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and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, for each and every such hide, 3*s.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all calf skins, kips, and seal skins, which shall be so dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, and imported into Great Britain, in the whole skin, neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever, 1½*d.* excise.

For every dozen of flink calf skins which shall be so dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed with the hair on, in Ireland, 3*s.* excise.

For every dozen of flink calf skins which shall be so dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed without hair, in Ireland, and for every dozen of dog skins and kid skins, which shall be dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, 1*s.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of buck and doe skins, which shall be dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, and which shall be imported in the whole skin, and neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever, 6*d.* excise.

For every dozen of goat skins and beaver skins, which shall be dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, 2*s.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of sheep skins and lamb skins which shall be dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, and which shall be imported in the whole skin, and neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever, 1¼*d.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides and skins, not hereinbefore enumerated and described, and of all pieces or parts of hides or skins, which shall be dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, 6*d.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all buck, deer, and elk skins, which shall be dressed in oil in Ireland, and imported in the whole skin, and neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever, 1*s.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all sheep and lamb skins, which shall be dressed in oil in Ireland, 3*d.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides and skins, and parts and pieces of hides and skins, which shall be dressed in oil in Ireland, 6*d.* excise.

For every dozen of Irish vellum, 3*s.* 5½*d.* excise.

For every dozen of Irish parchment, 1*s.* 8¾*d.* excise.

Leather, manufactured into goods and wares :

For every pound weight avoirdupois of tanned leather, manufactured and actually made into goods or wares in Ireland, $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish made boots and shoes, and gloves, and other manufactures made of tawed or dressed leather, $1d.$ ex.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all buck and deer skins, and elk skins, dressed in oil and manufactured into goods and wares in Ireland, $1s.$ excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all sheep and lamb skins, dressed in oil and manufactured into goods or wares in Ireland, $3d.$ excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides and skins, not herein-before enumerated or described, dressed in oil and manufactured into goods or wares in Ireland, $6d.$ excise.

Mead or Metheglin.—For every gallon, English wine measure, of Irish mead or metheglin, $1s.$ $0\frac{1}{2}d.$ excise.

Paper.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish paper, fit or proper, or that may be used for or applied to the uses or purposes of writing, drawing, and printing, or either of them, and of all Irish elephant papers and cartridge papers, $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish coloured papers and whited brown papers (other than and except elephant and cartridge papers) fit and proper for the use and purpose of wrapping up goods, and not fit or proper or capable of being used for or applied to the purposes of writing, drawing, and printing, or either of them, $1d.$ excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish brown paper, fit and proper for the use and purpose of wrapping up goods, and not fit or proper or capable of being used for or applied to the uses and purposes of writing, drawing, and printing, or either of them, $0\frac{1}{2}d.$ excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of every sort or kind of Irish paper, not herein-before enumerated or described, sheathing, and button paper and button board excepted, $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ excise.

For every one hundred weight of Irish pasteboard, millboard, and scale-board, $10s.$ $6d.$ excise.

For every one hundred weight of Irish glazed papers for clothiers and hot pressers, $6s.$ excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of books, bound or unbound, and of maps

maps or prints, which shall be imported into Great Britain directly from Ireland, 2*d.* excise.

Printed Goods.—For every yard square of Irish printed, painted, or stained papers, to serve for hangings, or other uses, 1½*d.* excise.

For every yard in length, reckoning yard-wide, of foreign calicoes and foreign muslins, which shall be printed, painted, stained, or dyed in Ireland (except such as shall be dyed throughout of one colour), over and above any duty of customs payable on the importation of foreign calicoes and muslins, 7*d.* excise.

For every yard in length, reckoning yard-wide, of all Irish printed, painted, stained, or dyed Irish-made calicoes, muslins, linens, and stuffs, made either of cotton or linen, mixed with other materials, fustians, velvets, velverets, dimities, and other figured stuffs, made of cotton and other materials, mixed or wholly made of cotton wool (except such as shall be dyed throughout of one colour only), 3½*d.* excise.

For every yard in length, reckoning yard-wide, of all Irish printed, stained, painted, or dyed Irish made stuffs not before enumerated or described (except such as shall be dyed throughout of one colour only and except stuffs made of woollen, or whereof the greatest part in value shall be woollen), 3½*d.* excise.

For every yard in length, reckoning half yard wide, of all Irish printed, stained, painted, or dyed filks, (filk handkerchiefs excepted) over and above any duty of customs payable on the importation of filk, 1*s.* 1¾*d.* excise.

For every yard square of Irish printed, stained, painted, or dyed filk handkerchiefs, and so in proportion for wide or narrow filk handkerchiefs, over and above every duty of customs payable on filk, 4½*d.* excise.

Salt.—For every bushel, consisting of fifty-six pounds weight avoirdupois, of Irish salt, or Irish Glauber or Irish Epsom salt, 10*s.* excise.

For every bushel, consisting of sixty-five pounds weight avoirdupois of Irish rock salt, 10*s.* excise.

Silk.—Manufactures of ribbons and stuffs of silk only, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, 5*s.* customs.

Note, Two-thirds of the weight of gauze and one-third of the weight of crape, is to be deducted for gum and drefs.

Silk and ribbons of filk, mixed with gold or silver, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, 6s. 8d. customs.

Silk stockings, filk gloves, filk fringe, filk laces, fitching or sewing filk, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, 3s. customs.

Silk, manufactures of, not otherwise enumerated or described, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, 4s. customs.

Stuffs of filk and grogram yarn, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, 1s. 2d. customs.

Stuffs of filk mixed with inclé or cotton, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, 1s. 8d. customs.

Stuffs of filk and worsted, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, 10d. customs.

Stuffs of filk mixed with any other material, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, 1s. 3d. customs.

Soap.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish hard, cake, or ball soap, 2¼d. excise.

For every pound weight of Irish soft soap, 1¾d. excise.

Spirits, British.---For every gallon, English wine measure, of spirits, Aqua Vitæ, or strong waters, which shall be distilled or made in Ireland, and imported at a strength not exceeding one to ten over hydrometer proof, 5s. 1¼d. excise.

Note.—Spirits above the strength of one to ten will be charged in proportion : and on sweetened or compounded spirits, the duty will be computed upon the highest degree of strength at which such spirits can be made.

Starch.---For every pound weight of Irish starch or hair powder, of what kind soever, 3¼d. excise.

Sugars.---Refined ; *videlicet*, called *Bastards*, whole or ground, the hundred weight, 18s. 2d. customs.

Lumps, the hundred weight, 1l. 14s. 0¾d. customs.

Single loaf, the hundred weight, 1l. 16s. 4d. customs.

Powder loaf and double loaf, the hundred weight, 1l. 19s. 1d. customs.

Sugar candy, brown, the hundred weight, 1l. 14s. 0¾d. customs.

Sugar candy, white, the hundred weight, 1l. 19s. 1d. customs.

Sugar, refined, of any other sort, the hundred weight, 1l. 19s. 1d. customs.

Sweets.—For every barrel, consisting of thirty-one gallons and a half, English wine measure, of Irish sweets, or other Irish liquor, made by infusion, fermen-

fermentation, or otherwise, from fruit or sugar, or from fruit or sugar mixed with any other materials or ingredients whatsoever, commonly called *sweets*, or called or distinguished by the name of *made wines*, 2*l.* 2*s.* excise.

Tobacco and Snuff.—For every pound weight avoirdupois of unmanufactured tobacco, of the growth or produce of Ireland, over and above any duty of customs, 1*s.* 1*d.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured short cut tobacco, or tobacco manufactured into what is commonly called or known by the name of Spanish, 1*s.* 7*d.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured flag tobacco, 1*s.* 5½*d.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured roll tobacco, 1*s.* 7*d.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured carrot tobacco, 1*s.* 5½*d.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of every other sort of Irish manufactured tobacco, not herein-before enumerated or described, 1*s.* 7*d.* ex.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured rappee snuff, 1*s.* 4¼*d.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured Scotch snuff, 1*s.* 10½*d.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured brown Scotch snuff, 1*s.* 3¼*d.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish manufactured tobacco stalk flour, 1*s.* 9*d.* excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of every other sort or kind of Irish manufactured snuff, or snuff-work, not herein-before enumerated or described, 1*s.* 10½*d.* excise.

Tobacco unmanufactured, the pound, 6½*d.* customs.

Verjuice.—For every hoghead consisting of sixty-three gallons, English wine measure, of Irish verjuice, 7*s.* 8*d.* excise.

Vinegar.—For every barrel consisting of thirty-four gallons, English beer measure, of Irish vinegar, 12*s.* 8¼*d.* excise.

Wire.—For every ounce troy weight of Irish gilt wire, 9¼*d.* excise.

For every ounce troy of Irish silver wire, 7*d.* excise.

For

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish gold thread, gold lace, or gold fringe, made of plate wire spun upon filk, 7s. 8d. excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of Irish silver thread, silver lace, or silver fringe, made of plate wire spun upon filk, 5s. 9d. excise.

(B.) *On Importation into Ireland from Great Britain.*

Beer.—For and upon every barrel containing thirty-two gallons, imported from Great Britain, 4s. 6d.

Glass Bottles.—For and upon each reputed quart, 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.

Leather, unmanufactured.—For and upon each pound in every hide or skin, or piece of any such hide or skin of what kind or denomination soever, other than such as are herein-after mentioned and described, 1d.

For and upon each hide of horses, mares, or geldings, 1s.

For and upon all skins called veal skins, and all skins of hogs, for every dozen skins thereof, and after the same rate for any greater or less quantity, 5s.

For and upon all skins for shoes and other like purposes, and all seal skins, for every dozen thereof, and after the same rate for any greater or less quantity, 2s. 6d.

For and upon all skins for bookbinders use, for every dozen thereof, and after the same rate for any greater or less quantity, 1s.

For and upon all goat skins tanned with shumack, or otherwise to resemble Spanish leather, and all sheep skins tanned for roans, being after the nature of Spanish leather, for every pound weight avoirdupois, 1d.

For and upon all sheep and lamb skins tanned for gloves and basils, for every pound weight avoirdupois, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Leather, dressed in oil.—For and upon every hide and skin, and piece of such hide and skin, other than such as are herein-after mentioned or described, for every pound weight avoirdupois, 2d.

For and upon all deer skins, goat skins, and beaver skins, for every pound weight thereof avoirdupois, 3d.

For and upon all calf skins, for every pound weight thereof avoirdupois, 2d.

For and upon all sheep and lamb skins, for every pound weight avoirdupois, 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Vellum and Parchment.---For and upon every dozen skins of vellum, 6d.

For and upon every dozen skins of parchment, 3d.

Leather,

Leather, manufactured into goods and wares.---For and upon all tanned leather manufactured into goods and wares, whereof leather is the most valuable part, the following duties ; *videlicet*,

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of tanned leather, manufactured and actually made into goods and wares in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part, 1*d*.

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of tawed or dressed leather, manufactured and actually made in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part, 1*d*.

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of all buck and deer skins, and elk skins, dressed in oil, and manufactured into goods and wares in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part, 3*d*.

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of all sheep and lamb skins dressed in oil, and manufactured into goods and wares in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part, 0½*d*.

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of all other hides and skins, not herein-before enumerated or described, dressed in oil, and manufactured into goods and wares in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part, 2*d*.

Paper.—For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of paper, fit or proper for, or that may be used for or applied to the uses or purposes of writing, drawing, or printing, or either of them, and all elephant paper, and all cartridge paper, 2½*d*.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of all coloured paper, and whited-brown papers, other than and except elephant and cartridge paper, fit or proper for the uses or purposes of wrapping up goods, and not fit or proper, or capable of being used for or applied to the uses or purposes of writing, drawing, and printing, or either of them, and also except paper hangings, 1*d*.

For every pound weight avoirdupois of brown paper, fit and proper for the use or purpose of wrapping up goods, and not fit or proper or capable of being used for or applied to the uses or purposes of writing, drawing, or printing, or either of them, 0½*d*.'

For and upon every one hundred weight of glazed paper for clothiers and hotpressers, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, 5*s*.

For

For and upon every hundred weight of pasteboard, millboard, and scale-board, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, 10s.

For and upon every pound weight of every sort or kind of paper, not hereinbefore particularly enumerated or described, other than and except papers commonly called or known by the names of sheathing paper, and button paper or button board, and paper hangings, $2\frac{1}{2}d$.

Stained Paper.---For and upon every square yard of printed, painted, or stained paper, for hangings or other uses, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, 1d.

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of books bound or unbound, and of maps or prints, which shall be imported into Ireland from Great Britain, 2d.

Cards.---For and upon every pack of printed, painted, or playing cards, made or manufactured in Great Britain, 1s. 5d.

And a further duty of $2\frac{1}{2}d$. per pound weight.

Dice.---For and upon every pair of dice made or manufactured in Great Britain, 10s.

Wrought Plate.---For and upon every ounce troy weight of gold or silver plate, which shall be wrought, made, or manufactured in Great Britain, and imported into Ireland.

Silk Manufacture.---For and upon all silks being of the manufacture of Great Britain, and imported directly from thence, the following duties; *videlicet*,

For and upon all ribbons and stuffs of silks only, for every pound weight thereof containing sixteen ounces, 2s. 1d.

For and upon all silks and ribbons of silk, mixed with gold or silver, for every pound weight thereof containing sixteen ounces, 2s. 9d.

For and upon all silk stockings, silk gloves, silk fringe, silk laces, stitching and sewing silk, for every pound weight thereof containing sixteen ounces, 1s. 3d.

For and upon all manufactures of silk not otherwise enumerated or described, for every pound weight thereof containing sixteen ounces, 1s. 8d.

For and upon all stuffs of silk and grogram yarn, the pound weight containing sixteen ounces, 6d.

For

For and upon all stuffs of silk mixed with incle or cotton, the pound weight containing sixteen ounces, *9d.*

For and upon all stuffs of silk and worsted mixed, the pound weight containing sixteen ounces, *4d.*

For and upon all stuffs of silk mixed with any other material, the pound weight containing sixteen ounces, *6½d.*

Spirits.—For and upon every gallon of spirits, being of the manufacture of Great Britain, and imported from thence, a duty of *3s. 7d.*

Sugar, refined—of the manufacture of Great Britain, and imported directly from thence, the following duties, *videlicet.*

For and upon all sugar called bastards, white or ground, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, *19s. 8d.*

For and upon all sugar called lumps, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, *1l. 16s. 10½d.*

For and upon all sugar called single loaf sugar, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, *1l. 19s. 4d.*

For and upon all sugar called powder loaf and double loaf, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, *2l. 2s. 4d.*

For and upon all sugar called sugar candy, brown, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, *1l. 16s. 10d.*

For and upon all sugar called sugar candy, white, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, *2l. 2s. 4d.*

For and upon all sugar refined of any other sort, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, *2l. 2s. 4d.*

Sweets.—For and upon every barrel, containing thirty-two gallons wine measure, of British sweets, or other British liquor made by infusion, fermentation, or otherwise, from fruit or sugar, or from fruit or sugar mixed with any other material or ingredients whatsoever, commonly called sweets, or called or distinguished by the name of made wines, *10s.*

For and upon every gallon of mead or metheglin, *4d.*

For and upon every barrel, containing thirty-two gallons, of vinegar, *3s.*

Tobacco and Snuff.—For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of unmanufactured tobacco, of the growth or produce of Great Britain, over and above any duty of customs now payable, *5d.*

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured short cut tobacco,

bacco, or tobacco manufactured into what is commonly called or known by the name of Spanish, 1*s.* 0 $\frac{7}{10}$ *d.*

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured shag tobacco cut, 11*d.*

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured roll tobacco, 1*s.* 0 $\frac{7}{10}$ *d.*

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured carrot tobacco, 11*d.*

For and upon every pound weight of every other sort of British manufactured tobacco not herein-before enumerated or described, 1*s.* 0 $\frac{7}{10}$ *d.*

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupois of British manufactured rappee snuff, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured snuff called Scotch snuff, 1*s.* 4*d.*

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured snuff called brown Scotch snuff, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured stalk flour, 1*s.* 3*d.*

For and upon every pound weight of every other sort or kind of British manufactured snuff, or snuff work, not herein-before enumerated or described, 1*s.* 4*d.*

SCHEDULE, No. II.

Of the articles charged with the duties specified upon importation into Great Britain and Ireland respectively, according to the sixth article of Union.

Apparel	-	-	-	-	-	} Ten pounds <i>per cent.</i> on the true value.
Brass, wrought	-	-	-	-	-	
Cabinet ware	-	-	-	-	-	
Coaches and other carriages	-	-	-	-	-	
Copper, wrought	-	-	-	-	-	
Cottons, other than calicoes and muslins	-	-	-	-	-	
Glass	-	-	-	-	-	
Haberdashery	-	-	-	-	-	
Hats	-	-	-	-	-	
Tin plates, wrought iron and hard ware	-	-	-	-	-	

Gold

Gold and filver lace, gold and filver thread, bul-	-	-	-	-	-	Ten pounds <i>per cent.</i> on the true value.
lion for lace, pearl, and fpangles	-	-	-	-	-	
Millinery	-	-	-	-	-	
Paper ftained	-	-	-	-	-	
Pottery	-	-	-	-	-	
Saddlery and other manufactured leather	-	-	-	-	-	
Silk manufacture	-	-	-	-	-	
Stockings	-	-	-	-	-	

Art. VII. That it be the feventh article of Union, that the charge arifing from the payment of the intereft, and the finking fund for the reduction of the principal, of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, fhall continue to be feparately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland refpectively, except as herein-after provided :

That for the fpace of twenty years after the Union fhall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland refpectively, towards the expen-
diture of the united kingdom in each year, fhall be defrayed in the propor-
tion of fifteen parts for Great Britain and two parts for Ireland ; and that at
the expiration of the faid twenty years, the future expenditure of the united
kingdom (other than the intereft and charges of the debt to which either
country fhall be feparately liable) fhall be defrayed in fuch proportion as the
parliament of the united kingdom fhall deem juft and reasonable upon a
comparifon of the real value of the exports and imports of the refpective
countries, upon an average of the three years next preceding the period of
revision ; or on a comparifon of the value of the quantities of the following
articles confumed within the refpective countries, on a fimilar average ; viz.
beer, fpirits, fugar, wine, tea, tobacco, and malt ; or according to the ag-
gregate proportion refulting from both thefe confiderations combined ; or on
a comparifon of the amount of income in each country, eftimated from the
produce for the fame period of a general tax, if fuch fhall have been impofed
on the fame defcriptions of income in both countries ; and that the parlia-
ment of the united kingdom fhall afterwards proceed in like manner to revife
and fix the faid proportions according to the fame rules, or any of them, at
periods not more diftant than twenty years, nor lefs than feven years from
each other ; unlefs, previous to any fuch period, the parliament of the united
kingdom fhall have declared, as herein-after provided, that the expenditure

of the united kingdom shall be defrayed indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the like articles in both countries: that, for the defraying the said expenditure according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland shall hereafter constitute a consolidated fund, which shall be charged, in the first instance, with the interest of the debt of Ireland, and with the sinking fund applicable to the reduction of the said debt, and the remainder shall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the expenditure of the united kingdom, to which Ireland may be liable in each year: that the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will be liable, shall be raised by such taxes in each country respectively, as the parliament of the united kingdom shall from time to time deem fit: provided always, that in regulating the taxes in each country, by which their respective proportions shall be levied, no article in Ireland shall be made liable to any new or additional duty, by which the whole amount of duty payable thereon would exceed the amount which will be thereafter payable in England on the like article: that, if at the end of any year any surplus shall accrue from the revenues of Ireland, after defraying the interest, sinking fund, and proportional contribution and separate charges to which the said country shall then be liable, taxes shall be taken off to the amount of such surplus, or the surplus shall be applied by the parliament of the united kingdom to local purposes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may arise in the revenues of Ireland in time of peace, or be invested, by the commissioners of the national debt of Ireland, in the funds, to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland at compound interest, in case of the contribution of Ireland in time of war; provided that the surplus so to accumulate shall at no future period be suffered to exceed the sum of five millions: that all monies to be raised after the Union, by loan, in peace or war, for the service of the united kingdom by the parliament thereof, shall be considered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respective countries in the proportion of their respective contributions; provided that, if at any time, in raising their respective contributions hereby fixed for each country, the parliament of the united kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contributions in one country within the year than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole or any part of the loan raised on account of the one country than that raised on account of the other country, then such part of the said loan, for the liquidation

tion of which different provisions shall have been made for the respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which the respective countries shall have made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions: that, if at any future day the separate debt of each country respectively shall have been liquidated, or, if the values of their respective debts (estimated according to the amount of the interest and annuities attending the same, and of the sinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and to the period within which the whole capital of such debt shall appear to be redeemable by such sinking fund) shall be to each other in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each country respectively; or if the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion, shall not exceed one hundredth part of the said value; and if it shall appear to the parliament of the united kingdom, that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each, to the future expenditure of the united kingdom, it shall be competent to the parliament of the united kingdom to declare, that all future expence thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be so defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth from time to time, as circumstances may require, to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand: that, from the period of such declaration, it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future expenditure of the united kingdom, according to any specific proportion, or according to any of the rules herein before prescribed; provided nevertheless, that the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either country shall be chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionably as above, shall, until extinguished, continue to be defrayed by separate taxes in each country: that a sum, not less than the sum which has been granted by the parliament of Ireland on the average of six years immediately preceding the first day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred, in premiums for the internal encouragement of
agriculture

agriculture or manufactures, or for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied, for the period of twenty years after the Union, to such local purposes in Ireland, in such manner as the parliament of the united kingdom shall direct: that, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all public revenue arising to the united kingdom from the territorial dependencies thereof, and applied to the general expenditure of the united kingdom, shall be so applied in the proportions of the respective contributions of the two countries.

Art. VIII. That it be the eighth article of the Union, that all laws in force at the time of the Union, and all the courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations and regulations from time to time as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require; provided that all writs of error and appeals, depending at the time of the Union or hereafter to be brought, and which might now be finally decided by the House of Lords of either kingdom, shall, from and after the Union, be finally decided by the House of Lords of the united kingdom; and provided that, from and after the Union, there shall remain in Ireland an instance court of admiralty, for the determination of causes, civil and maritime only, and that the appeal from sentences of the said court shall be to his majesty's delegates in his court of chancery in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland; and that all laws at present in force in either kingdom, which shall be contrary to any of the provisions which may be enacted by any act for carrying these articles into effect, be from and after the Union repealed.

And whereas the said articles having, by address of the respective houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland, been humbly laid before his majesty, his majesty has been graciously pleased to approve the same; and to recommend it to his two houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland to consider of such measures as may be necessary for giving effect to the said articles: in order, therefore, to give full effect and validity to the same, be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said foregoing recited articles, each and every one of them, according to the true import and tenor thereof, be ratified, confirmed, and approved, and be and they

they are hereby declared to be the articles of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, and the same shall be in force and have effect for ever, from the first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and one; provided that, before that period an act shall have been passed by the parliament of Ireland, for carrying into effect, in the like manner, the said foregoing recited articles.

II. And whereas an act, intituled, “ An Act to regulate the Mode by which the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom on the Part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said Parliament,” has been passed by the parliament of Ireland; the tenor whereof is as follows: an act to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said parliament. Whereas it is agreed by the fourth article of Union, that four lords spiritual of Ireland, by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland, elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the parliament of the united kingdom; and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the College of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom; be it enacted by the king’s most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that the said four lords spiritual shall be taken from among the lords spiritual of Ireland in the manner following; that is to say, that one of the four archbishops of Ireland, and three of the eighteen bishops of Ireland, shall sit in the House of Lords of the united parliament in each session thereof, the said right of sitting being regulated as between the said archbishops respectively by a rotation among the archiepiscopal sees from session to session, and in like manner that of the bishops by a like rotation among the episcopal sees: that the primate of all Ireland for the time being shall sit in the first session of the parliament of the united kingdom, the archbishop of Dublin for the time being in the second, the archbishop of Cashel for the time being in the third, and the Archbishop of Tuam for the time being in the fourth, and so by rotation of sessions

sions for ever, such rotation to proceed regularly and without interruption from session to session, notwithstanding any dissolution or expiration of parliament: that three suffragan bishops shall in like manner sit according to rotation of their sees, from session to session in the following order; the Lord Bishop of Meath, the Lord Bishop of Kildare, the Lord Bishop of Derry, in the first session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Raphoe, the Lord Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe, the Lord Bishop of Downmore in the second session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Elphin, the Lord Bishop of Down and Connor, the Lord Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, in the third session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, the Lord Bishop of Cloyne, the Lord Bishop of Cork and Ross, in the fourth session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora, the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, the Lord Bishop of Clogher, in the fifth session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Ossory, the Lord Bishop of Killala and Achonry, the Lord Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmaedugh, in the sixth session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the said rotation to be nevertheless subject to such variation therefrom from time to time as is herein-after provided: that the said twenty-eight lords temporal shall be chosen by all the temporal peers of Ireland in the manner herein-after provided; that each of the said lords temporal so chosen shall be entitled to sit in the House of Lords of the parliament of the united kingdom during his life; and in case of his death, or forfeiture of any of the said lords temporal, the temporal peers of Ireland shall, in the manner herein-after provided, choose another peer out of their own number to supply the place so vacant. And be it enacted, that of the one hundred commoners to sit on the part of Ireland in the united parliament, sixty-four shall be chosen for the counties, and thirty-six for the following cities and boroughs, viz. for each county of Ireland two; for the city of Dublin two; for city of Cork two; for the College of the Holy Trinity of Dublin one; for the city of Waterford one; for the city of Limerick one; for the borough of Belfast one; for the county and town of Drogheda one; for the county and town of Carrickfergus one; for the borough of Newry one; for the city of Kilkenny one; for the city of Londonderry one; for the town of Galway one; for the borough of Clonmell one; for the town of Wexford one; for the town of Youghall one; for the town of Bandon Bridge one; for the borough of Armagh one; for the borough of Dundalk one; for the town of Kinfale one;

for

for the borough of Lisburne one; for the borough of Sligo one; for the borough of Catherlough one; for the borough of Ennis one; for the borough of Dungarvan one; for the borough of Downpatrick one; for the borough of Colrairie one; for the town of Mallow one; for the borough of Athlone one; for the town of New Ross one; for the borough of Tralee one; for the city of Cashel one; for the borough of Dungannon one; for the borough of Portarlinton one; for the borough of Enniskillen one. And be it enacted, that in case of the summoning of a new parliament, or if the seat of any of the said commoners shall become vacant by death or otherwise, then the said counties, cities, or boroughs, or any of them, as the case may be, shall proceed to a new election; and that all the other towns, cities, corporations, or boroughs, other than the aforesaid, shall cease to elect representatives to serve in parliament; and no meeting shall at any time hereafter be summoned, called, convened, or held, for the purpose of electing any person or persons to serve or act, or be considered as representative or representatives of any other place, town, city, corporation, or borough, other than the aforesaid, or as representative or representatives of the freemen, freeholders, householders, or inhabitants thereof, either in the parliament of the united kingdom or elsewhere, (unless it shall hereafter be otherwise provided by the parliament of the united kingdom;) and every person summoning, calling, or holding any such meeting or assembly, or taking any part in such election or pretended election, shall, being thereof duly convicted, incur and suffer the pains and penalties ordained and provided by the statute of provision and præmunire, made in the sixteenth year of the reign of Richard the Second. For the due election of the persons to be chosen to sit in the respective houses of parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, be it enacted, that on the day following that on which the act for establishing the Union shall have received the royal assent, the primate of all Ireland, the Lord Bishop of Meath, the Lord Bishop of Kildare, and the Lord Bishop of Derry, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be the representatives of the lords spiritual of Ireland in the parliament of the united kingdom, for the first session thereof; and that the temporal peers of Ireland shall assemble at twelve of the clock on the same day as aforesaid, in the now accustomed place of meeting of the House of Lords of Ireland, and shall then and there proceed to elect twenty-eight lords temporal to represent the peerage of Ireland in the parliament of the

united kingdom, in the following manner; that is to say, the names of the peers shall be called over according to their rank, by the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, who shall then and there attend for that purpose; and each of the said peers, who, previous to the said day, and in the present parliament shall have actually taken his seat in the House of Lords of Ireland, and who shall there have taken the oaths, and signed the declaration, which are or shall be by law required to be taken and signed by the lords of the parliament of Ireland before they can sit and vote in the parliament hereof, shall, when his name is called, deliver, either by himself or by his proxy (the name of such proxy having been previously entered in the books of the House of Lords of Ireland, according to the present forms and usages thereof) to the clerk of the crown, or his deputy (who shall then and there attend for that purpose), a list of twenty-eight of the temporal peers of Ireland; and the clerk of the crown or his deputy shall then and there publicly read the said lists, and shall then and there cast up the said lists, and publicly declare the names of the twenty-eight lords who shall be chosen by the majority of votes in the said lists, and shall make a return of the said names to the House of Lords of the first parliament of the united kingdom; and the twenty-eight lords so chosen by the majority of votes in the said lists shall, during their respective lives, sit as representatives of the peers of Ireland in the House of Lords of the united kingdom, and be entitled to receive writs of summons to that and every succeeding parliament; and in case a complete election shall not be made of the whole number of twenty-eight peers, by reason of an equality of votes, the clerk of the crown shall return such number in favor of whom a complete election shall have been made in one list, and in a second list shall return the names of those peers who shall have an equality of votes, but in favor of whom, by reason of such equality, a complete election shall not have been made, and the names of the peers in the second list, for whom an equal number of votes shall have been so given, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass by the clerk of the parliament of the united kingdom, at the table of the House of Lords thereof, whilst the house is sitting, and the peer whose name shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the parliament, shall be deemed the peer elected; and so successively as often as the case may require; and whenever the seat of any of the twenty-eight lords temporal so elected shall be vacated

vacated by decease or forfeiture, the chancellor, the keeper or commissioners of the great seal of the united kingdom for the time being, upon receiving a certificate under the hand and seal of any two lords temporal of the parliament of the united kingdom, certifying the decease of such peer, or on view of the record of attainder of such peer, shall direct a writ to be issued under the great seal of the united kingdom, to the chancellor, the keeper or commissioners of the great seal of Ireland for the time being, directing him or them to cause writs to be issued, by the clerk of the crown in Ireland, to every temporal peer of Ireland, who shall have sat and voted in the House of Lords of Ireland before the Union, or whose right to sit and vote therein, or to vote at such elections, shall, on claim made on his behalf, have been admitted by the House of Lords of Ireland before the Union, or after the Union by the House of Lords of the united kingdom; and notice shall forthwith be published by the said clerk of the crown, in the London and Dublin gazettes, of the issuing of such writs, and of the names and titles of all the peers to whom the same are directed; and to the said writs there shall be annexed a form of return thereof, in which a blank shall be left for the name of the peer to be elected, and the said writs shall enjoin each peer, within fifty-two days from the teste of the writ, to return the same into the crown office of Ireland with the blank filled up, by inserting the name of the peer for whom he shall vote, as the peer to succeed to the vacancy made by demise or forfeiture as aforesaid; and the said writs and returns shall be bipartite, so as that the name of the peer to be chosen shall be written twice, that is, once on each part of such writ and return, and so as that each part may also be subscribed by the peer to whom the same shall be directed, and likewise be sealed with his seal of arms; and one part of the said writs and returns so filled up, subscribed and sealed as above, shall remain of record in the crown office of Ireland, and the other part shall be certified by the clerk of the crown to the clerk of the parliament of the united kingdom; and no peer of Ireland, except such as shall have been elected as representative peers on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the united kingdom, and shall there have taken the oaths, and signed the declaration prescribed by law, shall, under pain of suffering such punishment as the House of Lords of the united kingdom may award and adjudge, make a return to such writ, unless he shall, after the issuing thereof, and before the day on which the writ is returnable, have taken the oaths and signed the declaration which are or shall be by law required

quired to be taken and signed by the lords of the united kingdom, before they can sit and vote in the parliament thereof; which oaths and declaration shall be either taken and subscribed in the court of chancery of Ireland, or before one of his majesty's justices of the peace of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, a certificate whereof, signed by such justices of the peace, or by the register of the said court of chancery, shall be transmitted by such peer with the return, and shall be annexed to that part thereof remaining of record in the crown office of Ireland; and the clerk of the crown shall forthwith after the return day of the writs, cause to be published in the London and Dublin Gazettes, a notice of the name of the person chosen by the majority of votes; and the peer so chosen shall during his life, be one of the peers to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the united kingdom; and in case the votes shall be equal, the names of such persons who have an equal number of votes in their favor, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass by the clerk of the parliament of the united kingdom, at the table of the House of Lords, whilst the house is sitting, and the peer whose name shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the parliament shall be deemed the peer elected. And be it enacted, that in case any lord spiritual, being a temporal peer of the united kingdom, or being a temporal peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, shall be chosen by the lords temporal to be one of the representatives of the lords temporal, in every such case, during the life of such spiritual peer being a temporal peer of the united kingdom, or being a temporal peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, so chosen to represent the lords temporal, the rotation of representation of the spiritual lords shall proceed to the next spiritual lord, without regard to such spiritual lord so chosen a temporal peer, that is to say, if such spiritual lord shall be an archbishop, then the rotation shall proceed to the archbishop whose see is next in rotation, and if such spiritual lord shall be a suffragan bishop, then the rotation shall proceed to the suffragan bishop whose see is next in rotation. And whereas by the said fourth article of Union it is agreed, that, if his majesty shall, on or before the first day of January next, declare, under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain, then the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain shall accordingly

Accordingly be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain; be it enacted, for and in that case only, that the present members of the thirty-two counties of Ireland, and the two members for the city of Dublin, and the two members for the city of Cork, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be, by virtue of this act, members for the said counties and cities in the first parliament of the united kingdom; and that, on a day and hour to be appointed by his majesty under the great seal of Ireland, previous to the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and one, the members then serving for the college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, and for each of the following cities or boroughs; that is to say, the city of Waterford, city of Limerick, borough of Belfast, county and town of Drogheda, county and town of Carrickfergus, borough of Newry, city of Kilkenny, city of Londonderry, town of Galway, borough of Clonmell, town of Wexford, town of Youghall, town of Bandon-Bridge, borough of Armagh, borough of Dundalk, town of Kinfale, borough of Lisburne, borough of Sligo, borough of Catherlough, borough of Ennis, borough of Dungarvon, borough of Downpatrick, borough of Coleraine, town of Mallow, borough of Athlone, town of New Ross, borough of Tralee, city of Cashel, borough of Dungannon, borough of Portarlinton, and borough of Enniskillen, or any five or more of them, shall meet in the now usual place of meeting of the House of Commons of Ireland, and the names of the members then serving for the said places and boroughs, shall be written on separate pieces of paper, and the said papers being folded up, shall be placed in a glass or glasses, and shall successively be drawn thereout by the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, who shall then and there attend for that purpose; and the first drawn name of a member of each of the aforesaid places or boroughs shall be taken as the name of the member to serve for the said place or borough in the first parliament of the united kingdom; and a return of the said names shall be made by the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, to the House of Commons of the first parliament of the united kingdom; and a certificate thereof shall be given respectively by the said clerk of the crown, or his deputy, to each of the members whose names shall have been so drawn: Provided always, that it may be allowed to any member of any of the said places or boroughs, by personal application, to be then and there made by him to the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, or by declaration in writing under his hand, to be transmitted by him to the clerk of the crown previous to the said day so appointed

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as above, to withdraw his name previous to the drawing of the names by lot; in which case, or in that of a vacancy by death or otherwise of one of the members of any of the said places or boroughs, at the time of so drawing the names, the name of the other member shall be returned as aforesaid as the name of the member to serve for such place in the first parliament of the united kingdom; or if both members for any such place or borough shall so withdraw their names, or if there shall be a vacancy of both members at the time aforesaid, the clerk of the crown shall certify the same to the House of Commons of the first parliament of the united kingdom, and shall also express, in such return, whether any writ shall then have issued for the election of a member or members to supply such vacancy; and if a writ shall so have issued for the election of one member only, such writ shall be superseded, and any election to be thereafter made thereupon shall be null and of no effect; and if such writ shall have issued for the election of two members, the said two members shall be chosen accordingly, and their names being returned by the clerk of the crown to the House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom, one of the said names shall then be drawn, by lot, in such manner and time as the said House of Commons shall direct; and the person whose name shall be so drawn, shall be deemed to be the member to sit for such place in the first parliament of the united kingdom; but if, at the time aforesaid, no writ shall have issued to supply such vacancy, none shall thereafter issue until the same be ordered by resolution of the House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom, as in the case of any other vacancy of a seat in the House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom. And be it enacted, that whenever his majesty, his heirs and successors, shall, by proclamation under the great seal of the united kingdom, summon a new parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the chancellor, keeper, or commissioners of the great seal of Ireland, shall cause writs to be issued to the several counties, cities, the college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, and boroughs in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, specified in this act, for the election of members to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom, according to the numbers herein-before set forth; and whenever any vacancy of a seat in the House of Commons or the parliament of the united kingdom, for any of the said counties, cities, or boroughs, or for the said college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, shall arise, by death or otherwise, the chancellor, keeper, or commissioners of the great seal, upon
such

such vacancy being certified by them respectively, by the proper warrant, shall forthwith cause a writ to issue for the election of a person to fill up such vacancy; and such writ, and the returns thereon, respectively being returned into the crown office in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, shall from thence be transmitted to the crown office in that part of the united kingdom called England, and be certified to the House of Commons in the same manner as the like returns have been usually or shall hereafter be certified; and copies of the said writs and returns, attested by the chancellor, keeper or commissioners of the great seal of Ireland for the time being, shall be preserved in the crown office of Ireland, and shall be evidence of such writs and returns, in case the original writs and returns shall be lost; be it enacted, that the said act, so herein recited, be taken as a part of this act, and be deemed to all intents and purposes incorporated within the same.

III. And be it enacted, that the great seal of Ireland may, if his majesty shall so think fit, after the Union, be used in like manner as before the Union, except where it is otherwise provided by the foregoing articles, within that part of the united kingdom called Ireland; and that his majesty may, so long as he shall think fit, continue the privy council of Ireland to be his privy council for that part of the united kingdom called Ireland.

No. CXXIV.

Second Proclamation on the Union. (Page 1067.)

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS, by the first article of the articles of Union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, as the same have been ratified and confirmed by two acts of parliament, the one made in our parliament of Great Britain, and the other in our parliament of Ireland, it was provided, that the ensigns, armorial flags, and banners of our united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, should be such as we should appoint by our royal proclamation under the great seal of our said united kingdom; and whereas we have by our royal proclamation, dated this day, appointed and declared, that the arms or ensigns armorial of the said united kingdom should be as therein

therein expressed, and whereas, according to ancient usage, the ensigns, flags, jacks, and pendants, worn by our ships, and appointed as a distinction for the same, ought not to be worn on board any ship or vessel belonging to any of our subjects, so that our ships and those of our subjects may be easily distinguished and known: We have therefore thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to order and appoint the ensigns, described on the side or margin hereof, to be worn on board all ships or vessels belonging to any of our subjects whatsoever; and to issue this our royal proclamation to notify the same to all our loving subjects, hereby strictly charging and commanding the masters of all merchant ships and vessels belonging to any of our subjects, whether employed in our service or otherwise, and all other persons whom it may concern, to wear the said ensign on board their ships or vessels. And to the end that none of our subjects may presume, on board their ships, to wear our flags, jacks, and pendants, which, according to ancient usage have been appointed as a distinction to our ships; or any flags, jacks, or pendants, in shape and mixture of colours so far resembling ours as not to be easily distinguished therefrom: We do with the advice of our privy counsel, hereby strictly charge and command all our subjects whatsoever, that they do not presume to wear, in any of their ships or vessels, our jack commonly called the union jack, nor any pendants, nor any such colours as are usually borne by our ships, without particular warrant for their so doing from us, or our high admiral of Great Britain, or the commissioners for executing the office of high admiral for the time being: And we do hereby also further command all our loving subjects, that, without such warrant as aforesaid, they presume not to wear on board their ships or vessels any flags, jacks, pendants, or colours, made in imitation of or resembling ours, or any kind of pendant whatsoever, or any other ensign than the ensign described on the side or margin hereof, which shall be worn instead of the ensign before this time usually worn in merchant ships; saving, that for the better distinction of such ships as shall have commissions of letters of marque or reprisals against the enemy, and any other ships or vessels which may be employed by the principal officers and commissioners of our navy, the principal officers of our ordnance, the commissioners for victualling our navy, the commissioners of our customs and excise, and the commissioners for transportation for our service, relating particularly to those officers, our royal will and pleasure is, that all such ships as have commissions or letters of marque or reprisals shall, besides the colours or
ensign

ensign hereby appointed to be worn by merchant ships, wear a red jack with a union jack, described in a canton at the upper corner thereof next the staff; and that such ships and vessels as shall be employed for our service by the principal officers and commissioners of our navy, the principal officers of our ordnance, the commissioners for victualling our navy, the commissioners for our customs and excise, and the commissioners for transportation for our service, relating particularly to those officers, shall wear a red jack, with a union jack in a canton at the upper corner thereof, next the staff as aforesaid, and in the other part of the said jack shall be described the seal used in such of the respective offices aforesaid, by which the said ships and vessels shall be employed. And we do strictly charge and command, that none of our loving subjects do presume to wear any of the said distinction jacks, unless they shall have commissions of letters of marque or reprisals, or be employed in our service by any of the before-mentioned officers. And we hereby require our high admiral, and commissioners for executing the office of high admiral, the governors of our forts and castles, the officers of our customs, and the commanders or officers of any of our ships for the time being, upon their meeting with, or otherwise observing any ships or vessels belonging to any of our subjects, neglecting to wear the ensign hereby appointed to be borne as aforesaid, or wearing any flag, pendant, jack, or ensign, contrary herunto, whether at sea or in port, not only to seize, or cause to be forthwith seized, such flag, pendant, jack, or ensign, worn contrary to our royal will and pleasure herein expressed, but also to return the names of such ships and vessels neglecting to wear the ensign hereby appointed, or wearing any flag, pendant, jack, or ensign, contrary hereunto, together with the names of their respective masters or commanders, unto our high admiral, or commissioners for executing the office of high admiral, or the judge of our high court of admiralty for the time being, to the end that all persons offending may be duly punished for the same. And we do hereby command and enjoin the judge and judges of our high court of admiralty for the time being, that they make strict inquiry concerning all such offenders, and cause them to be duly punished: And all vice admirals and judges of the vice admiralties are hereby also required to proceed in like manner within the several ports and places belonging to their respective precincts. And our further pleasure is, that this proclamation shall take place according to the times hereafter mentioned; viz. for all ships in the Channel or British Seas, and in the North Seas, after twelve days from the

date of these presents, and from the mouth of the Channel unto Cape Saint Vincent, after six weeks from the date of these presents; and beyond the Cape, and on this side the Equinoxial Line, as well in the Ocean and Mediterranean as elsewhere, after ten weeks from the date of these presents; and beyond the Line, after the space of eight months from the date of these presents.

Given at our court at St. James's, the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, in the forty-first year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING!

FINIS.

ALPHABETICAL INDEX

TO

THE SECOND PART

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

A.

ABERCROMBIE, Gen. disapproves of burning houses and free quarters, 860.
Acheson, Hon. Major, against Union, 848.
Addington, Right Hon. Mr. speech in favor of Union, 909 to 912.
Address voted by the commons to the lord-lieutenant, approving vigorous measures, 691.
 Of the British peers to the king, that they will consider the Union, 817.
 Ditto of the commons on ditto, *ib.*
 Of Galway for Union, 919.
 Of both houses of British parliament for Union, 947-8.
 Of both houses of Irish parliament, with the articles of union, 1045.
Aggregate meeting, vide Dublin.
Amnesty, act of, proposed and passed, 774.
Antrim, taken by rebels, abandoned, 768.
Anti-Unionists, their joy in Ireland on defeat of ministers, and honors paid to Mr. Foster, 914. and Appendix No. CXVII.
 Catholic of Dublin, their meeting and resolutions, 980-1-2-3.
 Triumvirate Marquis Downshire, Earl Charlemont, and Mr. B. Ponsonby, 978, 1033.
Archdall, Colonel, against Union.
 Mr. R. for discussing question of Union, 848.

Arklow, garrison of, treat brutally the inhabitants of Gorey, 725.
 Battle of, 737-8-9.
Army more savage in some instances than the rebels, 704-5, 708
 Savage in their retreat from Wexford, 725, 764.
 Disgraceful retreat of, at Castlebar, 794
 Number on the British establishment serving in Ireland in 1799, 921.
Articles of Union, 1043, and Appendix CXIX.
Attainder, act of, of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Mr. C. Grogan, and B. B. Harvey, condemned by many, 784
Attorney General for Union, 989.
 Opposition motion for dissolution, 1042.
Auckland, Lord, for Union, 936-7.

B.

Babes of the Wood of Killaugram, who, 781
Bagwell, Colonel, for Union, 848.
 Exposes the infamy of Judkin Fitzgerald, 957-8.
 Sides with the landed property against Union, 1002.
Ball, Mr. against Union, 847.
Baltinglass, rebels defeated at, 704.
Bankes, Mr. against Union, 909, 1061.
Bar, Meeting on the Union in December, 1798, 820.

I N D E X.

Bar, A majority of 134 against it, 821.
Barrington, (Judge of the Admiralty) vehement against Union, 834 to 837, 916, 993.
Bellamont, Lord, against Union, 1044.
Beresford, Mr. J. C. against Union, 846.
 Arraigns ministers for unfair use of patronage, 972.
 Pledges after Union to support Catholic claims, 1021.
Beresford Counsellor John, for Union, 859.
Blaquiere, Sir John, for Union, 838, 891.
Bloody Friday, why so called, 764-5.
Bolton, Lord, for Union, 1062.
Borrington, Lord, for Union, 947.
Boroughs, Mr. against Union, 1021.
Boroughs, recompence to proprietors of, opposed by Messrs. Plunket and Goold, 1041
 Ditto by Messrs. Saurin, J. C. Beresford, and Dawson, 1067.
Boyd, Captain of the Wexford cavalry, seizes Messrs. Harvey, Coleclough, and Fitzgerald, and sends them on an embassy to Enniscorthy, effects thereof, 720.
 His house plundered by the rebels, 724.
Brown, Dr. against Union, 847.
 For it upon maturer reflection, 991.
Brown, Hon. Denis, for Union, 859.
 Mr. Isaac Hawkins, for Union, though doubted the advantage of bringing 100 Irish into their house, 947.
Burdett, Sir Francis, thought Mr. Pitt an improper minister to carry an Union, 947.
Buckingham, Marquis of, for Union, 978.
Bush, Mr. against Union, 990.
Byrne, Mr. Garret, obtained terms from General Moore, 778.

C.

Camden, Lord, writes an official letter to the Duke of Portland in favor of yeomen, &c. 704.
 Admits that rigor accelerated rebellion, 932.
 For Union, on account of the vicious government in Ireland, *ib.* 1062.
Canning, Mr. answers Mr. Sheridan, and supports Union, 882-3-4.
Carlisle, Earl of, for Union, 936.
Carlow, defeat of the rebels at, 695-6.
Carnew, defeat of the rebels near it by 200 yeomen, 718.
 Attempted by rebels, who fail, 772.
Carlton, Lord, for Union, 1033.
Carnaerton, Earl of, against Irish peers sitting in the Commons, 1062.

Cashell, Archbishop of, for Union, 1033.
Castle Comer taken by rebels and burnt, 771.
Castlereagh, Lord, opposes Colonel Maxwell's motion for massacring the prisoners, 692.
 Delivers a message from his excellency about indemnifying loyalists, &c. 782-3.
 Lays before the commons papers for a secret committee, 783.
 Gives notice of a future motion on Union, 829.
 Alleges his reasons for Union, 840-1-2.
 Speech in reply to Sir Laurence Parsons, 855-6-7-8.
 Charged with having uttered several abusive things of the profession and country gentlemen: *petty-fogging*, *Round Robbins*, and *Cabals*, 862-3.
 Proposes a month's adjournment, 915.
 Never will bring forward the question of Union whilst it is not the sense of the country, 917.
 Shews the necessity of the Insurrection bill, 959.
 Opposes the Regency bill, 961.
 Arraigned of partiality in granting and refusing the Escheatorship of Munster for corrupt purposes, 968.
 Opposes Sir Laurence Parsons' amendment, 987.
 Communicates the address of the British parliament, and opens the plan of Union, 1004 to 1020.
 His motion carried by 158 against 115, 1024.
 Proposes compensation to borough proprietors, 1041.
 Cenfures Mr. Grattan for inflammatory language, 1065-6.
Catholics present addresses to the lord lieutenant, 700, and Appendix CX.
 Despoiled by the rebels as well as Protestants, 709.
 Chapels destroyed by troops, 726, and Appendix CXII.
 A double number of them killed for any Protestants killed by Holt and Hacket, 782.
 Their emancipation pledged for by Mr. Pitt and Lord Cornwallis, 944-5.
 Disposed rather to Union, because the Orangemen, their enemies, were against it, 979.
 Their motives for generally supporting it, 980.

Catholics

I N D E X.

- Catholics*, the opposition to the Union by the Catholics of Dublin, causes some disunion in the body, 981.
 Lord Holland's motion for a clause for emancipating the Catholics, negatived, 1060.
- Clarc*, Earl of, heads the Unionists, 820.
 Speech in favor of Union, 10th February, 1800, 1025 to 1032.
 Said to have repented of the Union on his death bed, 1032.
- Cavendish*, Sir Henry, for Union, 848, 916.
 Complains of personal outrage from mob, 918.
 Proposes to remove parliament to Cork, 918.
- Caulfield*, Dr. Catholic bishop at Wexford, justified by government, 744.
 His account of the bloody scenes at Wexford, 749-50-1.
 His defence against Sir Richard Musgrave, 756 to 760.
 Supported by affidavits, *ib.* and Appendix, No. CXV.
- Charlemont*, his exertions to oppose Union, 978.
 Avows them in Dublin Evening Post, 1032.
- Clanc*, rebels repulsed at, 697.
- Clements*, Lord, against Union, 831.
- Coercion*, Lord Cornwallis against it, 806.
 Mr. Ogle for its continuance, 807.
- Cole*, Lord, against Union, 847.
 Colonel, ordered to Corfu, and refused the Escheatorship of Munster because against the Union, 968.
- Conolly* Mr. for the Union, 830.
- Cork*, violent contest there about Union, 920.
- Coote*, Mr. for discussing the question of Union, 846.
- Corry*, Lord, against Union, 847.
 Moves an address against it in nature of a protest, 1066, and App. No. CXX.
- Corry*, Mr. for the Union, 845, 874.
 Replies to Mr. Grattan, 998.
 Censures and challenges Mr. Grattan, and is wounded, 1035.
- Colclough*, Mr. seized by Captain Boyd, and sent to Enniscorthy, 720.
 Returns and gives account of his embassy, 221.
 Permitted to go to his family, and returns to prison, *ib.*
 Taken by order of General Lake, 766, Executed, 767.
- Cornwallis* arrives on the 20th of June, and changes the system, 705, 773.
- Cornwallis* Issues a proclamation to encourage surrenders, 773, 806.
 Happy effects of his moderation, 784, 806, 974.
 Marches with great caution to meet Humbert, 793.
 Speech to parliament, 808-9.
 Incurs the odium of Orangemen, by disgracing Lord Enniskillen, 806 to 813.
 Recommends Union in a speech from the throne, 825.
 Promotes Union out of parliament, 919.
 Canvasses successfully for Union, 922.
 His pledge to the Catholics for procuring them emancipation, 945.
 Speech from the throne on prorogation of parliament, 974-5-6.
 Advances Union by his progress through the kingdom, 978.
 Mentions not Union in his speech from the throne, 984.
 Last speech to the Irish parliament, 1068-9.
- Crossie*, Sir Edward, condemned and executed, though generally supposed innocent, 696.
- Croskshanks*, Mr. against Union, 833.
- D.
- Darnley*, Earl, for suspending Union, 932, 1063.
- Daly*, Mr. George, for Union, 834.
 Mr. Denis, against Union, 846.
- Dawson*, Mr. against Union, 848.
 His amendment of the Insurrection bill negatived, 939.
 Arraigns the minister of partiality, 968.
- Devereux*, Mr. Walter, found guilty from direct perjury, 788.
- Dillon*, Lord, against Union, 1033.
- Dixon*, a rebel captain at Wexford, 741.
 His character and conduct, 741-2.
 Executes summary justice on one Murphy, through whose evidence the Rev. Mr. Dixon had been condemned, and sent to Botany bay, 744.
 Disobeys the orders of the general, and prepares his wretched miscreants for general massacre, 749.
 Thwarted by Mr. E. Hay, and others, *ib.*
 His savage mode of summary trial, *ib.*
- Dobbs*, Mr. M. P. intermediates for proposals for saving the lives of Messrs. O. Bond, Byrne, &c. 778.
 Against Union, 838-9, 860, 1021.
- Dobbs*,

I N D E X.

Dobbs, commended by Lord Lanfdown, 931.
Donoughmore for Union, as tending to insure Catholic concessions, 1033.
Douglas, Mr. Sylvester, for Union, 908-9.
Downshire, Marquis of, his efforts to oppose Union, 978.
 Displaced and disgraced, 979.
 Avows his exertions against Union not by money, 1032-3.
 Opposes Union in the British Lords, 1063.
Doyle v. Fitzgerald, case of, 816-17.
Dublin, proclaimed on 23 May, 686.
 Quiet by the vigilance of government, 692, 703-4.
 All masters deserted by their servants, &c. *ib.*
 Adverse to union, 821, 863.
 Catholics of, oppose union, 980-1.
 Proceedings of the aggregate meeting against union, 990, 1000.
 Evening Post calls the minister, &c. corrupt, 919.
Duigenan, Dr. in favor of union, 1023.
Dunlavin, rebels defeated at, 704.
Dundas, Lieut. General, accepted surrender of Perkins at the Curragh, 705-5.
 Right Hon. Mr. introduces question of union into the House of Commons, 875.
 For union, 903, 1047.

E.

Edgworth, Mr. against Union, 846, 1021-2.
Egan, Mr. against Union, 874, 993.
Elliott, Mr. his humane conduct prevents his tenants from joining in rebellion, 696.
Enniscorthy taken by rebels, and the garrison falls back upon Wexford, 719.
Emmett, Mr. examination before the secret committee, advertisement and affidavit about it, 803 to 806.
Enniskillen, Earl of, disqualified to sit on any future court-martial for his conduct on the trial of Wollaghan, 809 to 813.
Escheatorship, the intent and proper use of, 970.
Esmond, Dr. his infamous conduct, 697-8-9.

F.

Falkener, Mr. Frederick, against union, commends Lord Camden's, and censures Lord Cornwallis's administration, 830.
Farnham, Lord, against Union, 1043.

Fawcett, General, loses part of his men going to the relief of Wexford, and retreats, 722.
Fife, Earl of, against Irish peers sitting in the commons, 1062.
Fitzgerald, Lord Edward, act for his attainder, 784.
Fitzgerald, Mr. of Newpark, seized by Captain Boyd, sent to Enniscorthy, and detained by rebels, 721.
 Obtains terms from Gen. Moore, 778.
 Major, invested with extraordinary powers to forward a system of conciliation, 784-5.
 Vouches for the truth of Hay's history, 787.
Fitzgerald, Judkin, (the flogging sheriff of Tipperary), his conduct to Doyle, and acquitted by an Orange jury, 816-7.
 His petition for indemnification presented to the commons by Lord Matthew, referred to a committee, then dropped, 950 to 958.
 His inhumanity defended, *ib.*
 Rewarded with a pension, 958.
Fitzgerald, Prime serjeant dismissed for opposing the Union, 820.
 Speech against Union, 831-2, 988.
 Brings in the Regency bill, 960.
 Colonel, (member for Cork) for Union, 827.
 (Knight of Kerry) for Union, 832.
Fitzwilliam, Earl, against Union, because not agreeable to the Irish, for Catholic emancipation, and justifies his own conduct, 928-9.
 Against the Union, 1062.
Foster, Right Hon. Mr. heads the Anti-Unionists, 820.
 His first speech against Union being on the Regency bill, 962 to 966.
 Speech against the plan of Union, 1037-8.
French, Mr. against Union, 834.
French, weakness of government prevents their invading Ireland, 788.
 They land under Humbert in Killala bay, 789.
 Commit no act of plunder, 790.
 Paid for what they had in drafts on the future Directory, 190.
 Deliver clothing, arms, &c. to natives, 791.
Freke, Sir John, against Union, 840, 916.

G.

Glendore for Union, 1033.
Glentworth for Union, 1033.

Gordon,

I N D E X.

- Gordon*, Rev. Mr. his history and his candor, 720.
His reasoning on the Catholic priests not having sooner stopped the massacre, 761.
- Gorey*, inhabitants of, retire to Arklow, where they are brutally treated by the army, &c. 725.
Rebels quit that neighbourhood.
- Gosforde*, Viscount, commands at Naas, prepared for the rebels, 687.
His conduct towards Eimond, 699.
- Grogan*, Mr. Cornelius, taken, 766.
Executed, though supposed innocent, 767.
Act for his attainder, 784.
- Government* publish unfaithful accounts, 708-9.
- Grant*, Mr. for Union, 905.
- Granard*, insurrection there, 796.
Quelled by Captain Cottingham, *ib.*
- Grattan*, Henry, his opinion about coercion, 807.
Entry into the house, and speech against Union, 993 to 998.
- Grattan*, returns to the favor of the inhabitants of Dublin, 1000-1.
His answer to their address, *ib.*
Speaks strongly against Union, 1022-3.
Replies to and goes out on a challenge to fight Mr. Corry, 1035.
Supports Sir John Parnell's motion for dissolution, 1042.
Proposes to put off Union bill to 1 Aug. 1065.
Spoke strongly against it, *ib.*
Rejoins sharply to L. Castlereagh, 1066.
- Grenville*, Lord, introduces the question of Union to the lords, 875.
Speech on introducing the resolutions, 19 March, 923 to 926.
Contradicts Lord Fitzwilliam, 929.
Supports the Union, 1045-6.
For postponing the Catholic question, 1060.
- Griffiths*, Capt. commands at Clane and marches to Naas, is informed of Eimond's treason, 697.
- Grey*, Mr. against Union, 902.
Strongly against the principles, the measure, and means of carrying Union, 1052 to 1056.
Moves for an address to his majesty to direct his ministers to suspend all proceedings on Union till the will of Ireland be known, 1056.
- H.
- Hacket*, outstanding rebel, 781.
Killed near Arklow, 782.
- Hacketstown*, rebels defeated at, 702.
- Hamilton*, Mr. Hans, against Union, 840.
- Hardy*, Major, his imprudent conduct, 737.
Mr. against Union, 844-5, 990.
- Harvey*, Mr. Bagnal, seized by Captain Boyd and imprisoned, 720.
Conceals himself in the chimney for fear of assassination by the yeomen, 722.
Elected and appointed commander in chief, 729.
Form of his appointment 1st June, 1798, *ib.*
Summons the town of New Ross, 730.
His flag of truce killed by a centinel, 730.
Resigns in disgust, 734.
His last orders humane, *ib.*
Is succeeded by Father Roche, 735.
Taken by orders of General Lake, 766.
Executed, 767.
Act for his attainder, 784.
- Hawkesbury*, Lord, supports Union, 900.
- Hay*, Mr. Edward, his letter to Mr. Gordon, 742.
and Appendix, CXIII.
Writes history of insurrection of Wexford, never had a command with the rebels, - 742.
His account of the massacre at Wexford, 755.
Obnoxious to the Wexford inquisition, 775-6.
- Hobart*, Lord, for Union on account of the imperfect constitution of Irish parliament, 933.
- Hobhouse*, Mr. against Union, 909.
- Holland*, Lord, against Union, 936, 1046, 1063.
Moves for a clause for emancipating Catholics, 1059.
- Holmes*, Mr. for Union, 847.
Seconds Lord Matthew's presentation of Mr. Judkin Fitzgerald's petition, 958.
- Hompesch*, Ferdinand, his dragoons disgraceful atrocities, 764.
- House of Commons*, British, carry question of Union, 149 against 15, 901.
Eight resolutions pass in committee, 906.
In committee on articles of Union, 1049.
- House of Commons*, Irish, meet 24 May, 691.
Vote an address to lord lieutenant, *ib.*
First debate on Union lasted 22 hours and the minister carried it by one voice, 827 to 852.
Union rejected by a majority of 5, 875.
List of division, Appendix CXVI.
Majority of 42 for Union, 15 Jan. 1800, 999.
Division on Lord Castlereagh's motion on 15 Feb. 1800, 158 against 115, 1024.
In committee on the Union bill, 1034.
- House,*

I N D E X.

House of Commons, send a message to the lords, that they had approved the articles of Union, 1043.
 Bill for regulating the representation of it in the imperial parliament, 1063-4.
 Carried by a majority of 55, 1064.
 List of voters for and against the Union, 1067, Appendix, CXXII.
 Writs issued with a view to parliamentary arrangements, *ib*.
Holt, outstanding rebel, 781.
 Surrenders to Lord Powercourt, 782.
Humbert, makes the bishop's palace his headquarters, 790.
 Marches to Ballina, thence to Castlebar, with 800 French and about 1500 rebels, 790.
 Defeats 6000 of our troops at Castlebar, 791.
 Joined by many Irish peasants, 793.
 Checked by Col. Vereker with 200 men, 794.
 Surrenders at Ballynamuck, 8th September, 794.
Hunter, General, reconciles by a system of moderation and justice, 768.
 Excellent speech on the Union, 1035-6-7.
Hutchinson, Mr. F. for Union, particularly as the surest way of emancipating Catholics, 972.

I.

Irish, call the English *Saffonah*, and know them only as enemies, 701-2.
Jackson, the Narrator of the Wexford cruelties, turns informer to Dixon, 749.
Insurrection bill, opposed by many on account of too large powers thereby vested in the lord lieutenant for the time being, 958-9.
Johnson, General defends New Ross against rebels, 730-1.
 Mr. Wm. for Union, 1039.
Johnstone, Mr. in British parliament for Union, 1056.
Jones, Mr. opposes Union, 913, 1047-8.

K.

Kelly, wounded at Ross, was executed at Wexford with unusual atrocity, 767-8.
Kenmare, Viscount (now Earl) for the Union, 1061.
Keogh, chosen governor of Wexford, 740.
 His origin and character, *ib*.
 Tried and executed, 26 June, 1798, 767.

Killala, French land there, 789.
 Left in the hands of the rebels long after Humbert surrendered, 796.
 The bishop's account of our regaining the town, and the French conduct therein, 797 to 801.
Kildare, Curragh of, the disarmed rebels massacred by General Duff.
Kilcullen Bridge, rebels defeated at, 702.
Kilwarden, Lord, for Union, 1033.
King, Colonel, against Union, 842.
King, v. White & Goring, Case of, 815-6.
 Sends a message to both houses of the British parliament about Union, 875.
 Speech to both houses of British parliament relative to the Union with Ireland, 977.
 Ditto on passing the act of Union, 29th July, 1800, 1067.
 Speech to parliament 31st December, 1800, 1071-2.
 Lord, against Union, 1063.
Kinnoul, Earl of, for Union, 947.
Kingsborough, (now Earl of Kingston) taken prisoner, 746.
 His undertaking for the safety of the inhabitants of Wexford disregarded, 762-766.
Knor, Mr. against Union, 839.
 Hon. Geo. against Union, 851.

L.

Lake, General, continues the old system, 766.
 Discontinued on his recall, 28th June, 1798, 768.
 Disgraceful conduct of his army at Castlebar, 791.
Lansdown, Marquis, high opinion of Lord Cornwallis, 922.
 Speech for Union and Catholic emancipation, 929 to 932-1059.
Lawrence, Dr. against discussing the Union, 900-909.
 Against the measure, 1056.
Lee, Mr. for Union, 833.
Le Hunte, Mr. imprisoned through the malice of Mrs. Dixon and wounded, 742.
 Preserved by Mr. Edward Hay and Mr. Carty, two Catholic gentlemen, 742.
Landaff, Bishop of, speech for Union, 937 to 940.
Langrishe, Sir Hercules, opposes the bill brought in for preventing any one that had taken the oath of United Irishmen from sitting in or voting for members of parliament, 919.
Latouche, Mr. for Union, 988.

Leinster,

I N D E X.

Leinster, Duke of, opposes the Union, 1045.
 Protests with other lords against Union bill, 1066, and Appendix CXXI.
Loftus, General, at Gorey, fails in his attack upon the rebels, loses great part of his army and retires from Gorey, 728-9.
 For Union in British parliament, 1056.
Lords, Irish, difference between them and Scotch peers, marked by Ld. Grenville, 1037-8.
 Warm debates about such Irish peers as should sit in the commons, 1062.

M.

McNeven, Dr. examination, advertisement, affidavit, &c. relative to his evidence before secret committee, 803 to 806.
McNaghton, Mr. for Union, 834.
Macarthy, Sir J. against Union, 993.
Macomores, who and how quieted, 785-6.
Mahon, Mr. for Union, 846.
Martial, Courts, under Lord Enniskillen, 806 to 813.
 Incompetent to try Tone whilst court of King's Bench was sitting, 814-5.
Mail-Coaches, their stoppage signal for rebellion, 687.
Mason, Mr. Monk, for Union, 1040.
Martin, Mr. for Union, 847-860.
 Displays the virtues of Lord Cornwallis, 973-4.
Massacre of prisoners at Wexford by Dixon, 748.
 Stopped by Father Corrin, 749-750.
Maffey, Mr. for Union, 848.
Maxwell, Colonel, moves the commons that all prisoners should be instantly executed, 692.
 Opposed by Lord Castlereagh, *ib.*
 Against Union, 834.
Military executions without trial, 699.
 Excesses, 754.
Minto, Lord, speech for Union, 940 to 947.
Mitford, Sir John, for Union, 907-913.
Moir, Earl, for not passing Union till a change in the Irish mind in its favor; speech against coercion, 933-4-5-6.
 Declares his objections to Union greatly removed by the votes of the Irish parliament, approves of the detail of the measure, 1060.
Moore, Mr. Arthur, strongly against Union, 849, 874, 878, 990.
 Severe on Mr. Coote, *ib.*
Moore, Mr. S. for Union, 848.
Moore, General, his humane conduct, 747, 763.
 Defeats the rebels at Goff's Bridge, 754.

VOL. II.

Mountnorris, Earl of, his conduct to Rev. J. Redmond, 776-7.
Morris, Mr. Lodge, for Union, 851.
Murphy, Father John, how driven into rebellion, 716.
 Rallies his men and cuts to pieces a detachment of the North Cork militia, near Oulart, 718-9.
 They march to Camolin and seize 800 muskets, 719.
 Pretends to be invulnerable, 736.
 Father Michael, ditto, *ib.*
 Killed at the head of his men, 739.
 Father Michael insulted, whipped and executed, 762-3.
 John at the head of 15000 Wexford rebels, 770.
Mulgrave, Lord, opposes the clause about the peers, 1058.
Musgrave, Sir Richard, defends terrorism and cruelty, 693-4-5.
 Some of his falsities detected, 708.
 Wishes to criminate Catholic clergy at Wexford, 744.

N.

Naas, attacked by the rebels, 688, 698, 708.
Nation, state of, turbid though not rebellious, 977.
 Shocking picture of it by Lord Clare since the Union, 1029, 1030.
Needham, General, contest between Sir Richard Musgrave and Mr. Gordon, about his conduct at Arklow, 739, 754.
 Comes too late to his post at Vinegar Hill, 754.
 His army conspicuous in devastation, 764.
Nelson, seized by Gregg keeper of Newgate, 687.
Newcomen, Sir Geo. for discussing the question of Union, 848.
Nicholl, Mr. for Union, 1056.

O.

O'Brien, Sir Edward, against Union, 848.
O'Connell, Counsellor, speech at the meeting of the Catholic Anti-unionists of Dublin, 981-2.
O'Connor, Mr. Arthur, the terms on which he and other rebels submitted to give evidence, 779.
 Charges Lord Castlereagh with deviating from his engagement, 779, 780.
 Signs advertisement cautioning public not to give credit to published reports of secret committee, 804-5.

O'Connor,

I N D E X.

- O'Connor*, his affidavit thereon, and account of the memoir given in, 803 to 806.
- Odell*, Mr. for Union, 850.
- O'Donnell*, Colonel, against Union, 846.
Mr. J. M. against Union, 847.
Attacks Mr. Cuffe for inconsistency, 861, 990.
- Ogle*, Mr. for coercion, 807.
Against Union, 844, 988.
- O'Hara*, Mr. against Union, 832, 988.
- O'Neil*, Lord, killed at Antrim, 768.
- Orangemen* of the North Cork introduce their spirit into Wexford, 712.
Their barbarous and outrageous cruelty, 713-4.
The real enemies of the United Irishmen, 771.
Their hatred to Lord Cornwallis for his justice and moderation, 806 to 813.
Increased in despite of Lord Cornwallis, 815-6-7.
Warily abstain from the question of Union, 980.
- Osborne*, Mr. C. for Union, 844, 990.
Mr. H. against Union, 846.
- Oulart*, post occupied by rebels on Whit-Sunday, 717-8.
- P.
- Parliament* of Great Britain, Union submitted to, 875.
Assembles, 24 Sept. 1799, 978.
- Parliament* of Ireland, sat during the rebellion, 803.
Prorogued 6 October, 1798, 808.
Meets 22 January, 1799, 824.
Prorogued 1 June, 1799, 974.
Assembles 15 January, 1800, 985.
Adjourned for some weeks after the question of Union was carried by 42, 1001.
From 15 February, guarded by a troop of horse during debates, 1024.
Address of both houses, with their resolutions, approving of the articles of Union presented to British parliament by Duke of Portland, 1045.
Last session put an end to 2 August, 1800, 1068.
Imperial, how members of, selected, 1069, 1070.
- Parsons*, Sir Lawrence, against Union, 851, 1043.
Speech for expunging the paragraph relating to the Union from the address, 852-3-4-5.
Arraigns the minister for packing a parliament, 986.
- Parsons*, Sir L. moves amendment for continuing independence of Irish parliament, 986.
Ditto for attendance of Major Rogers and Sheriff Derby, 1003.
- Parnell*, Sir John, dismissed for opposing Union, 820.
Speech against Union, 827-8-9, 1020, 1041.
Opposes adjournment, 915.
Moves for a dissolution of parliament, 1041-2.
- Peele*, Sir Robert, for Union, 912.
- Peers*, British, Union introduced 22 January, 1799, 875.
Allow a month's interval for considering Union, 914.
Approve of articles with some alterations, 1043.
- Percival*, Hon. Mr. for Union, 909.
- Peers*, Irish, 14 Anti-unionists protest, 827.
First division on Union, 49 for, 16 against it, 829.
- Pendergast*, Mr. for Union, 990.
- Pitt*, Right Hon. Wm. proposes to bring forth an address to the king on the Union, 876.
- Pitt*, Strong speech for Union, 885-6-7-8.
Ditto before he proposed the eight resolutions for forming an Union with Ireland on 31 January, 1799, 888 to 896.
The eight resolutions, 896 to 899.
Asserts that Lord Fitzwilliam was not authorised to make promises afterwards retracted, 907.
Declared he never would abandon the question of Union till carried, 915-6.
His ardor for Union unchecked by opposition, 923.
His pledge to the Catholics for procuring them emancipation, and cause of his resignation, 944.
Said that Ireland had always been treated with injustice and illiberality, 990.
Speech upon the articles of Union in the committee, 21 April, 1800, 1049 to 1052.
- Plunket*, Mr. strongly opposes Union, 842-3-4, 917, 993.
Vehement against the unfair use of ministerial power, 971.
Severe on Dr. Brown for changing sides 993.
- Ponsonby*, Mr. Geo. against Union, 829, 830, 851-2.
Warm reply to Lord Castlereagh, 858-9, 988, 1020.
Division on his motion at eight in the morning, 155 against 107, 1041.
- Ponsonby*,

I N D E X.

Ponsonby, Mr. W. B. against Union, 849.
 His exertions to oppose Union with
 Marquis Downshire and Earl Charle-
 mont, 978-9.
Powercourt, Viscount, moves amendment against
 address for Union, 826, 1033.
Portland, Duke of, for union, 936.
Proclamation, by General Lake to keep within
 doors from 8 to 5, &c. 687.
 From lord mayor to post up lists of
 families and inmates, 690.
 From lord lieutenant for execution by
 military law, *ib.*
Press, liberty of, destroyed by licentiousness, 709.
Priests, why some must join in insurrections, 716.
 Account of several who joined the rebel-
 lion, 716-7.
 Their conduct when once engaged, 718,
 736.
 How treated by rebels at Wexford, 746.
Prime Serjeant for union, 993.
Proclamation for the members to become members
 of the imperial parliament, read in
 the British House of Lords, 31st
 Dec. 1800, 1073-4.
 For union's taking effect, published
 1st Jan. 1801, 1074-5-6.
 For ensigns, colors, &c. at sea, 1076.
Prosperous, rebels attack it successfully, 697.
Protection, form of, 774.

R.

Rebellion, settled for 23 May, 1798, 687.
 Extent of, 693.
 Industriously tinged with religious
 acrimony, 701.
 How rendered ferocious, 701-2, 705.
 Extends southward, 709.
 Breaks out in the North, 768.
 Slight insurgency near Bandon, 770.
 Ended, 808.
Regency Bill, brought forward by Anti-unionists,
 960.
 Opposed by Lord Castlereagh, 961.
 Lost by a small majority, 967.
Rebels, fail at Naas, 688.
 Their sanguinary plans, 698.
 Respect the sex, 705.
 Defeated near Carnew, 718.
 March to Camolin, and there seize 800 stand
 of arms, 719.
 Attack and carry Enniscorthy, *ib.*
 How received in Wexford, 724.
 Encamp on Vinegar Hill, 725.
 Destroy the church at Enniscorthy, 726.

Rebels, a body defeated at Balymanaann Hill, and
 at Newtonbarry, 726.
 Defeat detachment under Colonel Walpole,
 and drive General Loftus from Gorey,
 728.
 Under Harvey march to Carrickburn moun-
 tain to attack Ross, 729.
 Ultimately defeated at New Ross, 731.
 Their furious assault and subsequent intoxi-
 cation, 731.
 Remain several days supine and on Lacken
 Hill, 736.
 Defeated at Arklow, 738-9.
 Publish a proclamation against certain ob-
 noxious persons, 741.
 Said by Mr. Gordon to have massacred 101
 in three weeks, *ib.*
 Professed retaliation, 742.
 Quit the neighbourhood of Gorey, 752.
 Defeated and fled from Vinegar Hill, 753-4.
 Defeated by Gen. Moore at Goff's Bridge,
 754.
 Northern insurgents at Saintfield and Bal-
 lynahinch, 769.
 Attempt Carnew and are repulsed, 772.
 Surprise a body of cavalry in ambuscade
 and kill 80, *ib.*
 Discomfit a body of yeomen at Ballyrakeen
 Hill, *ib.*
 Defeated near White Heaps by Sir James
 Duff, 774.
 Assemble at Carrigrew and resolve to dis-
 perse, 775.
 Insurgents of Kildare under Wm. Aylmer,
 777.
 Some Wexford men under Mr. Fitzgerald
 and Mr. Garret Byrne hold out, and then
 disperse, 778.
 All subdued except Holt and Hacket, 781,
 Rise at Granard and in Mayo, 796.
 Several at Killala tried and executed, 800.
 Their chiefs examined before secret com-
 mittee, 813.
Redmond, Rev. John, hastily condemned and ex-
 ecuted, 776.
 Conduct of Lord Mountnorris towards
 him, and Mr. Gordon's account of
 him, 776.
Religion, abused on both sides to sharpen the con-
 test, 701-2, 735.
Richards, Mr. and brother, go to capitulate
 with the rebels for surrender of Wex-
 ford, 724.
Romney, Lord, against Irish peers sitting in the
 commons, 1062.
Ryder, Hon. Mr. for union, though he did not
 expect it at first to be perfect, 1061.
Roche,

I N D E X.

Roche, Sir Boyle, for union, 834.
Roche, Father Philip, chosen to succeed Harvey, 735.
 Prevents an intended massacre, 762.
 Deceived by the acceptance of terms promised by Lord Kingborough not ratified, 763.
 Tried and executed, 26 June, 767.
 Edward, a rebel general, 740.
 Goes to Wexford to summon all to Vinegar Hill, 746.
Rogers, major, threatens to blow up the session-house at Birr, where some Anti-unionists were 1003.
Rokeby, Lord, his letter to Lord Cornwallis against union, 922-3.
Ross, New, siege of, 730-1.
 S.
Saurin, Mr. arraigns the minister with carrying the union by corrupt means, 1039.
Saunderson, Mr. against union, 848.
Scullabogue, massacre at, 732.
 Evidence of the cause of it by Mr. Frizell, *ib.*
Secret Committees, examine the chiefs of the rebels in August and September, 1798, 803.
 Anxious for credit to their reports, *ib.*
 Cautions appear in newspapers, signed by O'Connor, Emmett, and M'Neven, against it, 804-5.
Sheridan, Mr. R. B. opposes the consideration of the question of union, in British Commons, 876.
 Proposes amendment to address, 877 to 882.
 Opposes eight resolutions, 898 to 900.
 Proposes resolutions about free consent of both parliaments, 900.
 Charged by Mr. Percival with giving evidence in favor of Mr. O'Connor, 908.
 Strong against union, 1056-7.
Skeffington, Hon. Mr. against union, 834.
Smith, Mr. Wm. for union, 850, 1039.
 Notable speech for union, 863 to 874, 1022.
Snow, Captain, his laudable conduct at Wexford, 720.
Stanley, Serjeant, for union, 851, 1040.
Stewart, Mr. of Killymoon, against union, 848.
Sun, an English ministerial newspaper complained of for libelling Irish parliament, 920-1.
 Burned by common hangman, 921.

T.

Tandy, Mr. Napper excepted out of amnesty act, 784.

Tarah, signal defeat of the rebels at, 703.
Temple, Lord, for Union, 913.
Terrorism, extent and effects of, 693.
Tighe, Mr. against Union, 829, 1022.
Tierney, Mr. against Union.
Toler, Mr. vide attorney general.
Tone, Theobald Wolfe, his trial and lamentable end, 813-4-5.
Townsend, Mr. Thomas against Union, 851.
 Viscount for Union, reprobates certain abuses, 932, 1062.
Trench, Mr. for postponing question of Union, 848.
 His mind altered upon the question, 863, 916.
Turner, Sir G. Page, for Union, 1056.

U.

Union of Great Britain with Ireland, 803.
 Strong reasons for bringing it to bear, 817.
 The particulars, motives for voting *pro and con*, useless to go into, 818.
 Before the close of the rebellion Mr. Cooke's pamphlet appeared, 818.
 And in November, 1798, thirty others on said subject, 819.
 It divides the nation into new parties, 820.
 Majority of 134 of the bar against it, 821.
 Violent efforts of the opposite parties, 822-3-4.
 Recommended in speech from the throne, 825.
 First question of, carried in peers, by 49 against 16, 829.
 Ditto in commons, after twenty-two hours debate by 1, 827, to 852.
 Question carried against it by 111 against 106, 875.
 Introduced to British peers by Lord Grenville, 875.
 Ditto to British commons by Mr. Dundas, *ib.*
 The four heads of the law in Ireland for it, 908.
 Votes of British Commons in favor of Union, communicated to British lords, 914.
 Proceedings *pro and con* out of parliament, 919.
 Withed by some to be carried from awe of military discipline, 921.
 Conference of the two houses of the British parliament upon it, 947.
 Address to crown for Union from British parliament, 948.
 Unjustifiable means for and against it, 967-8, 977.

Union,

I N D E X.

Union, that nineteen counties had petitioned for Union denied, 990.
 Unjustifiable means of carrying it, 1003.
 Government patronage employed to carry it, 1024.
 Council appear at the bar of the Irish commons to oppose the commercial arrangements, 1040.
 Petitions pro and con, 1041.
 Of churches as well as parliaments voted, 1042.
 Carried in Irish Lords by 72 against 22, 1045.
 Petitions of British woollen manufacturers against the commercial articles, 1060.
 Several motions in British Commons, concerning it, negatived, 1062.
 The plan of, approved and sent to Ireland, 1063.
 For bringing in the Union bill 160 against 100, 1065.
 Bill for, passed the commons on 7th of June—The Lords on 13th, 1066.
 Bill for, passed British Commons 24th June, and the British Lords 29th July, 1800.
 Act of, 1067, Appendix No. CXXIII.
 Received royal assent in British parliament, 2d July, 1800, 1067.
 Ditto in the Irish, 1 August, 1800, *ib.*
United Irishmen, bill for disqualifying all who had taken the oath from sitting in and voting for members of parliament—Rejected—Supported only by Messrs. Ogle, J. C. Beresford, and Dr. Duigenan, 919.
Uniach, Col. for Union, 850.
 V.
Vreker, Col. makes an honorable stand against the French—Humbert's honorable testimony, 794.
 Opposes Union, 832.
Vinegar-Hill, rebel camp at, 725.
 W.
Walpole, Col. overpowered by the rebels and killed, 728.
Westmoreland, Earl of, for Union, 936, 1063.
Wexford, rising in that county and why, 710-1-2.
 Special cause of their rising, 716.
 Confusion from the influx of the garri-son and inhabitants of Ennisecorthy, 719, 720.
 Ditto from the misconduct of some troops, *ib.*
 Surrender to the rebels, 723.

VOL. II.

Wexford, Confused retreat and panic of the troops, 723
 Entered by the rebels, 724.
 Their conduct during three weeks possession, 739, 740.
 All the atrocities at Wexford by Dixon, 741.
 Number of Protestants encreased by fugitives, 742.
 Ten massacred by rebels on 6th June, *ib.*
 Consternation at the approach of the army, marking its progress by burnings, &c. 747.
 Relieved on 20th June, 1798, 754.
 Evacuated by the rebels, 763.
 The sick and wounded massacred by the troops, 763.
 Old system continued by general Lake, at Wexford, for some days, 766.
 Progress of Wexford rebels, 770.
 Dispersion of them, 775.
 Vindictive cruelty of the Wexford men composing a committee to superintend prosecutions, 775-6.
 Continuation of the system of terrorism, in the case of Mr. Sparkes, 823.
Wicklow, rising in that county and why, 712, 714-5.
 Causes of ferocity in the Wicklow rebels, 715
Windham, Right Hon. Mr. for Union, 903.
Whelan, Timothy, an infuriate rebel, 762.
Whippings, &c. defended by Terrorists, 693-4-5-6.
 Fatal effects of, 711.
White, Mr. Hawtrey, gives false information to General Hunter to create alarm, 787.
Wood, Col. for Union, 913.
 Y.
Yelverton, Mr. exposes the inhumanity of Mr. Judkin Fitzgerald, 953-4-5.
 Lord, speaks for Union, 1043-4.
Yeomen defeat rebels near Carnew, and burn two Catholic chapels and above 100 houses and cabins of Catholics, 718.
 Their intent to massacre the prisoners at Wexford, heard by the goaler who gave the key to Mr. Harvey, 722.
 Their bloody system proved on the trial of Wollaghan, 806 to 813.
 The infamous conduct of some of them in case of *King v. White & Goring*, 815-6.
Young, Lieutenant, of the Donegal Militia, his shameful conduct, 727.
 Sir Wm. for Union, 1061.

